Middle Kingdom Studies 12

The World of Middle Kingdom Egypt (2000-1550 BC)

Contributions on Archaeology, Art, Religion, and Written Sources

vol. III

Gianluca Miniaci, Wolfram Grajetzki (eds)

MKS

GHP

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Volume III

Edited by

Gianluca Miniaci, Wolfram Grajetzki

Middle Kingdom Studies 12

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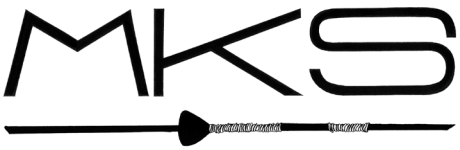

A Marcello, amico fraterno di una vita,
e alle tante avventure vissute insieme

Non ho tatuaggi sul mio corpo ma la
nostra amicizia è un marchio che
non potrò cancellare dal mio cuore

Gianluca

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Forword

The Middle Kingdom Studies series started with two volumes containing miscellaneous papers on different aspects of the history and culture of Middle Kingdom Egypt. They were also the impetus for forming the series and the foundation stones for its further development. Since then, six years have passed, and the series has grown with remarkable speed; we have reached twelve volumes already, and another four are in production. In addition other large projects are grouping around the series, such as the Asasif project. In sum, we have exceeded all expectations. The need for another collective volume on different research topics of the Middle Kingdom has been becoming clear for some time, as we have received several requests for more volumes assembling single articles on diverse topics within a broadly defined Middle Kingdom scope. Therefore we decided to issue another volume following up the first two, adopted the same title, The World of the Middle Kingdom, so developing a mini-series within Middle Kingdom Studies.

As stated in the first volume, the frames we set for 'Middle Kingdom' go beyond the traditional division of Egyptian history. The chronological borders of the Middle Kingdom seem prescribed for an internal political narrative with a very closed circuit, both in subject matter and in target audience. The political change dictated by the re-unification of Egypt and the rise of the Twelfth Dynasty does not perfectly mirror the material culture, social customs, or foreign relations. Time itself knows no break and material culture does not change with the arrival of a new dynasty or a new power. After all the 'Middle Kingdom' is a modern construct that does not always match a more global perspective, especially when trying to synchronise Egyptian history with the historical periods and cultures of the neighbouring areas. Instead, the scope of the series accepts an extension of the borders of the Middle Kingdom, overlapping rather with those of the Middle Bronze Age (c. 2100–1500 BC). For this reason, we accepted contributions that cover the very beginning of the Middle Kingdom (c. 2000 BC) and the century at its end, in the late Second Intermediate Period to early New Kingdom (c. 1600–1500 BC).

The spatial concept of Egypt is also understood here in its wider horizons. As demonstrated by recent studies and global approaches, the history and archaeology of Egypt cannot be considered in isolation, but must be interpreted in a broader Eastern Mediterranean, Western Asian ("Near Eastern") and African scope. The Middle Bronze Age is in many ways a crucial period in the formation of the geopolitical forces and cultural transformations around the Eastern Mediterranean basin in the Late Bronze Age. More than ever, smaller and bigger states were in close contact with each other, as writing expanded to wider regions than before, and visual arts and literature flourished. Technologies and ideas circulated faster, anticipating the scale and pace generated by social groups across these regions in the Late Bronze Age. Here too, we have accepted articles relating to the Levant and Nubia. The inclusion of research beyond the narrow geography of Egypt is a process to be further developed.

We are extremely grateful to the authors who have contributed to this volume, despite all the obstacles in recent years, mainly due to COVID and the restricted access to libraries and research facilities. We are especially pleased to be able to include scholars from different nationalities around the world and at different career stages. Egyptology is a small field, always running the risk that certain trains of thoughts dominate discussions while ignoring other world views. We hope that the contributions in this volume allow scholars to provide a template for discussing new ideas and interpretations. Furthermore, this volume is also a place to present unpublished material, an open forum of discussion, and to share the most current research in the coverage of the Middle Kingdom.

This volume would not have been possible without the help of many people. Here we want to thank Stephen Quirke, Érika Rodrigues De Maynart Ramos, Danijela Stefanović, Paul Whelan.

Gianluca Miniaci, Wolfram Grajetzki
Pisa, London July 2022

Abbreviations

Ä&L/ÄuL/ÄgLev = *Ägypten und Levante: Zeitschrift für ägyptische Archäologie und deren Nachbargebiete* (Vienna)
ÄA = Ägyptologische Abhandlungen (Wiesbaden)
ÄAT = Ägypten und Altes Testament (Wiesbaden)
Abgadiyat = *Abgadiyat: Scientific Refereed Journal by the Bibliotheca Alexandrina Calligraphy Center* (Alexandria)
Achet = Achet Schriften zur Ägyptologie (Berlin)
ACER = *Australian Centre for Egyptology. Reports* (Sydney)
AegMonast = Aegyptiaca Monasteriensia (Aachen)
AfO = Archiv für Orientforschung (Berlin/Graz/Vienna)
AHL = *Archaeology & History in Lebanon* (London)
AION = *Annali dell'Istituto Orientale di Napoli* (Napoli)
ÄMP = Ägyptisches Museum und Papyrussammlung in Berlin
Ann CdF = *Annuaire du Collège de France* (Paris)
Ann. Rev. Anthropol = *Annual Review of Anthropology* (Palo Alto)
AnOr = Analecta Orientalia: Commentationes scientificae de Rebus Orientis Antiqui (Rome)
AntOr = *Antiguo Oriente* (Seminario de Historia Antigua II, Universidad de Alcalá)
AOS = American Oriental Series (New Haven)
ASAE = *Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte* (Cairo)
ASE = Archaeological Survey of Egypt (London)
ASEM (EES) = Archaeological Survey of Egypt. Memoirs (London)
ASOR = American Schools of Oriental Research (Alexandria, VA)
AV = Archäologische Veröffentlichungen, Deutschen Archäologisches Institut, Abteilung Kairo (Berlin / Mainz am Rhein)
AVDAIK = Archäologische Veröffentlichungen, Deutschen Archäologisches Institut. Abteilung Kairo (Berlin/ Mainz am Rhein)
BABELAO = *Bulletin de l'Académie Belge pour l'Etude des Langues Anciennes et Orientales* (Louvain)
BACE = *Bulletin of the Australian Centre for Egyptology* (North Ryde)
BAe = Bibliotheca Aegyptiaca (Brussels)
BAR = British Archaeological Reports (Oxford)
BAR IS = British Archaeological Reports International Series (Oxford)
BASOR = *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* (Alexandria, VA)
BCE = *Bulletin de la céramique égyptienne* (IFAO, Cairo)
BdE = Bibliothèque d'Étude (IFAO, Cairo)
BEC = British Egyptology Congress (EES, London)
BEM = *Bulletin of the Egyptian Museum* (Cairo)
BES = *Bulletin of the Egyptological Seminar* (New York)
BH = Beni Hassan, Egypt
BIFAO = *Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale* (Cairo)
BiOr = *Bibliotheca Orientalis* (Leiden)
BM = British Museum, London
BMPES = British Museum Publications on Egypt and Sudan (London)
BMSAES = *British Museum Studies in Ancient Egypt and Sudan* (London)
BMRAH = *Bulletin des Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire* (Brussels)
BODO = BIBEL und ORIENT Museum (Fribourg) online database
BOLMG = Bolton Museum and Art Gallery, Bolton, UK
BOREAS = Uppsala Studies in Ancient Mediterranean and Near Eastern (Uppsala)
BOS NS = Bonnner Orientalische Studien. Neue Serie (Stuttgart/Bonn/Wiesbaden)
BSAE/ERA = British School of Archeology in Egypt/ Egyptian Research Account (London)
BSAE = British School of Archaeology in Egypt (London)
BSEG = *Bulletin de la Société d'Égyptologie Genève* (Geneva)
BZÄ = *Beiträge zur Ägyptologie* (Vienna)
CAENL = Contributions to the Archaeology of Egypt, Nubia and the Levant (Vienna)
CASAE = Cahiers supplémentaires des ASAE (Cairo)
CCEM = Contributions to the Chronology of the Eastern Mediterranean (Vienna)
CdE = *Chronique d'Égypte. Bulletin périodique de la Fondation Égyptologique Reine Élisabeth, Bruxelles* (Brussels)
CG/CGC = Catalogue General du Musee du Caire (Cairo)
CHANE = Culture and History of the Ancient Near East (Leiden)
CNMAL = Catalogue of the National Museum of Antiquities at Leiden (Leiden)
CRAIBL = *Comptes rendus de l›Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-lettres* (Paris)
CRIPEL = *Cahier de Recherches de l'Institut de Papyrologie et d'Égyptologie de Lille* (Paris/Lille)
CSIC = Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas (Spanish National Research Council)
CT = Coffin Texts
DAIK = Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Abteilung Kairo
DE = *Discussions in Egyptology* (Oxford)
DFIFAO = Documents de fouilles de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale du Caire (Cairo)
DGÖAW = Denkschriften der Gesamtakademie, Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften (Vienna)
EA = *Egyptian Archaeology* (London)
EEF = Egypt Exploration Fund (London)
EES = Egypt Exploration Society (London)

EES EM = Egypt Exploration Society Excavation Memoirs (London)
EES OP = Egypt Exploration Society, Occasional Publications (London)
EgUit = Egyptologische Uitgaven (Leiden)
EJARS = *Egyptian Journal of Archaeological and Restoration Studies* (Sohag)
ENiM = *Cahiers Égypte Nilotique et méditerranéenne* (Montpellier)
EU = Egyptologische Uitgaven (Leiden)
EVO = *Egitto e Vicino Oriente* (Pisa)
FIFAO = Fouilles de l'Institute français d'archéologie orientale (IFAO) du Caire. Rapports prélimimaires (Cairo)
FIP = First Intermediate Period (2160–2055 BC).
GHPE = Golden House Publications Egyptology (London)
GM = *Göttinger Miszellen* (Göttingen)
GOF = Göttinger Orientforschungen I V. Reihe, Ägypten (Wiesbaden)
GSL = Gardiner's Sign List (in A.H. Gardiner: *Egyptian Grammar. Being an Introduction to the Study of Hieroglyphs*, 3rd ed., Oxford 1957)
HÄB = Hildesheimer Ägyptologische Beiträge (Hildesheim)
HES = Harvard Egyptological Studies (Leiden/Boston)
IAA = Israel Antiquities Authority
IBAES = Internet-Beitraege zur Aegyptologie und Sudanarchaeologie (Berlin/London)
IEJ = *Israel Exploration Journal* (Jerusalem)
IFAO = Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale (Cairo)
IJCP = *International Journal of Cultural Property* (Cambridge)
IJHS = *International Journal of Heritage Studies* (Taylor & Francis online)
IRSR = *International Regional Science Review* (Los Angeles/London/New Delhi/Singapore/Washington DC/Melbourne)
JAEA = *Journal of Ancient Egyptian Architecture* (online)
JAEI = *Journal of Ancient Egyptian Interconnections* (Tucson)
JAR = *Journal of Anthropological Research* (Chicago)
JARCE= *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt* (Boston/Princeton/New York/Cairo)
JEA = *Journal of Egyptian Archeology* (London)
JEH/JEgH = *Journal of Egyptian History* (Leiden)
JESHO = *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* (Leiden)
JNES = *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* (Chicago)
JSA = *Journal of Social Archaeology* (United Kingdom)
JSem = *Journal for Semitics* (South Africa, SASSEM)
JSSEA = *Journal of the Society for the Study of Egyptian Antiquities* (Toronto)
KASKAL = *Kaskal. Journal History, Environment, and Cultures of the Ancient Near East* (Venezia)
KAW = Kulturgeschichte der Antiken Welt (Mainz am Rhein)
Kush = *Kush: Journal of the Sudan Antiquities Service/ Journal of the National Corporation for Antiquities and Museums (NCAM)* (Khartoum)
LÄ = W. Helck, E. Otto, W. Westendorf (eds), *Lexikon der Ägyptologie*, 7 vols, 1972–75 (Wiesbaden)
LAAA = *Liverpool Annals of Archaeology & Anthropology* (Liverpool)
LingAeg StudMon = Linguae Aegyptia. Studia Monographica (Göttingen)
MÄS = Münchner Ägyptologische Studien (Berlin/ Munich/Mainz am Rhein)
MÄSB = *Mitteilungen aus der Ägyptischen Sammlung, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin* (Berlin)
MDAIK = *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Abteilung Kairo* (Mainz/Cairo/Berlin/ Wiesbaden)
MEEF = EEF Excavation Memoirs (London)
MET = Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York
MFA = Museum of Fine Arts in Boston
MIFAO = Mémoires publiés par les membres de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale du Cairo (Paris/ Cairo)
MK = Middle Kingdom (2055–1650 BC).
MKS = Middle Kingdom Studies (London/Pisa)
MMA = Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York
MMJ = *Metropolitan Museum Journal* (New York)
MRAH = Musées royaux d'Art et d›Histoire, Brussels
MRE = Monographies Reine Élisabeth (Brussels/ Turnhout)
MVEOL = Mededelingen en Verhandelingen Ex Oriente Lux (Leiden)
NCM = Nottingham City Museums and Galleries
NEA = *Near Eastern Archaeology* (Alexandria, VA)
OBO = Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis (Freiburg/Göttingen)
OBOSA = Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis. Series Archaeologica (Freiburg/Göttingen)
OIP = Oriental Institute Publications (Chicago)
OIMP = Oriental Institute Museum Publications (Chicago)
OLA = Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta (Leuven)
OM = Orient & Méditerranée (Paris)
PdÄ = Probleme der Ägyptologie (Leiden/Boston/Köln)
PEF = Palestine Exploration Fund (London)
PEFQS = Palestine Exploration Fund Quarterly Statement (London)
PIHANS = PIHANS, Egyptologische Uitgaven, Achaemenid History (Leuven)
PM = B. Porter, R. Moss, *Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs and Paintings*, 7 vols., 1927–1951 (1960–), (Oxford)
PMAG = Perth Museum and Art Gallery, Perth, UK
PMMA = Publications of the Metropolitan Museum of Art (Egyptian Expedition) (New York)

PPYE = Publications of the Pennsylvania-Yale Expedition to Egypt (New Haven)
PT = Pyramid Texts
QDAP = *Quarterly of the Department of Antiquities in Palestine* (Jerusalem)
PN = H. Ranke, *Die altägyptischen Personennamen*, 2 vols. (Glückstadt, 1935, 1952)
RACE = *Reports of the Australian Centre for Egyptology* (Sydney)
RdE = *Revue d›Égyptologie* (Paris)
REAC = *Ricerche di Egittologia e di Antichità Copte* (Bologna)
RecTrav/RT = *Recueil de traveaux relatifs à la philologie et à l'archéologie égyptiennes et assyriennes* (Paris)
Rime = *Rivista del Museo Egizio* (Turin)
Rives = *Rives mediterranéennes* (Marseille)
RMO = Rijksmuseum van Oudheden in Leiden
ROM = Royal Ontario Museum in Toronto, Canada
ROSAPAT = Rome «La Sapienza» Studies on the Archaeology of Palestine & Transjordan (Rome)
SACOS = School of Archaeology, Classic and Oriental Studies
SAGA = Studien zur Archäologie und Geschichte Altägyptens (Heidelberg)
SAHL = Studies in the Archaeology and History of the Levant (Winona Lake)
SAK = *Studien zur Altägyptischen Kultur* (Hamburg)
SAK Bh = Studien zur Altägyptischen Kultur. Beihefte (Hamburg)
SANER = Studies in Ancient Near Eastern Records (Berlin)
SAOC = Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilisation (Chicago)
SASAE = Supplément aux Annales du Service des antiquités de l'Egypte (Cairo)
SDAIK = Sonderschrift des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Abteilung Kairo (Wiesbaden)
Shedet = *Shedet. Annual Peer-reviewed Journal of the Faculty of Archaeology – Fayoum University* (Fayoum)
SIP = Second Intermediate Period (1650–1550 BC)
SMC = Studies in Manuscript Cultures (Berlin)
TdE = *Trabajos de Egiptología. Papers on Ancient Egypt* (Puerto de la Cruz, Tenerife)
TLA = Thesaurus Linguae Aegyptiae (Berlin)
TPPI = J.J. Clère, J. Vandier, *Textes de la Première Période Intermédiaire et de la XI^ème^ Dynastie*, (Bibliotheca Aegyptiacae 10, Brussels 1948)
TT = Theban Tomb
UC = Petrie Museum, University College London, Inventory Number
UCL = University College London
UGAÄ = Untersuchungen zur Geschichte und Altertumskunde Ägyptens (Hildesheim/Leipzig/Berlin)
UMM = University Museum Monograph (Philadelphia)
Urk. = K. Sethe, W. Helck, H. Schäfer, H. Grapow, O. Firchow (eds), *Urkunden des ägyptischen Altertums*, 8 vols., 1903–57 (Leipzig/Berlin)
UZK = Untersuchungen der Zweigstelle Kairo des Österreichischen Archäologischen Instituts, herausgegeben in Verbindung mit der Ägyptischen Kommission der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften (Vienna)
VDI = *Vestnik Drevnei Istorii* (Revue d'Histoire ancienne), (Moscow/Leningrad)
WA = Writings from the Ancient World. Society of Biblical Literature (Atlanta)
Wb = A. Erman, W. Grapow, *Wörterbuch der ägyptische Sprache*, 7 vols, 1926–61 (Berlin)
WZKM = *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes* (Vienna)
ZÄS = *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde* (Berlin/Leipzig)
ZDPV = *Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins* (Wiesbaden)

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Some Remarks on the *sḫ.tjw* and their Overseers: The Multiple Meanings of *sḫ.t* and the Social Identity of the Marsh-dwellers

Cristina Alù

Abstract

The meaning of the term sḫ.tj, the related title jmj-r sḫ.tjw, and the social and cultural identity of the sḫ.tjw remain unclear, notwitstanding the fact that several scholars have commented on its interpretation. The sḫ.tjw are generally understood as a semi-nomadic hunting, gathering, and trading community from the marshy marginal areas between the deserts and the Delta. Reviewing all the known attestations and all the possible meanings already discussed in the scientific literature, this article aims to clarify which are the major challenges related to the study of sḫ.tjw. One issue surrounds the ethnic boundaries of the group; another concerns the degree of specialisation of the work carried out by the marsh-dwellers in the context of mining and building operations organised by the Egyptian state. The emergence of the title 'Overseer of the marsh-dwellers' and its role is also addressed. Finally, the contribution suggests that the sḫ.tjw seem to maintain their identity of itinerant traders in the framework of mining expeditions and royal construction work, where they probably supported the related logistical activities.

Introduction

The Egyptian word *sḫ.tj* – commonly translated as 'peasant',[1] especially when referring to Khuninpu, the protagonist of the Middle Kingdom tale known as 'Eloquent Peasant' – is not always straightforward given the multiple uses and meanings of the term from which it derives, and the context in which it occurs.

Often found as part of toponyms,[2] *sḫ.t* (Wb IV, 229-231) seems to bear two main meanings: that of countryside, as fertile land but not arable per se, in opposition to the urban environment, and that of marshland (perhaps as a partial aspect of the first meaning) where fish and birds could be caught, as shown by the scenes painted on the walls of several tombs.[3] Quirke, on the other hand, pointed out that the semantic distinction consists of a generic connotation of the word and a more specific one. The broader meaning of *sḫ.t* as countryside (or part of it) carries with it a wide range of rural activities, such as herding, butchery, fishing, fowling, ploughing, and sowing, while a 'marshland' reading implies that no harvesting activities are carried out in the *sḫ.t*.[4]

The *sḫ.tj* would thus be an inhabitant of one of those humid and fertile but not necessarily cultivated lands called *sḫ.wt.* Khuninpu, indeed, comes from a place designated with the toponym *sḫ.t ḥmʒ.t*, located in the Western Delta, and likely identified with the Wadi Natrun.[5]

Moreover, the geographically marginal nature of the place in which the *sḫ.tj* resided might be understood in

[1] Gardiner, *JEA* 9. As well as in recent translations, e.g., Parkinson, *Eloquent Peasant*; Parkinson, *The Tale of the Eloquent Peasant: A Reader's Commentary*. Several scholars, however, have adopted different translations e.g., Lefebvre, *Romans et contes égyptiens*; Donadoni, *AION* 28/4; Bresciani, *Letteratura e poesia*; Le Guilloux, *Le conte du paysan éloquent*; Kurth, *Der Oasenmann*.

[2] Gauthier, *Dictionnaire des noms géographiques,* 48-60.

[3] Grajetzki, *Die höchsten Beamten,* 182-3.

[4] Quirke, in Hawass, Richards (eds), *The archaeology and art of ancient Egypt*, 284.

[5] Devauchelle, *CdE* 70, 34 preferred to place the toponym in Oxyrhynchus.

the first sentence uttered by Khuninpu: '*Look, I am going to the Nile Valley to buy provisions for my children*' (*mt wj m-ḥ3.t r kmt r jn.t ḳ.w n ḫrd.w=j*)[6] It implies that *sḫ.t ḥm3.t* was not considered to be located in the Nile Valley proper, but in a frontier area between the alluvial riparian land and the desert. Later on in the narrative, the words used to express Khuninpu's journey – *ḥ3.t pw jr.n sḫ.tj pn r kmt*[7] – reiterate the concept.

The geographical marginality of *sḫ.t ḥm3.t* in respect to the Nile Valley, however, does not seem to suggest a sense of cultural difference. Khuninpu is, indeed, a member of an isolated community living in the Wadi Natrun, but he is not characterised as a foreigner.[8] Nevertheless, following the suggestion made by Siesse who argues that the term *sḫ.tjw* may have indicated by extension all those semi-nomadic peoples who exploited the resources of the Eastern and Western Desert on behalf of the Egyptian state,[9] it does not seem too far-fetched to assume that some of the *sḫ.tjw* might have had foreign origins, living and travelling at the crossroads of multicultural encounter.

The *sḫ.tj* as an Itinerant Trader of Hunting and Gathering Products

Although there is still no consensus in Egyptology with regard to the interpretation of *sḫ.t* and *sḫ.tj*,[10] several scholars have rightly pointed out that Khuninpu bears no resemblance to a sedentary farmer:[11] he travels to Herakleopolis with a small caravan of donkeys loaded with all kinds of exotic goods from the oasis and the desert, including minerals, in order to exchange these products with food for his family.[12] In another Middle Kingdom literary work known from a single papyrus dating to the end of the Eighteenth Dynasty, the so-called 'Pleasures of Fishing and Fowling', the *sḫ.tjw* and their activity of bird hunting in the marshes are particularly praised.[13] The 'Eloquent Peasant' narrative does not mention any hunting activities on Khuninpu's part, but it is worth noting that animal skins are also listed among the exotic items he is going to trade. The outlined profile of Khuninpu and the *sḫ.tj* in general thus seems to coincide with that of an itinerant trader who was sometimes engaged in hunting wild animals and collecting plants and other kinds of raw materials. In the words of Quirke, Khuninpu is a hunter-gatherer living and operating on the margins of an agricultural society.[14]

The *sḫ.tjw* as Supply and Logistic Support for the Expeditions to Serabit el-Khadim and the Construction of Senusret I's Pyramid at Lisht

The *sḫ.tjw* do not occur very often in the sources but the evidence coming from literary records seems to indicate their presence among the members of the expeditions to South Sinai.

Groups of *sḫ.tjw* are, indeed, attested in six inscriptions dated to the reign of Amenemhat III[15] and in one from the beginning of the reign of Amenemhat IV.[16] Similarly to Khuninpu, the *sḫ.tjw* mentioned in the Sinai inscriptions seem more likely to be a non-sedentary group of people living on the fringes of the Nile Valley, between the Delta and the deserts,[17] and incorporated into the expedition when approaching South Sinai, rather than a specific professional category.

Moreover, the recent excavations at Ayn Sukhna, in particular in the area of the Middle Kingdom warehouses, have brought to light archaeological evidence of the *sḫ.tjw* involvement in mining expeditions. Eight of the 20 moulded-neck jars for liquids (wine, dates wine, and *pekha*-bier) discovered in gallery G6 were accompanied by labels in hieratic script, which indicated in most cases the content and its purpose.[18] On an isolated jar-shard and on the upper part of a jar that has been reassembled it has been possible to read the words: *ḥtp.w-nṯr* (*n*) *sḫ.tjw* 'offerings of the *sḫ.tjw*'.[19] These votive offerings were probably destined for the Temple of Serabit el-Khadim, since no ritual area has been identified until now at the site of Ayn Sukhna and they were also found

[6] Parkinson, *The Tale of the Eloquent Peasant: A Reader's Commentary,* 26.
[7] Parkinson, *The Tale of the Eloquent Peasant: A Reader's Commentary,* 29.
[8] Differently from Gnirs, in Gnirs (ed.), *Reading the Eloquent Peasant,* 143.
[9] Siesse, *La XIII^e dynastie,* 248.
[10] E.g., Junge, in Gnirs (ed.), *Reading the Eloquent Peasant,* 158-9, 177, who in the context of the 'Tale of Sinuhe' considers the *sḫ.tjw* as farmers, inhabitants of the countryside as opposed to inhabitants of the city.
[11] Berlev, in Dreyer, Osing (eds), *Form und Mass,* 78; Quirke, *Titles and bureaux,* 183; Grajetzki, in Feder, Sperveslage, Steinborn (eds), *Ägypten begreifen,* 158; Siesse, *La XIII^e dynastie,* 247-8.
[12] Parkinson, *The Tale of the Eloquent Peasant: A Reader's Commentary,* 29-33.
[13] Caminos, *Literary Fragments,* 11, pls 2A-2.
[14] Quirke, *Titles and bureaux,* 183.
[15] Gardiner, Peet, *The Inscriptions of Sinai I,* 92-4, 110-1, 113-6, 116-8, 137-8, 209-10; Gardiner, Peet, Černý, *The Inscriptions of Sinai II,* pls 23, 35-8, 50, 88.
[16] Gardiner, Peet *The Inscriptions of Sinai I*, 122-4; Gardiner, Peet, Černý *The Inscriptions of Sinai II*, pl. 43.
[17] Grajetzki, *Die höchsten Beamten,* 178-84; Quirke, in Bietak, Czerny (eds), *Scarabs of the Second Millennium BC,* 70-1.
[18] Castel, Tallet, *Ayn Soukhna IV,* 43.
[19] Abd el-Raziq *et al*., *Ayn Soukhna III,* 31, figs 187-8; Tallet, *La zone minière pharaonique du Sud-Sinaï III,* 81, fig. 11; Castel, Tallet, *Ayn Soukhna IV,* 47, pl. 37.

along with a jar dating to the year 19 of Amenemhat III, under whose reign the system of galleries was put back into use to facilitate mining expeditions to South Sinai.

As has been pointed out, however, it is not yet clear whether the dedication of these offers was a gesture of devotion or a form of taxation that *sḫ.tjw* had to pay to the temple.[20] Evidence suggests that somehow the marsh-dwellers who participated in the expeditions to Serabit el-Khadim were also involved in religious practices. It is unclear whether this was already the case in the Middle Kingdom but is more likely for the later periods. It appears therefore quite likely that the *sḫ.tjw* played a role in the spreading of the cult of Hathor *nb.t mfkꜣ.t* from the Sinai Peninsula to the Delta. Scholars have argued that the cult of Hathor 'Lady of Turquoise' developed in various places in the Nile Delta due to the return of a large number of miners after exploitation of the turquoise mines came to an end under the reign of Ramses VI.[21] Sources attest, indeed, that Hathor 'Lady of Turquoise' was worshipped as early as the Ninth Dynasty in a temple dedicated to her at Gebel Abu Hassa, in the Eastern Delta area between Qantara and Gaza.[22] The temple of Hathor at Gebel Abu Hassa must have functioned as an intermediate station where the expeditions from Pi-Ramses stopped during the Ramesside period, crossing the Wadi Tumilat and passing Pi-Sopdu (Saft el-Henna) or Tjeku (Tell el-Rataba).[23] Perhaps in the same way and through the movements of the same groups of marsh-dwellers, the cult of Hathor later spread to the Western Delta, at the ancient *sḫ.t mfkꜣ*(*.t*) (Kom Abu Billo).[24] The oldest records of this cult date back to the Twenty-second Dynasty although it is likely that the earliest phases of the temple belong to the Ramesside period. [25]

The presence of *sḫ.tjw* in the Red Sea port facilities as witnessed by the Middle Kingdom evidence found at Ayn Sukhna would confirm the hypothesis of their recruitment in the desert areas along the routes to South Sinai, both by land and sea. Interesting in this respect is therefore the presence of nautical personnel – in particular *s n dꜣ.t* or *dꜣ.jww* 'ferrymen' and *ḥn.ww* 'rowers' – among the members of the expeditions to Serabit el-Khadim in most of the inscriptions in which marsh-dwellers are also attested.[26]

It has also been observed that the *sḫ.tjw* appear among members of the expeditions mostly in association with the so-called men of Imenu (*s n Jmnw*) – a group of stone workers probably enrolled in the locality of Tura, on the road to Ayn Sukhna from where the expeditions departed – with whom they seem to have in common timing and way of recruitment.[27] The presence of the men of Imenu and the inhabitants of *sḫ.t ʿḏ*, a locality in the Eastern Delta probably near Lake Manzala,[28] among the workers involved in the construction of the pyramid of Senusret I at Lisht would support the possibility – already suggested by Grajetzki[29] – of their employment as unskilled labourers in Sinai expeditions as well. Specifically, the control notes state the day and month when the inhabitants of *sḫ.t ʿḏ* transported a particular stone from the mine to the pyramid site, or in other cases removed a stone or ferried it upstream.[30] This evidence therefore seems to suggest a deployment of *sḫ.tjw* more in logistics than in other manual labour related to mining and construction works directed by the Egyptian state.

The specific role of the *sḫ.tjw* here is not easy to establish, but several plausible hypotheses can be offered, which are not mutually exclusive. In addition to the suggestion of their involvement in manual work alongside miners and other categories of workmen, it could be assumed that, like Khuninpu, the *sḫ.tjw* were indeed merchants embedded in the flow of goods and raw materials regulated by the Egyptian central authority. Their presence at a seaport location such as Ayn Sukhna would, indeed, fit well into this interpretation. Moreover, Seyfried has assumed that the *sḫ.tjw* were in charge of supplying food to mining expeditions.[31] The attestation of some *sḫ.tjw* in an account from Lahun can perhaps be considered in a similar light. On the recto of papyrus UC32099C+32100B+32103Diii with part of UC32099A there is a record of the daily supply of fish provided to the village by the fisherman Khenemsu, while on the verso the end of a letter and the names of at least ten *sḫ.tjw* can be read.[32]

[20] Castel, Tallet, *Ayn Soukhna IV,* 47.
[21] Giveon, *The Impact of Egypt on Canaan*, 67; Mansour, *Abgadiyat* 8, 31.
[22] Giveon, *The Impact of Egypt on Canaan,* 66; Schmitt, *BIFAO* 105, 369.
[23] Tallet, *BIFAO* 103, 475.
[24] Gauthier, *Dictionnaire des noms géographiques,* 53.
[25] Dhennin, *BIFAO* 111, 106; Yoyotte, *Les principautés du Delta,* 36-7.
[26] Gardiner, Peet, *The Inscriptions of Sinai I,* 92-4, 110-1, 116-8, 137-8, 209-10; Gardiner, Peet, Černý, *The Inscriptions of Sinai II,* pls 23, 35-8, 50, 88.
[27] Tallet, *La zone minière pharaonique du Sud-Sinaï III,* 45.
[28] Bietak, *Tell el-Dabʿa II,* 136-7; Arnold, *Control Notes,* 25.
[29] Grajetzki, *Die höchsten Beamten,* 183; Grajetzki, in Feder, Sperveslage, Steinborn (eds), *Ägypten begreifen*, 156.
[30] Arnold, *Control Notes*, 95, 98, 111, 115-7, 119-20, 124.
[31] Seyfried, *Beiträge zu den Expeditionen,* 161.
[32] Collier, Quirke, *Accounts*, 160-3.

Evidence for the Overseers of Marsh-dwellers and their Role

Whether they were part of the mining and royal construction workforce or auxiliaries in the transport and trade of raw materials, the *sḫ.tjw* were clearly integrated into the Egyptian economic and administrative system, as the title *jmj-r sḫ.tjw* 'Overseer of the marsh-dwellers' and its early Twelfth Dynasty rare variant *sḫḏ sḫ.tjw* 'Controller of the marsh-dwellers' demonstrate.[33] It should be added, however, that the *jmj-r sḫ.tjw* most likely did not belong to the socio-economic group of the *sḫ.tjw* but was a high-ranking external administrator.

It has been noted that the title *jmj-r sḫ.tjw* is only attested in the royal court but never at a provincial level, perhaps because of the emergence of this office in a period of reorganisation of the state administration based on a more direct control.[34] This, together with the fact that *jmj-r sḫ.tjw* is often associated with the title *ḥtmtj bjtj* 'Royal sealer', shows that it was one of the most important offices at the court.[35] In addition, a passage of the 'Tale of Sinuhe' (l. 244) mentions a character bearing the title *jmj-r sḫ.tjw*, sent by the king to welcome Sinuhe with a cargo of gifts for the Bedouin who had guided him through Palestine and the desert to the eastern Egyptian borders. The delivery of goods from the royal residence to the edge of the Eastern Delta carried out by this *jmj-r sḫ.tjw* is the only known explicit duty of the high official. However, this was most probably not a usual function of the *jmj-r sḫ.tjw*, but rather a temporary assignment due to the fact that he was the highest representative of the Eastern Delta and its inhabitants.[36]

The first attestations of *jmj-r sḫ.tjw* date to the early Middle Kingdom,[37] yet some Old Kingdom sources seem to foreshadow the introduction of the title. A few clay tablets inscribed with hieratic script, found in the palace of the governors of Balat/Ayn Asil during the reign of Pepi II, mention a title which has been read as *jmj-r sḫ.t* by the editors. Tablet no. 3389,[38] found on surface in the rooms immediately accessible from the west gate of Ayn Asil southern enclosure, records the daily reserves of starch wheat, likely to belong to or be destined for a man bearing the title of *jmj-r sḫ.t.* Another tablet (no. 7092) refers to the *jmj-r sḫ.t* Imhotep as responsible for collection and payment of a certain amount of grain from the region under his authority.[39]

The reading of this title in the first tablet mentioned is uncertain due to the lacuna following the sign GSL M20, , but the intact occurrences in nos. 7092 and 5308[40] leave no doubt as to the spelling of the title. The scarcity of attestations of this title, however, does not contribute to its understanding. It does not seem to be attested in this form elsewhere during the Old Kingdom, being always written with *sḫ.wt* in the plural (or with the wording *sḫ.t nb.t*, in singular form but referring to the plurality of all *sḫ.wt*).[41]

Thus, the translation of *sḫ.t* within the title *jmj-r sḫ.t* and in the context in which it is found is not unequivocal, so that the rendering 'Chef de la campagne' suggested by the editors does not seem totally convincing. Moreover, an administrative letter (no. 3483) concerning the moving of a bull to an unspecified location mentions a *sḫ.tj*, likely the person in charge of transporting the bull.[42] This source seems to be consistent with the interpretation of *sḫ.tj* as a man whose occupations were more akin to itinerant trading than to agricultural work *per se*. The occurrence of *jmj-r sḫ.t* in more than one document from the area of Balat – at the eastern edge of the Dakhla Oasis – would point towards an understanding of *sḫ.t/sḫ.tj* as related to a marsh environment. Based on the interpretation of *sḫ.t* as a cultivated field, Pantalacci has instead portrayed the *sḫ.tjw* as members of the rural community of Balat and the *jmj-r sḫ.t* as simple administrator of the agricultural land and its products.[43] Acknowledging that *sḫ.tjw* and *jmj-r sḫ.t* had a much more multifaceted and different identity from that of peasants and officers linked to the rural economy, however, would not be dissonant with the task of agricultural resource administration attested by the sources. The idea that the activities of *sḫ.tjw* and their overseers were already taking place in Balat during the Old Kingdom should perhaps be reconsidered, as these most likely relate to managing and decentralising the flow of goods, not only to the organisation of agricultural activities in peripheral regions under Egyptian control.[44]

[33] Grajetzki, *Die höchsten Beamten*, 179.
[34] Grajetzki, in Feder, Sperveslage, Steinborn (eds), *Ägypten begreifen*, 158.
[35] Grajetzki, in Feder, Sperveslage, Steinborn (eds), *Ägypten begreifen*, 155.
[36] Grajetzki, *Die höchsten Beamten*, 183; 2017, 156.
[37] Fakhry, *ASAE* 40, 904; Habachi, *WZKM* 54, 67-9.
[38] Soukiassian, Wuttmann, Pantalacci, *Balat IV*, 336.
[39] Pantalacci, in Moreno García (ed.), *L'agriculture institutionnelle*, 86, fig. 2.
[40] Pantalacci, in Moreno García (ed.), *L'agriculture institutionnelle*, 86, fig. 1.
[41] Jones, *An Index of Ancient Egyptian Titles,* 231-2.
[42] Soukiassian, Wuttmann, Pantalacci, *Balat IV,* 346.
[43] Pantalacci, in Moreno García (ed.), *L'agriculture institutionnelle,* 85-6.
[44] Pantalacci, in Moreno García (ed.), *L'agriculture institutionnelle,* 84, 86-7; Esposito, *L'administration égyptienne,* 31-2.

One of the two oldest records[45] of *jmj-r sḫ.tjw* consists in a graffito carved on the western face of a rock located in the southern part of Elephantine island, in the vicinity of the town gate, and dating back to the end of the reign of Senusret I.[46] The title is attributed to the *jrj-pqt ḥ3tj-ʿ sḏ3wtj-bjtj* Ameny; this figure should probably be identified with the same *jmj-r sḫ.tjw Jmnjj*, mentioned by the annals of Amenemhat II from the temple of Ptah in Memphis, who orders his wooden statue to be placed in the funerary complex of the king after the mention of a royal visit to a sanctuary located in Wadi Natrun.[47]

In half of the attestations of *sḫ.tjw* in the Sinai inscriptions,[48] all dating to the reign of Amenemhat III, the figure of the *jmj-r t3-mḥw* 'Overseer of Lower Egypt' is also mentioned, who must surely have played an important role within the expeditions and may perhaps have also incorporated the functions generally attributed to the *jmj-r sḫ.tjw*.[49] Furthermore, in the aforementioned account from Lahun, the *sḫ.tjw* appear listed together with the *bj.tjw* 'Lower Egyptians',[50] also attested in the control notes on the blocks of the pyramid of Senusret I.[51] These sources together further support the idea of an original connection between the *sḫ.tjw*, the people who were in charge of coordinating them, and the Delta region.

Moreover, it has been suggested that the introduction of the figure of *jmj-r sḫ.tjw* was related to a process of administrative decentralisation combined with increased economic control over mobile inhabitants of strategic marginal regions.[52] The Egyptian state certainly recognised the advantages of the contribution that *sḫ.tjw* could make to the logistics of the expeditions, but at the same time the possible threat that an informal economy practiced by 'invisible actors' – to borrow an effective phrase from Moreno Garcìa[53] – trading and exchanging goods outside the Pharaonic control could pose.

The title *jmj-r sḫ.tjw* still survives throughout the Second Intermediate Period. An individual called Senebeni, who lived during the reign of Sewahenre Senebmiu – presumably belonging to the Thirteenth Dynasty – and was buried in Thebes, bore the titles of 'Overseer of the marsh-dwellers' and 'Treasurer of the King of Lower Egypt' carved on a staff.[54] Further examples of *jmj-r sḫ.tjw* are also attested in at least eight scarabs dated mostly to the Thirteenth Dynasty, with some later cases dating back to the Fourteenth or Fifteenth Dynasties.[55] In a couple of them, the title is accompanied by the name of the official(s), Semreti (UC 11451) and Semterher (Fitzwilliam E.Sc.39), respectively.[56] There seems to be no doubt about the Levantine origin of the name(s) *smrtj*/*smtrj* and *smtr-hr*, perhaps a variant of the same name. Therefore, it is plausible that the title was assumed in the late Middle Kingdom-Second Intermediate Period by members of the Levantine élite, who were supposed to supervise the marshland populations of Wadi Tumilat in the Eastern Delta.[57] However, evidence dating to the beginning of the Second Intermediate Period counsels caution in assuming that in this phase the *jmj-r sḫ.tjw* were solely associated or dependent on the rulers of Avaris. A rock inscription from the Wadi Hammamat associated with a mining expedition dispatched during the reign of Sobekemsaf I records the *jmj-r sḫ.tjw* Aamu/Qemau,[58] confirming that some of these 'Overseers of the marsh-dwellers' were linked to Thebes instead.[59]

Conclusions

As discussed throughout this paper, the meaning of *sḫ.t/sḫ.tj* is not self-evident and often difficult to understand. Moreover, proofs of a complex social identity of the *sḫ.tjw* – not merely reducible to the Egyptian rural community – emerge from various documentary sources coming from South Sinai, the Eastern and Western Deserts, and the Red Sea harbour of Ayn Sukhna. The analysis of all these sources, which, although scarce and

[45] The other attestation dated to the late Eleventh Dynasty or the reign of Senusret I is found on the statue base Cairo JE 67851 from Fayyum, *cf.* Fakhry, *ASAE* 40, 904; Verbovsek, *Als Gunsterweis des Königs*, 476; Connor, *Être et paraître,* 353.
[46] Habachi, *WZKM* 54, 67-9; Jiménez Serrano, Sánchez Léon, *JEA* 101, 120-2
[47] Altenmüller, Moussa, *SAK* 18, 8-9; Obsomer, *Sésostris Ier,* 598; Altenmüller, *Zwei Annalenfragmente,* 30-1.
[48] Gardiner, Peet, *The Inscriptions of Sinai I,* 92-4, 113-6, 116-8; Gardiner, Peet, Černý, *The Inscriptions of Sinai II,* pls 23, 36-8.
[49] Seyfried, *Beiträge zu den Expeditionen,* 204; Stefanović, *The Title mr t3-mḥw,* 48-51.
[50] Collier, Quirke, *Accounts*, 162-3; Grajetzki, *The people of the Cobra Province,* 173.
[51] Arnold, *Control Notes*, 25.
[52] Quirke, in Bietak, Czerny (eds), *Scarabs of the Second Millennium BC*, 71; Moreno Garcìa, *JEA* 101, 88; Moreno Garcìa, in Miniaci *et al.* (eds), *The Arts of Making in Ancient Egypt*, 161.
[53] Moreno Garcìa, in Bárta, Küllmer (eds), *Diachronic Trends in Ancient Egyptian History*, 96-7; Moreno Garcìa, *Rives méditerranéennes* 54, 49.
[54] Berlev, *JEA* 60, 109-11, pl. 28. He considers the *jmj-r sḫ.tjw* as being tasked with delivery of goods, especially fish and fowl, from the marshes to the palace.
[55] Grajetzki, *Die höchsten Beamten,* 178-82.
[56] Martin, *Egyptian Administrative and Private-Name Seals,* 112-3, nos. 1450, 1455.
[57] Quirke, *Titles and bureaux,* 183.
[58] Gasse, *BIFAO* 87, 212.
[59] Gasse, *BIFAO* 87, 184.

fragmentary, complement each other, led to assert that the *sḫ.tjw*'s activities certainly included the procurement, transportation and exchange of raw materials and goods of various kinds.

The occurence of the title *jmj-r sḫ.tjw* in the context of the royal court, becoming increasingly important towards the end of the Middle Kingdom and during the Second Intermediate Period, might have an antecendent already during the Sixth Dynasty. The presence of *sḫ.tjw* in the palace records of Balat, among the members of the mining expeditions to South Sinai, and the manpower of the royal construction work at Lisht would argue for the integration of marsh-dwellers within the Egyptian administrative and economic system. However, it cannot be ruled out that the *sḫ.tjw* operated on two parallel economic circuits, one state-controlled through the Overseers of marsh-dwellers, and one private, about which the sources unfortunately give no information.

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Scarabs from a Late Middle Kingdom Workshop at Tell el-Dab'a

Daphna Ben-Tor, James M. Weinstein

Abstract

The scarabs discovered at Tell el-Dab'a in late Middle Kingdom archaeological deposits include among items displaying typical characteristics of this period, items displaying unusual traits which have been considered as markers of a local workshop. Alexander Ilin-Tomich has recently contested this conclusion and has argued that the production of scarabs with these traits was not limited to Tell el-Dab'a. In the first section of this paper, Daphna Ben-Tor presents evidence from Egypt and the Levant to support the view that the production of these scarabs took place exclusively at Tell el-Dab'a. In the second section, James M. Weinstein provides a detailed catalogue of the seal-amulets found in Palestine that are likely to have been produced at Tell el-Dab'a during the late Middle Kingdom or early Second Intermediate Period. The catalogue focuses on the excavation, archaeological context, typology and dating of the objects. The geographical distribution of the scarabs shows that most of these seal-amulets come from sites along the coast or on the coastal plain, or from Jericho in the central Jordan valley; a smaller number derive from sites in northern Palestine and the central highlands. None are from sites east of the Jordan river. The designs on the scarabs mainly reflect late Middle Kingdom decorative traditions, but Canaanite motifs and designs frequently appear on these seal-amulets.

Was there a Scarab Workshop at Tell el-Dab'a in the Late Middle Kingdom?

Daphna Ben-Tor

The scarabs found in Middle Kingdom and Second Intermediate Period occupation levels at Tell el-Dabʿa were studied in detail by Christa Mlinar who classified them sequentially as Types I-VI, taking into consideration the archaeological contexts of distinguishing designs and features.[1] The scarabs found in levels corresponding to the late Middle Kingdom at the site – strata G and F, include items displaying typical characteristics of this period along with items showing unusual traits in their designs and features, which Mlinar considered as markers of a local workshop.[2] The scarabs assigned to the local workshop were categorized by Mlinar under Types II and III, each further divided into sub types IIa-b, IIIa-b.[3] This classification was based primarily on the combination of the scarabs' features, which varies from the common profile of late Middle Kingdom type scarabs. The scarabs assigned to Type II display lunate heads A (see Fig. 1:1-4),[4] and chip carved square profiles – d5 with plain legs for Type IIa (see Fig. 1:1-2), and d6 with notched legs for Type IIb (see Fig. 1:3-4).[5] The most distinctive feature of the scarabs classified by Mlinar as Type III is the long narrow hourglass head B4 flanked by round eyes (see Fig. 1:5-10).[6] Type III scarabs generally display scored sides e9

[1] Mlinar, *Die Skarabäen von Tell el-Dab'a*; Mlinar, in Bietak, Czerny (eds), *Scarabs of the Second Millennium BC.*

[2] Mlinar, in Bietak, Czerny (eds), *Scarabs of the Second Millennium BC,* 113-22.

[3] *Op. cit*.

[4] The scarabs' features are described following the typology of Tufnell and Ward (Ward *Studies* 1; Tufnell, *Studies* 2; Ward, Dever, *Studies* 3). For head A see Tufnell, *Studies* 2, 32, fig. 12.

[5] Tufnell, *Studies* 2, 37, fig. 14.

[6] Tufnell, *Studies* 2, 32, fig. 12. Keel later redefined this head type as B10 (Keel, *Corpus, Katalog* IV, XV).

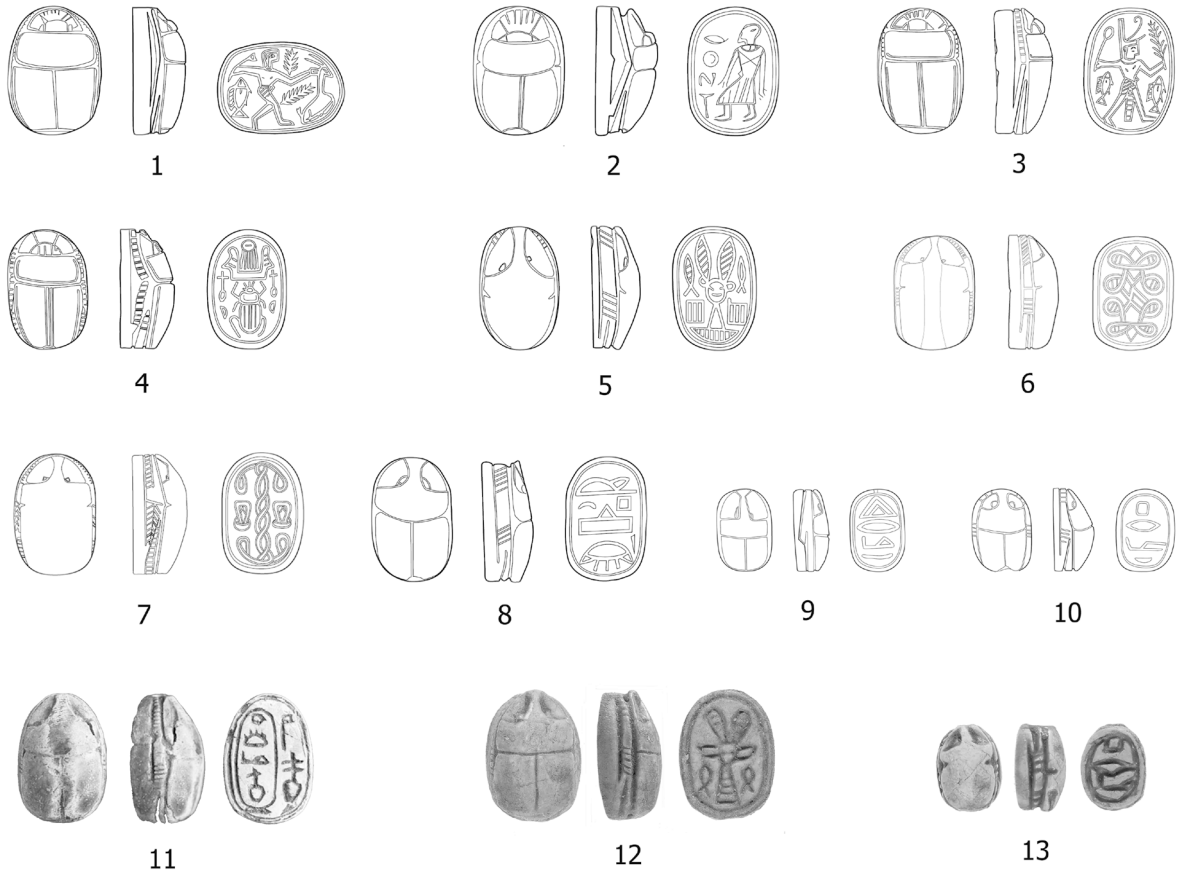


Fig. 1:1 – Type IIa scarab displaying a hunting scene. After Mlinar, in Bietak, Czerny (eds), *Scarabs of the Second Millennium BC,* fig. 4:5

Fig. 1:2 – Type IIa scarab displaying a man standing beside a column of pseudo-hieroglyphs. After Mlinar, in Bietak, Czerny (eds), *Scarabs of the Second Millennium BC,* fig. 4:7

Fig. 1:3 – Type IIb scarab displaying the king in a symbolic hunting scene. After Mlinar, in Bietak, Czerny (eds), *Scarabs of the Second Millennium BC,* fig. 5:3

Fig. 1:4 – Type IIb scarab displaying an unusual group of good-luck hieroglyphs. After Mlinar, in Bietak, Czerny (eds), *Scarabs of the Second Millennium BC,* fig. 5:2.

Fig. 1:5 – Type IIIa scarab displaying the Canaanite version of the Hathor symbol. After Mlinar, in Bietak, Czerny (eds), *Scarabs of the Second Millennium BC,* fig. 6b: 14

Fig. 1: 6 – Type IIIa scarab displaying a coiled and woven pattern. After Mlinar, in Bietak, Czerny (eds), *Scarabs of the Second Millennium BC,* fig. 6a:5

Fig. 1:7 – Type IIIa scarab displaying a coiled and woven pattern. After Mlinar, in Bietak, Czerny (eds), *Scarabs of the Second Millennium BC,* fig. 6a:8

Fig. 1: 8 – Type IIIb scarab displaying inaccurate forms and compositions of hieroglyphs. After Mlinar, in Bietak, Czerny (eds), *Scarabs of the Second Millennium BC,* fig. 8:4

Fig. 1:9 – Type IIIb *rdi-r*^{c} type scarab with a pseudo-hieroglyph. After Mlinar, in Bietak, Czerny (eds), *Scarabs of the Second Millennium BC,* fig. 8:5

Fig. 1:10 – Type IIIb *rdi-r*^{c} type scarab. After Mlinar, in Bietak, Czerny (eds), *Scarabs of the Second Millennium BC,* fig. 8:8

Fig. 1:11 – Type IIIb royal-name scarab of Sobekhotep IV. Photo © The Israel Museum, Jerusalem by Laura Lachman. The Israel Museum, Harry Stern Collection, bequest of Kurt Stern, London (76.31.2202)

Fig. 1:12 – Type IIIb Scarab displaying the Canaanite version of the Hathor symbol. Photo © courtesy of The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund and Edward S. Harkness Gift, 1922 (MMA 22.1.408). From Lisht North Cemetery, MMA Excavations

Fig. 1:13 – Type IIIa *rdi-r*^{c} type scarab. Photo © courtesy of The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund and Edward S. Harkness Gift, 1920 (MMA 20.1.34) From Lisht North Cemetery, MMA Excavations

with notched fore and hind legs (see Fig. 1:5-6, 8, 10),[7] and occasionally scored sides e6 with notched fore and hind legs and fringed mid legs (see Fig. 1:7).[8] The distinction between Types IIIa and IIIb is in the plain backs of the former (see Fig. 1:5-7) and lined backs of the latter (see Fig.1:8-10).[9]

Type II scarabs are distributed at Tell el-Dab'a between strata G and F, which were dated by the excavators to the Thirteenth Dynasty[10] when Egypt was for the most part[11] unified under central rule from the Middle Kingdom residence Itjtawy in the Lisht-Memphis region.[12] Type III scarabs are distributed mainly between strata G and E/3 dated to the late Middle Kingdom and the beginning of the Second Intermediate Period,[13] with isolated items from strata E/2 and E/1 of the early-mid Fifteenth Dynasty,[14] most likely constituting heirlooms.[15]

The base designs of the scarabs categorized by Mlinar under Types II and III display primarily standard late Middle Kingdom motifs like scrolls and spirals, coiled and woven designs, cross patterns, and symmetric arrangements of hieroglyphs.[16] They also display however variations and peculiarities which are not found on conventional scarabs of this period. These include the Canaanite version of the Hathor symbol (see Fig. 1:5),[17] the branch (see Fig. 1:1, 3),[18] a male figure standing beside a column of signs including pseudo hieroglyphs (see Fig. 1:2),[19] and inaccurate forms and compositions of hieroglyphs (see Fig. 1:8).[20] Mlinar has noted that some of these motifs[21] show inspiration from Near Eastern iconography,[22] and they appear later on Canaanite scarabs made in the southern Levant. The Near Eastern influence on these scarabs is best explained by the cultural impact of the Canaanite population at Tell el-Dab'a at that time, and it supports the production of these scarabs at the site. Mlinar's line of argument for considering Types II and III scarabs as products of a Tell el-Dab'a workshop was based also on her notion that the occurrence of these types is limited to Tell el-Dab'a.[23] This perception has since been challenged (below), yet, Types II and III scarabs form a minute group compared with the large corpus of standard late Middle Kingdom scarabs, and the largest assemblage was found at Tell el-Dab'a.

The Tell el-Dab'a origin of production of the scarabs categorized by Mlinar under Types II and III was in principal accepted.[24] Moreover, historical and cultural implications of this conclusion were suggested in the case of scarabs bearing names of rulers of Byblos, and scarabs found in the southern Levant.[25] Recently, however, Alexander Ilin-Tomich has argued in a forthcoming study[26] that scarabs displaying Type III features were not produced exclusively at Tell el-Dab'a. Ilin-Tomich has assembled thirty-nine scarabs displaying Type III features from collections and various sites in Egypt and Nubia, as well as two examples from the southern Levant. These include three scarabs of rulers of Byblos,[27] eight private-name scarabs,[28] four Thirteenth Dynasty royal-name scarabs: two of Sobkhotep IV (see Fig. 1:11)[29] and two of Ay,[30] seven Twelfth Dynasty royal-name scarabs, most likely

[7] Tufnell, *Studies* 2, 36-7.
[8] *Op. cit*.
[9] Mlinar, in Bietak, Czerny (eds), *Scarabs of the Second Millennium BC,* 116-22.
[10] Between the reigns of Sobkhotep III and Merneferre Ay, *c*. 1750-1680 BC.
[11] The Canaanite takeover of Tell el-Dab'a, which marks the beginning of the Second Intermediate Period, is considered to have occurred late in stratum F. See Bietak, *BASOR* 281*,* 38-40, 51; Bietak, in Oren (ed.), *The Hyksos,* 108-9; Ben-Tor, in Bietak, Czerny (eds), *Scarabs of the Second Millennium BC,* 28.
[12] Bietak, in Oren (ed.), *The Hyksos,* 125-8; Bietak *et al*., *Ä&L* 18, 49-52, 59; Bietak, in Shortland, Bronk Ramsey (eds), *Radiocarbon and Chronologies*. For support of the excavators dating of strata G-F to the Thirteenth Dynasty and arguments against the high chronology based on carbon dating (Höflmayer *et al*., *BASOR* 375), see Ben-Tor, *BASOR* 379, and the forthcoming study of Ilin-Tomich (see n. 26 below) who presents credible arguments based on scarabs.
[13] Stratum E3 was dated between *c*. 1680 and 1650 BC.
[14] Strata E2-E1 were dated between *c*. 1650 and 1590 BC.
[15] Mlinar, in Bietak, Czerny (eds), *Scarabs of the Second Millennium BC,* fig. 15.
[16] *Op. cit*., fig. 4: 1-4, 6, 8, figs 5:1-2, 4, 6a:1-6, 8-10, 6b:11-13, 15-16.
[17] *Op. cit*., fig. 6b:14.
[18] *Op. cit*., figs 4:5, 5:2.
[19] *Op. cit*., figs 4:7, 6a:7.
[20] *Op. cit*., fig. 8:4, 5, 7.
[21] E.g. the branch, the Canaanite version of the Hathor symbol, and the figure standing beside a column of signs.
[22] Mlinar, in Bietak, Czerny (eds), *Scarabs of the Second Millennium BC*, 114.
[23] *Op. cit*., 133.
[24] See e.g. Ben-Tor, *Scarabs, Chronology, and Interconnections,* 68-9; Ben-Tor, in Levy, Kletter (eds), *Rishon le-Zion,* 579-80, no. 55; Keel, *Corpus, Katalog* V, 50-1, no. 42.
[25] Ben-Tor, in Bickel *et al*. (eds), *Bilder als Quellen*, 180-5; Ben-Tor, *'Atiqot* 68.
[26] Ilin-Tomich, *Egyptian Name Scarabs*. I am most grateful to Alexander Ilin-Tomich for sending me the final version of his comprehensive study, and for his permission to refer to it.
[27] From unknown provenance. Two were published in Ben-Tor, in Bickel *et al*. (eds), *Bilder als Quellen*, 180-5. and one is discussed in Ben-Tor, *BES* 20.
[28] One from Abydos (Cairo JE 45371), one from Lisht (MMA 22.1.347), and six from unknown provenance.
[29] Jerusalem IMJ 76.31.2202; Tufnell, *Studies* 2, pl. LIV/3131.
[30] Moscow 2224, Berlin 32718.

reissues: two of Senwosret II,[31] three of Senwosret III,[32] two of Amenemhat III,[33] and twenty-two design scarabs.[34] Most of these scarabs come from museum collections, while single items were found at Hu, Gurob, Tel Rataba, and Ukma, two were found at Abydos and at Sai island, and twelve were found at Lisht.[35] He also notes 12 examples displaying side e6, which include two royal-name scarabs of Senwosret III[36] and one of Amenemhat III,[37] two private-name scarabs[38] and seven design scarabs.[39] In view of these scarabs Ilin-Tomich has suggested that scarabs displaying Type III features were not produced exclusively at Tell el-Dabʿa, but most likely also in the northern residence based on the items found at Lisht, and while considering three of the private-name examples as representing southern officials,[40] he argues for their likely production in the south, probably at Thebes. Ilin-Tomich does not limit the conclusion of coexisting late Middle Kingdom scarab workshops to Type III scarabs, and suggests a similar scenario for other types of scarabs of this period.

This conclusion is however challenged by evidence advocating the central production and distribution of late Middle Kingdom scarabs, which is expressed first and foremost in the thousands of seal impressions from late Middle Kingdom administrative centers all through Egypt and Lower Nubia. The seal impressions attest to the use of the same types of design and private-name scarabs throughout the Nile valley, reflecting a potent central administration with no indication for regional variations.[41] The standardized sealing system revealed by the seal impressions strongly argues for the central production and distribution of the scarabs, most likely from the residence Itjtawy. It has been shown that scarabs bearing the same base designs and private names as those found on the seal impressions, display characteristic features which point to their production in the same workshop.[42] There is in fact no evidence at any period of scarab production for the concurrent manufacture of identical scarab types at different workshops. Ilin-Tomich acknowledges the common traits of late Middle Kingdom type scarabs, yet he argues that certain minute sculptural features can suggest different workshops. Minor variations in sculptural features are however more likely related to the production process of steatite scarabs, which were individually carved by hand and therefore variations in detail are to be expected. These variations may also reflect chronological differences or trends, yet characteristic traits of individual workshops can often be distinguished, e.g. in the case of Theban scarab workshops of the early Middle Kingdom and the early Eighteenth Dynasty,[43] and it was also argued for most scarabs of the late Middle Kingdom.[44] Moreover, clear correspondence in features between royal-name and design scarabs of the same period strongly argues for their production in the same workshop. This is apparent in the case of scarabs of the early Eighteenth Dynasty,[45] and particular scarabs of the Nineteenth Dynasty.[46] It was also shown in the case of the so-called 'Sobkhotep group' scarabs of the Thirteenth Dynasty, which include also private-name scarabs.[47]

As for Types II and III scarabs, Mlinar has pointed out matching geometric designs, which argue not only for a single workshop but most likely also for the same seal cutter.[48] Comparable designs on Type II and III scarabs appear also with atypical motifs like the standing human figure next to a column of signs (see Fig. 1:2),[49] and par-

[31] BM EA 28746 (Tufnell, *Studies* 2, pl. LII/3033); Lachish (Tufnell, *Lachish IV*, pls 30-31/63; see appendix below, cat. no. 4).

[32] MMA 30.8.448 (Tufnell, *Studies* 2, pl. LII/3051), MMA 30.8.449 (Tufnell, *Studies* 2, pl. LII/3052), Tufnell, *Studies* 2, pl. LII/3049. For an additional example from Ashkelon see appendix below, cat. no. 16.

[33] Loffet, *AHL* 42-3, 118, no. 4; Andreu, in Vila, *Le Cimetière Kermaïque d'Ukma Ouest,* 41.

[34] Those found at sites in Egypt include one scarab from Abydos (Garstang excavations, unpublished), one from Hu (Bristol Museum, unpublished), one from Gurob (Glasgow museum, unpublished), and eleven from Lisht MMA 09.180.1061, MMA 09.180.1078, MMA 20.1.34, MMA 20.1.35, MMA 20.1.106, MMA 22.1.348, MMA 22.1.353, MMA 22.1.384, MMA 22.1.404, MMA 22.1.408, 22.1.1279.

[35] These scarabs are presented with bibliography in Ilin-Tomich, *Egyptian Name Scarabs*, Table 51.

[36] BM EA 37652, Tufnell, *Studies* 2, pl. LII/3056.

[37] BM EA 54682 from Abydos.

[38] MFA 24.1515 from Semna, Geneva 27524 from Kerma.

[39] One from Buhen (Smith, *The Fortress of Buhen*, 24, pl. 9); three from Lahun (Kemp, Merrillees, *Minoan Pottery*, 100, fig. 19), UC 27908, UC 27925, and three from Lisht, MMA 20.1.126, MMA 22.1.359, MMA 22.1.387.

[40] These include a scarab in Basel (Hornung, Stahelin, *Skarabäen aus Basler Sammlungen,* no. 552, *nbt pr ddw mwt mꜣʿt ḫrw*), and two scarabs in Berlin, nos 32673 (*ḥry n tm ḏꜣf nb imꜣḫ*) and 34414 (*ꜣẖw n tt ḥkꜣ mntw-m-ḥꜣt*).

[41] Ben-Tor, *Scarabs, Chronology, and Interconnections,* 5-9.

[42] Ben-Tor, *Scarabs, Chronology, and Interconnections,* 36-41.

[43] Ben-Tor, *BES* 19.

[44] Ben-Tor, *Scarabs, Chronology, and Interconnections,* 36-41.

[45] Ben-Tor, *BES* 19; Ben-Tor, in Lilyquist, *Excavations at Thebes*.

[46] E.g. Ben-Tor, *The Scarab*, 74-5, nos 8-9, 18, 24, 26; Giveon, *Egyptian Scarabs from Western Asia,* 28-31, nos 19, 21, 25, 26; 34-5, nos 36-3; 36-7, no. 42; Ben-Tor, *ÄL* 27, 212-14.

[47] Ben-Tor, *Scarabs, Chronology, and Interconnections,* 38-41.

[48] Mlinar, in Bietak, Czerny (eds), *Scarabs of the Second Millennium BC,* 113, 120, fig. 7.

[49] *Op. cit*., figs 4:7, 6a:7.

ticular hunting scenes (see Fig. 1:1, 3),[50]which are not attested on standard late Middle Kingdom scarabs. As noted above, the human figure in combination with a column of signs strongly argues for the influence of the foreign population at Tell el-Dabʿa, and this is also true for the branch appearing on two of the examples displaying hunting scenes (see Fig. 1:1, 3).[51] The design correspondence between Types II and III scarabs supports their production concurrently in the same workshop, and the apparent foreign influence on some of the designs makes Tell el-Dabʿa their most likely place of production.

The large number of design and private-name scarabs displaying standard late Middle Kingdom characteristics compared with the minute corpus displaying Types II and III traits indicate the production of the latter in a marginal/peripheral workshop, albeit with close contact to the central workshop in the residence. Type II scarabs are extremely rare outside Tell el-Dabʿa, with nine examples known from the northern Levant,[52] and two from the southern Levant.[53] No examples are known outside Tell el-Dabʿa in Egypt or Nubia. As for Type III scarabs, Lisht is the only site in Egypt where more than one or two items were found, but it does not necessarily indicate their production at that site, and more likely reflects trade with Tell el-Dabʿa. This is supported by the absence of Type II scarabs at Lisht, in view of the evidence suggesting the concurrent production of types II and III in the same workshop. It is also supported by Type III scarabs displaying the Canaanite version of the Hathor symbol, one found at Tell el-Dabʿa (see Fig. 1:5)[54] and one found at Lisht (see Fig. 1:12),[55] the latter in all likelihood imported from Tell el-Dabʿa considering the highly unlikely production of a scarab bearing this design at Lisht.

Of special interest are the three *rdi-rʿ* type scarabs found at Tell el-Dabʿa,[56] and the six scarabs of this type found at Lisht,[57] all displaying Type III characteristics (see Fig. 1:9-10, 13).[58] The so-called *rdi-rʿ* type consists primarily of small steatite scarabs or occasionally hedgehog design amulets bearing the name of the god Re, or possibly the phrase *rdi-rʿ* 'Given by Re' which accounts for the name of this group.[59] Although scarabs of this category often come from Second Intermediate Period or unclear contexts, the late Middle Kingdom origin of this type is indicated by examples from Lahun, Harageh, the courtyard cemetery at Tell el-ʿAjjul,[60] and the example from stratum F at Tell el-Dabʿa.[61] One of the Tell el-Dabʿa scarabs of this type displays a pseudo hieroglyph replacing the sun disk (see Fig. 1:9),[62] implying influence of the foreign population at the site. In view of this scarab, and of the early *rdi-rʿ* examples displaying Type III characteristics, the *rdi-rʿ* type may have originated at Tell el-Dabʿa. This is of special interest considering the likely inspiration of the *rdi-rʿ* type on the *ʿnrᶜ* formula first appearing on early Canaanite scarabs.[63] Another possible inspiration of Type III scarabs on early Canaanite scarabs is implied by the stylistic profile of one of the earliest group of Canaanite scarabs produced in the southern Levant, the so-called B2-head group displaying the hourglass-shaped B2 head and e9 profile.[64] The resemblance between Type III and B2-head scarabs accounts for the confusion concerning a Type III scarab from Taʿanach bearing the throne name of Senwosret III,[65] which was mistakenly assigned to the Canaanite B2-head group.[66]

[50] *Op. cit*., figs 4:5, 5:3, 8:9.
[51] *Op. cit.*, figs 4:5, 5:3.
[52] From Ugarit, Byblos, Beirut, Ruweise and Sidon. I am most grateful to Vanessa Boschloos for this information.
[53] See appendix below, cat. nos 1, 2.
[54] Mlinar, in Bietak, Czerny (eds), *Scarabs of the Second Millennium BC,* fig. 6b:14.
[55] MMA 22.1.408. I am grateful to Diana Craig Patch for her permission to use the photographs of this scarab and of the *rdi-rᶜ* scarab (MMA 20.1.34) from the museum website. See appendix below, cat. no. 13 for an example from the southern Levant.
[56] Mlinar, in Bietak, Czerny (eds), *Scarabs of the Second Millennium BC*, fig. 8:3, 5, 8.
[57] MMA 20.1.34, MMA 20.1.35. The other four (MMA 09.180.1049-MMA 09.180.1052) were deaccessioned in the 1950s and are no longer part of the MMA collection, but they will be included in the forthcoming publication of the Lisht scarabs and sealings by G.T. Martin. I am most grateful to Vanessa Boschloos for the information concerning these scarabs.
[58] *rdi-rᶜ* scarabs displaying Type III features were also found in the southern Levant, one at Tell el-ʿAjjul (Keel, *Corpus, Katalog* I, 266-7, no. 483; See appendix below, cat. no. 3), and one at Tell el-Farʿah (N) (Keel, *Corpus, Katalog* III, 20-1, no. 43; See appendix below, cat. no. 25).
[59] Ben-Tor, in Bietak, Czerny (eds), *Scarabs of the Second Millennium BC*, 33-4, fig. 3.
[60] Ben-Tor, *Scarabs, Chronology, and Interconnections,* 21, pl. 12:1-4; Keeel, *Corpus, Katalog* III, 20-1, no. 43. See also Ben-Tor, *Scarabs, Chronology, and Interconnections,* 118. *rdi-rᶜ* type scarabs produced during the Second Intermediate Period are often larger and are made of faience (Ben-Tor, in Bietak, Czerny (eds), *Scarabs of the Second Millennium BC*, 33-4; Ben-Tor, *Scarabs, Chronology, and Interconnections,* 84-5.
[61] Mlinar, in Bietak, Czerny (eds), *Scarabs of the Second Millennium BC*, fig. 8:3.
[62] *Op. cit*., fig. 8:5.
[63] Ben-Tor, *Scarabs, Chronology, and Interconnections,* 20-1; Ben-Tor, in Andrássy *et al*. (eds), *Non-Textual Marking Systems,* 86.
[64] Keel, in Bietak, Czerny (eds), *Scarabs of the Second Millennium BC*, 81-93; Ben-Tor, *Scarabs, Chronology, and Interconnections,* 151, pls 64-7.
[65] See appendix below, cat. no. 11.
[66] Keel, in Bietak, Czerny (eds), *Scarabs of the Second Millennium BC*, 85-6, fig. 48, n. 117.

B2-head type scarabs manifest the beginning of mass production of scarabs in the southern Levant. They were found in early MBIIB archaeological contexts corresponding to late stratum F and stratum E3 at Tell el-Dabʿa, which are dated to the beginning of the Second Intermediate Period between *c*. 1700 and 1650 BC.[67] The initial mass production of scarabs in Palestine marks the launching of commercial and cultural contacts with Egypt, after a millennium of minimal interaction between the two regions when Egypt's commercial interests focused on the northern Levant.[68] It has been suggested that this political development, which occurred after a large Canaanite population had settled at Tell el-Dabʿa, was triggered by the commercial and cultural interaction between kinfolks at Tell el-Dabʿa and Palestine.[69] This is supported by the concurrence of the initial large-scale use and mass production of scarabs in Palestine with the Canaanite takeover of Tell el-Dabʿa.[70] The impact of Tell el-Dabʿa on the early contacts with the southern Levant is suggested also by the few scarabs found in Palestine in late MBIIA contexts corresponding to the final phase of the Middle Kingdom. Only six scarabs were found in these circumstances,[71] three of them displaying Type III characteristics: two from Tel Burga showing typical late Middle Kingdom designs,[72] and the *rdi-r*ʿ scarab from the courtyard cemetery at Tell el-ʿAjjul.[73]

The late Middle Kingdom date of production of most, and possibly the lot of Type III scarabs is suggested by their distribution at Tell el-Dabʿa between strata G and E3, with most examples coming from strata G and F. This date is supported by the late Middle Kingdom private name scarabs and royal-name scarabs of Sobkhotep IV and Ay[74] featuring characteristics of this group, and by the scarabs of rulers of Byblos showing Type III traits, which date from the same period.[75] It is further supported by the typical late Middle Kingdom designs decorating the greater part of Type III scarabs. As argued elsewhere,[76] the standing of Tell el-Dabʿa as a major trading port with the northern Levant during this period,[77] when the primary Levantine trading port was Byblos, could explain the production of scarabs made for the rulers of Byblos at Tell el-Dabʿa. The importance of Tell el-Dabʿa as a major trading center with the Levant in the late Middle Kingdom was also associated with the initial occurrence of Canaanite imports at Lisht in Thirteenth Dynasty contexts, which attest to close commercial contacts between the residence and Tell el-Dabʿa at that time.[78] These contacts are most likely also reflected by the Type III scarabs found at Lisht. The isolated Type III scarabs from other sites in Egypt, and the small number of examples from museum collections compared with the number of traditional Middle Kingdom type scarabs support their production in a peripheral workshop. The production of Type III scarabs at different workshops as proposed by Ilin-Tomich is contested by the small number of examples displaying characteristics of this group, and by the lack of evidence at any period for the parallel production of identical scarab types at different workshops.

The contemporaneity of the so-called Sobkhotep group kings[79] with the time of production of Type III scarabs[80] accounts for the royal-name scarabs of Sobkhotep IV and Ay, whose names appear also on many scarabs displaying typical Sobkhotep group features.[81] There is however no evidence to clarify whether the absence of other Sobkhotep group kings on Type III scarabs relates to accident of survival or has other rea-

[67] Bietak *et al*., *Ä&L* 18, 52.

[68] Weinstein, *BASOR* 213; Weinstein, *BASOR* 217; Ben-Tor, in Bietak (ed.), *The Synchronisation of Civilisations*, vol. II, 242-3; Ben-Tor, in Bietak, Czerny (eds), *Scarabs of the Second Millennium BC*, 29; Ben-Tor, in Bickel *et al*. (eds), *Bilder als Quellen*; Ben-Tor, in Bietak, Prell (eds), *The Enigma of the Hyksos* IV; Ben-Tor, *BES* 20.

[69] Ben-Tor, *IEJ* 47, 11; Ben-Tor, in Bietak (ed.), *The Synchronisation of Civilisations*, vol. II, 245-6; Ben-Tor, *Scarabs, Chronology, and Interconnections,* 186; Ben-Tor, *JAEI* 1/1, 3; Ben-Tor, *Pharaoh in Canaan*, 32–33; Ben-Tor, Bell, in Stager *et al*., *Ashkelon* 6, 337-9.

[70] Ben-Tor, in Bietak (ed.), *The Synchronisation of Civilisations*, vol. II, 246; Ben-Tor, in Bietak, Czerny (eds), *Scarabs of the Second Millennium BC*, 29.

[71] Including only two scarabs from Aphek, two from the courtyard cemetery at Tell el-ʿAjjul and two from Tel Burga. See Ben-Tor, *Scarabs, Chronology, and Interconnections* 118; Ben-Tor, ʿ*Atiqot* 68.

[72] Ben-Tor, ʿ*Atiqot* 68. See appendix below, cat. nos 8-9.

[73] Keel, *Corpus, Katalog* I, 266-7, no. 483. See appendix below, cat. no. 3.

[74] Dated between *c*. 1750 and 1680 BC. Ryholt, *The Political Situation in Egypt*, 197, Table 36.

[75] Ben-Tor, in Bickel *et al*. (eds), *Bilder als Quellen*, 181-5. The late Middle Kingdom date of the scarabs of rulers of Byblos is also suggested in the forthcoming paper of Ilin-Tomich.

[76] Ben-Tor, in Bickel *et al*. (eds), *Bilder als Quellen*, 184-5.

[77] Aston, in Bietak (ed.), *The Middle Bronze Age in the Levant*, 55-7.

[78] Arnold *et al*., *Ä&L* 5, 30; Aston, in Bietak (ed.), *The Middle Bronze Age in the Levant*, 56.

[79] The Thirteenth Dynasty kings from Sobkhotep III to Ay. See Ward, in Tufnell, *Studies* 2, 156-8; Ben-Tor, *Scarabs, Chronology, and Interconnections*, 38-9.

[80] For the dates suggested for the Sobkhotep group kings between *c*. 1750 and 1680 BC see Ryholt, *The Political Situation in Egypt*, 197, Table 36. For the same dates assigned for Tell el-Dabʿa strata G/1-3 – F see Bietak, in Marée (ed.), *The Second Intermediate Period*, 140, fig. 1.

[81] Tufnell, *Studies* 2, pls 54-6.

sons. Also, the motivation for the production of the few Type III private-name scarabs is unclear. The possible southern origin suggested by Ilin-Tomich for three examples[82] is tentative, and even if correct, it does not indicate the production of the scarabs in Upper Egypt. Private-name scarabs displaying typical Sobkhotep group features, which form by far the largest corpus of late Middle Kingdom private-name scarabs,[83] bear names of officials acting throughout Egypt and Lower Nubia, reflecting the strong Middle Kingdom central administration. This can be shown e.g. in the case of the treasurer Senebsumai, whose scarabs generally display Sobkhotep group features,[84] and whose sealings were found in south Abydos[85] and in the Egyptian fort of Mirgissa in lower Nubia.[86] What motivated the production of particular Type III royal-name and private-name scarabs during this period is unknown. Nevertheless, if these scarabs were produced at Tell el-Dab‘a as implied by the evidence presented above, they reflect the prominence of the site as Egypt’s major trading port with the Levant during this period, which accounts for the interaction and reciprocal cultural influence with the Middle Kingdom residence on the one hand, and with the northern and southern Levant on the other.

Scarabs in the Southern Levant from a Late Middle Kingdom Workshop at Tell el-Dab‘a

James M. Weinstein

This paper originated in a daylong discussion the author had with Vanessa Boschloos and Daphna Ben-Tor at the Metropolitan Museum of Art on 16.05.2018 regarding late Middle Kingdom scarabs in Palestine that may have originated at Tell el-Dab‘a. The author subsequently distributed a preliminary draft of the current paper to them. Their constructive comments and criticisms on the draft, as well as responses to my numerous follow-up questions, have been of great assistance in the preparation of this catalogue.

In 2004 Christa Mlinar identified a series of scarab workshops at Tell el-Dab‘a that were active in the late Middle Kingdom and Second Intermediate Period. She organized the output of these ateliers into six major groupings, which she categorized as ‘Types’ I-VI (each type having as many as three subtypes – tagged a, b and c).[87] The material of which all six major types were composed was invariably steatite. Type I scarabs (labeled ‘The Egyptian Group of the Late Middle Kingdom’) appear in three subtypes and are limited in appearance to Strata G/1-3 and F – *i.e.*, levels contemporary with the late Middle Bronze IIA (MB IIA) and transitional MB IIA/B periods in Palestine, respectively. However, while Type I scarabs reflect late Middle Kingdom Egyptian production in all major respects (head, back and side types, and decoration on the base), they show such wide geographical distribution in Egypt and Nubia that it is not possible to attribute individual specimens to a workshop at Tell el-Dab‘a. Moreover, scarabs of this type found in the southern Levant exhibit no features that permit us to differentiate them from ordinary late Middle Kingdom scarabs that might have originated elsewhere in the Nile valley.[88] Hence, Type I scarabs are excluded from this Appendix. As for Mlinar’s Type IV-VI scarabs, they date to the time of the Fifteenth Dynasty and bear no relationship to late Middle Kingdom or early Second Intermediate Period Egyptian-Palestinian relations, so they, too, are omitted.

The focus of this contribution is thus limited to Mlinar’s Type II and III scarabs (each having subtypes a and b)

[82] Hornung, Stahelin, *Skarabäen aus Basler Sammlungen,* no. 552, Berlin 32673, Berlin 34414. See note 40.
[83] Classified by Martin as back type 6 (Martin, *Egyptian Administrative and Private-Name Seals*, 5, pl. 53).
[84] *Op. cit.*,117, categorized as back type 6.
[85] Wegner, *The Mortuary Temple*, fig. 154 (16-17).
[86] Gratien, *Mirgissa V*, nos 3-66, 3-67, 3-90.

[87] Mlinar, in Bietak, Czerny (eds), *Scarabs of the Second Millennium BC*. Mlinar’s research on the scarab workshops at Tell el-Dab‘a first appeared as part of her University of Vienna Ph.D. dissertation, *Die Skarabäen von Tell el-Dab‘a*. A summary of Mlinar’s ‘types’ is also available in Ben-Tor, *Scarabs, Chronology, and Interconnections*, 68-70.
[88] E.g., Mlinar, in Bietak, Czerny (eds), *Scarabs of the Second Millennium BC*, 109, *cf*. fig. 1.2; Mlinar interprets the impression on a fragmentary box sealing from the moat deposit at Ashkelon as having been made by a Type Ia scarab that likely came from Tell el-Dab‘a (Mlinar, *AHL* 29, 25, fig. 10.2). See also Stager, Voss, in Stager, Schloen, Voss, *Ashkelon 6*, figs 3.1:13 and 3.1:9 which imply a connection between the Ashkelon sealing and a Tell el-Dab‘a scarab. Fragments of four additional Ashkelon box sealings made by the same scarab as the first one are now known – three of the four from the same secondary context as the first sealing. The symmetrically organized signs on the five sealings form a typical late Middle Kingdom *Neferzeichen* pattern that has nothing distinctive of a Tell el-Dab‘a design. A discussion of whether the sealings, made of local clay, reflect the presence of Egyptians resident at Ashkelon (as Stager advocates), or local Canaanites imitating Egyptian practices (as Ben-Tor so believes), is beyond the scope of this paper. Mlinar, in Bietak, Czerny (eds), *Scarabs of the Second Millennium BC*, 109, n. 21 also cites a design scarab from Jericho Tomb D6 (Kirkbride, in Kenyon, *Excavations at Jericho*. vol. II, fig. 283.17) as belonging to her Type Ib group. Ben-Tor *(Scarabs, Chronology, and Interconnections*, 124) and Keel (*Corpus*, *Katalog* V, 116-17, no. 200) have pointed out that this scarab has early MB IIB parallels and is a local Canaanite product.

in Palestine. The reader should consult the first section of this paper, by Daphna Ben-Tor, '*Was there a Scarab Workshop at Tell el-Dab'a in the Late Middle Kingdom?*', for descriptions and illustrations of the main features of these seal-amulet types. The timespan for their production likely extended from the late Middle Kingdom into the early Second Intermediate Period, as evidenced by the continuing appearance of Type III scarabs in Levels E/3 and E/2 at Tell el-Dab'a as well as in MB IIB contexts in the southern Levant. In addition, based on the mixture of Egyptian and Canaanite decorative elements on the base of many of these scarabs, it is reasonable to think that most Type II and III seal-amulets in Palestine originated in the mixed Asiatic-Egyptian community at Tell el-Dab'a while allowing for the likelihood that some are Canaanite imitations or derivatives (the scarabs most likely to be imitations are identified as such in the footnotes of this catalogue). While it is possible that there was more than one scarab workshop at Tell el-Dab'a during the course of the late nineteenth, eighteenth and early seventeenth centuries BC, the differences we see in the subject matter and quality of workmanship on individual pieces may simply reflect the presence of seal-carvers possessing unequal skills or having different artistic interests during the life of a single workshop (see, e.g., the discussion below for cat. no. 24, from 'Ain es-Samiyeh). As for the view expressed by Alexander Ilin-Tomich in his forthcoming study of Twelfth to Fifteenth Dynasty royal-name and private name-and-title scarabs that Type III scarabs were manufactured at multiple sites in Egypt and not just at Tell el-Dab'a, Ben-Tor contests that claim in her paper.[89] This Appendix comes down on the side of Ben-Tor for the bulk of the Type III scarabs in Palestine, while remaining agnostic on the question of whether certain pieces, such as the Type III royal-name scarabs – which have been discovered in Palestine but not at Tell el-Dab'a – might come from more than one place in Egypt. In any event, the paper accepts on typological and chronological grounds the primacy of Tell el-Dab'a as the place of production for the Type II and III design scarabs discovered in Palestine.[90]

Since there are very few Type II seal-amulets in Palestine, the Appendix necessarily concentrates on the Type III scarabs. Type IIIa scarabs appear at Tell el-Dab'a primarily in tombs of Strata G/1-3 and F (twelve examples), with a small number (four) occurring thereafter in Strata E/3 to E/1.[91] Mlinar's data suggest that Type IIIb scarabs overlap temporally with the later occurrences of Type IIIa scarabs: the former first occur in Stratum F (three specimens), with four in E/3 and one in E/2. Strata E/3 and E/2 are roughly contemporaneous with the first half of MB IIB in Palestine, so it is logical that most Type IIIb scarabs in the southern Levant come from MB IIB contexts. It may be that the few Type III scarabs found in Stratum E/2 and later levels are heirlooms (as, too, some of the scarabs found in late MB IIB and MB IIC contexts in Palestine). Since the number of Type III specimens in Mlinar's database is so small, however, future discoveries may demonstrate that Type IIIa and IIIb seal-amulets were manufactured at Tell el-Dab'a at the same time during the late Middle Kingdom and early Second Intermediate Period.[92] Ilin-Tomich has shown that Mlinar's claim that Type III scarabs are '*limited to Tell el-Dab'a alone*' is untrue[93]: they are found elsewhere in Egypt as well as in Nubia. However, they appear in considerably larger quantities at Tell el-Dab'a than anywhere else. They also appear in larger quantities in the northern Levant than in the southern Levant,[94] some-

[89] See Ilin-Tomich, *Egyptian Name Scarabs*, for arguments in favor of a non-Tell el-Dab'a origin for some Type III scarabs, and Daphna Ben-Tor's rejection of that view in her article in this volume. Ilin-Tomich does not discuss Type II scarabs at all, nor any of the Type III design scarabs found in Palestine.

[90] Ilin-Tomich does not investigate the Type II and III scarabs found in the southern Levant in his study – other than the two Type III royal-name scarabs at Lachish and Beth Shemesh.

[91] Mlinar, in Bietak, Czerny (eds), *Scarabs of the Second Millennium BC*, fig. 15. A scarab from Stratum d/1 (=G/4) that we might have expected Mlinar to designate as her seventeenth Type IIIa specimen (Mlinar, *Die Skarabäen von Tell el-Dab'a*, no. 21=Schiestl, *Tell el-Dab'a XVIII*, fig. 394.2, pl. 15.b) has a B4 head and 0 back and differs from standard Type IIIa pieces only in having notches on its front and hind legs, not front and mid legs. A scarab with front and hind legs similarly notched, and additionally possessing herringbone notching on the mid legs, is identified as belonging to Type IIIa (Mlinar, in Bietak, Czerny (eds), *Scarabs of the Second Millennium BC*, figs 6a.8, 7.3), so it is not clear why Mlinar left the Stratum d/1 seal-amulet out of this category. A scarab from Tomb 5 at Jericho, our cat. no. 5, appears to have notches on the front, mid and hind legs.

[92] Inasmuch as Mlinar compiled her corpus some two decades ago, her relative and absolute figures for the various types may now be outdated, so we should not overemphasize the significance of her numbers.

[93] Mlinar, in Bietak, Czerny (eds), *Scarabs of the Second Millennium BC*, 133.

[94] Vanessa Boschloos personal communication 28.03.2019; also, Boschloos personal communication to Daphna Ben-Tor 01.06.2021. Inasmuch as Boschloos includes among her (unpublished) corpus of Type III scarabs from the northern Levant, items that have e6/d14, d6, d8 and d9 sides (Boschloos comments on author's preliminary draft, personal communication 14.10.2019 – whereas the current author does not include scarabs with sides other than e9 and possibly e8 and e10 among his Type III imports, it is unclear how great a difference there is in the number of Type III scarabs found in the northern Levant vs. Palestine). See Mlinar, in Bietak,

thing to be expected considering that Egypt's principal connections to the Levant in the Middle Kingdom and late Middle Kingdom were with sites along the Syrian coast, not in Palestine.

The map published in Fig. 2a–b shows the geographical distribution of Type II and III scarabs in Palestine. The map makes plain that the number of Type II scarabs differs markedly from that of Type III. Type II scarabs are but two in number: a single Type IIa specimen, from Jericho (cat. no. 1), and one Type IIb scarab, from Blakhiya in Gaza (cat. no. 2). By contrast, the number of Type IIIa and IIIb specimens is slightly more than two dozen. Sharp photographs and/or precise drawings were not available for every seal-amulet presented in this study (the worldwide Covid-19 pandemic in 2020 and 2021 having limited access to multiple archaeological resources), so in some cases it was not possible to determine with certainty whether an individual specimen is a genuine import or a local imitation.[95] At the moment, what we can say is that in the southern Levant Type IIIa and IIIb scarabs that are more likely than not to be imports are attested in equal numbers: thirteen of Type IIIa (cat. nos 3-13, plus two unpublished specimens at Tel Megadim[96]) and thirteen of Type IIIb (cat. nos 14-26). By contrast, in Mlinar's 2004 publication, the number of scarabs at Tell el-Dab‘a which that author attributed to Type IIa was eight, versus only two of Type IIb, while Type IIIa scarabs were double those of Type IIIb (sixteen versus eight).[97] Of course, in cases like this, where we are dealing with such small datasets at both Tell el-Dab‘a and in Palestine, the relative production figures for the various types may have been quite different in actuality from what the current evidence indicates. In addition, the division of Type III scarabs into subtypes IIIa and IIIb involves typological differences of no apparent geographical significance and, as already noted, possibly not even a chronological distinction, at least as far as Palestine is concerned.

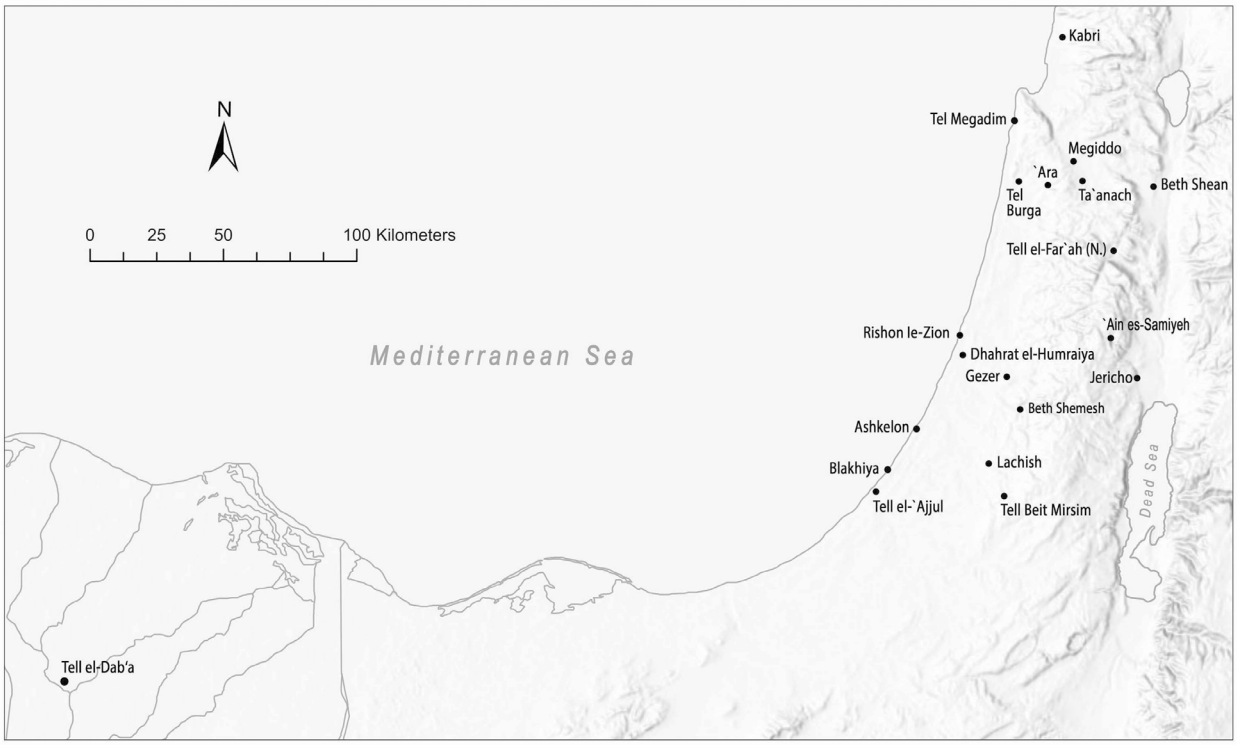
Most of the Type III scarabs in the corpus are from burials in southern and central Palestine, especially at sites on or near the coast, along the major highway (and its offshoot routes) leading from Egypt up to Syria, as well as at Jericho in the central Jordan valley. None come from sites east of the Jordan river, and only three can be linked to the central highlands (one scarab at Tell el-Far‘ah [N.] [cat. no. 25], two reportedly from a looted cemetery at ‘Ain es-Samiyeh [cat. nos 23 and 24]). The majority were discovered in secondary context in mortuary settings of various types (cave-tombs, chamber tombs, shaft and pit tombs) that were used over multiple generations, and the skeletal remains and funerary offerings in such circumstances are often so jumbled that precise dating of a scarab's archaeological context is impossible. The initial appearance of Type II scarabs in Palestine is especially difficult to date since, as noted above, no more than two specimens of this type-group have thus far been documented, and while the Type IIa example comes from an intact, probably early MB IIB, tomb (cat. no. 1), the Type IIb scarab is an heirloom in its Roman-period context (cat. no. 2). Our best chronological evidence relates to the first arrival of Type IIIa scarabs. Several seal-amulets in this category appear in pre-MB IIB contexts: a scarab from Tomb 303B at Tell el-‘Ajjul (cat. no. 3), two scarabs from a cist tomb at Tel Burga (cat. nos 8 and 9), perhaps one scarab from a burial in Tomb A8 at Rishon le-Zion (cat. no. 6) and one or possibly two (unpublished) scarabs from tombs

Czerny (eds), *Scarabs of the Second Millennium BC*, fig. 6a.8 for the e6/d14 side on one of her Type IIIa scarabs, and n. 184, below.

[95] Over the years schematized drawings and generalized typologies of seal-amulets have appeared in many field reports, monographs and catalogues, rendering them virtually useless for precise typological analysis. Other challenges derive from a lack of clear photographs to verify the accuracy of the published drawings, and no illustrations (either drawings or photographs) at all of the sides or, in some cases, even the backs, of some individual pieces. Photographs are almost always more useful than drawings for typing scarabs, as shown by the fact that several published scarab drawings consulted for this paper proved to be inaccurate. Finally, over the years three of the items included in the catalogue – cat. nos 3 (Tell el-‘Ajjul), 19 (Gezer) and 25 (Tell el-Far‘ah [N.]) – have disappeared (in the case of the scarab from Tell el-‘Ajjul, the original negatives of the black-and-white photographs taken by Othmar Keel in the 1990s were still available and made it possible to correctly describe this specimen).

[96] The author thanks Baruch Brandl (personal communication 13.08.2019) and Sam Wolff (personal communications 18.08.2019 and 20.08.2019) for bringing these two Type IIIa design scarabs from mortuary contexts at Tel Megadim to his attention. The first scarab comes from Locus 1123, a stratigraphically earlier phase in a large, disturbed multigenerational MB II masonry chamber tomb (Tomb 1083); the other seal-amulet comes from the single-burial MB IIA Tomb 1178. The symmetric design with a central coil on the base of the former may be compared to the motif on a Type IIIa scarab at Tell el-Dab‘a published by Mlinar, in Bietak, Czerny (eds), *Scarabs of the Second Millennium BC*, fig. 6a.1. The design on the base of the second scarab can be compared to that on a Type IIIb *rdi-r‘* scarab published by Mlinar, in Bietak, Czerny (eds), *Scarabs of the Second Millennium BC*, fig. 8.3. For a brief summary of the Middle Bronze Age tombs, including Tomb 1083 (not cited by number), discovered at Tel Megadim during a salvage excavation in 1994, see Wolff, in Stern (ed.), *New Encyclopedia of Archaeological Excavations in the Holy Land*, vol. V, 1943.

[97] Mlinar, in Bietak, Czerny (eds), *Scarabs of the Second Millennium BC*, fig. 15.



Site	■ Type IIa	□ Type IIb	▲ Type IIIa	△ Type IIIb
ʻAin es-Samiyeh				2
ʻAra			1	
Ashkelon				2
Beth Shean				1
Beth Shemesh				1
Blakhiya		1		1
Dhahrat el-Humraiya				1
Gezer				1
Jericho	1		1	1
Kabri			1	
Lachish			1	
Megiddo			1	
Rishon le-Zion			2	1
Taʻanach			1	
Tel Burga			2	
Tel Megadim			2	
Tell Beit Mirsim				1
Tell el-ʻAjjul			1	
Tell el-Farʻah (N.)				1

Fig. 2a – Map of the southern Levant showing distribution of Tell el-Dabʻa Type II and III scarabs. Map created by Ruhama Bonfil

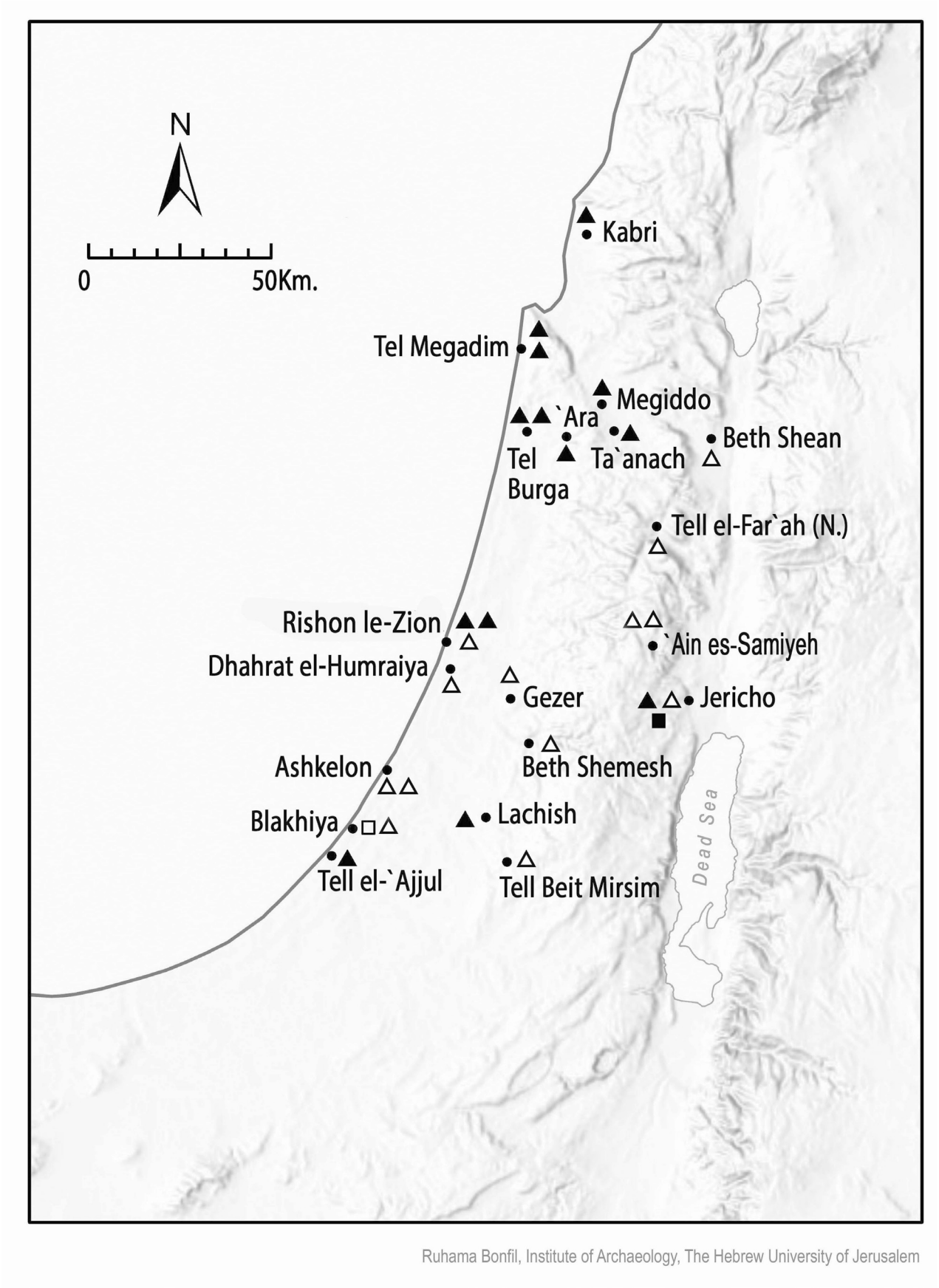


Fig. 2b – Map of the southern Levant showing distribution of Tell el-Dab‘a Type II and III scarabs. Map created by Ruhama Bonfil

at Tel Megadim (for which, see n. 96). These items constitute our primary evidence for the occurrence of Type IIIa scarabs in contexts contemporary with Tell el-Dab‘a Strata G and F. As for the earliest appearance of Type IIIb scarabs in Palestine, currently that is based on just a single seal-amulet, from an early MB IIB burial at Tell el-Far‘ah (N.) (cat. no. 25). Needless to say, the scanty evidence for the initial appearance of Type IIa, IIb and IIIb scarabs prior to MB IIB substantially hinders our ability to incorporate these scarabs into a meaningful reconstruction of Egyptian-Palestinian relations during the late Middle Kingdom and early Second Intermediate Period.

The catalogue entries in the Appendix are organized as follows: Type IIa and IIb scarabs come first, then the Type IIIa and IIIb scarabs. The Type IIIa and IIIb entries are presented in geographical order, from south to north. The museum number and/or Israel Antiquities Authority (IAA) or Palestinian Department of Antiquities (PDA) inventory number, and the excavator’s field registration number follow. The typological classification of the scarab, based on William A. Ward and Olga Tufnell’s standard typology for the head, back and side of late third- and early second-millennium BC scarabs, follows[98]; Othmar Keel’s additions to the Ward-Tufnell typology are applied where appropriate.[99] Dimensions are in millimeters in the form length × width × maximum height. Following the scarab’s size comes the mention of any surviving glaze (the moist climate of Palestine unfortunately not being conducive to the preservation of glaze). The decoration on the plinth follows the system established by Ward and Tufnell, with its twelve major design classes, many of which have numerous subdivisions (some added by Othmar Keel) – hence the occasional assignment of a scarab to more than one overall design class. Individual hieroglyphic notations that appear in parentheses in the catalogue follow the sign-list in Gardiner’s *Egyptian Grammar*. Since many of the designs on Tell el-Dab‘a Type II and III scarabs are of common types that appear in multiple publications, citations of parallels for the designs are limited as much as possible to Othmar Keel’s invaluable *Corpus der Stempelsiegel-Amulette aus Palästina/Israel von den Anfängen bis zur Perserzeit* (five volumes published to date); Ward and Tufnell’s three-volume *Studies on Scarab Seals* (Volume 3 having Ward and William G. Dever as coauthors); Daphna Ben-Tor’s *Scarabs, Chronology, and Interconnections: Egypt and Palestine in the Second Intermediate Period*; and BODO, the BIBEL+ORIENT Museum (Fribourg) online database.[100] Palestinian chronological terminology follows the traditional MB IIA, MB IIB and MB IIC labeling embraced by most scarab specialists, corresponding to the MB I, MB II and MB III designations that many Palestinian archaeologists now favor. In situations where the excavator does not recognize a separate, terminal MB IIC phase (which is the case in many Israeli publications), the paper retains the excavator’s (late) ‘MB IIB’ designation.

The comments in the catalogue emphasize the excavation, archaeological context, typology and dating of the scarabs. With some notable exceptions – a design scarab from Tombs D.641 at Jericho (cat. no. 1), Tomb 303B at Tell el-‘Ajjul (cat. no. 3) and F4 at Rishon le-Zion (cat. no. 7), the royal-name scarabs from Lachish (cat. no. 4) and Ashkelon (cat. nos 16 and 17); the scarab-ring probably displaying a royal name, from Tomb 44 at Dhahrat el-Humraiya (cat. no. 21); and the hippopotamus scarab from ‘Ain es-Samiyeh (cat. no. 24) – much of the discussion relating to the significance of the scarab types and designs is left to Daphna Ben-Tor’s contribution.

A few typological matters require preliminary comment. Type III scarabs mostly have B4 heads (following the Ward-Tufnell typing system). These have an open, hour-glass shape with fully exterior eyes (either rounded or elongated).[101] There are a few scarabs that have a B3 head, which has the same basic shape but exterior eyes that open slightly to the head. Head-types B3 and B4 look so similar that it can be difficult to distinguish one from the other (especially if close-up photographs of the head area are not available), and it is not unknown for one authority to describe a scarab as having a B3 head, while another says it has a B4 head, or even for the same scholar to label a scarab’s head as B3 in one publication, and B4 in another.[102] Most Type III scarabs

[98] Ward, *Studies* 1; Tufnell, *Studies* 2; Ward, Dever, *Studies* 3.
[99] Keel, *Corpus, Einleitung*, 158-62, §§ 423-4; Eggler, Keel, *Corpus der Siegel-Amulette aus Jordanien*, fig. 1, and Keel *Corpus, Katalog* V, fig. 1.

[100] Keel, *Corpus, Katalog* I-V, covering all scarabs, except those that are plain, from sites whose names start with the letters *A-K* (available in print, as well as online via Zurich Open Access, https://www.zora.uzh.ch/); Ward, *Studies* 1; Tufnell, *Studies* 2; Ward, Dever, *Studies* 3; Ben-Tor *Scarabs, Chronology, and Interconnections*; and BODO, the BIBEL +ORIENT Datenbank online, <http://www.bible-orient-museum.ch/bodo/>, accessed 02.06.2022.
[101] There is a greater proportion of elongated eyes on the Type III scarabs found in Palestine than on those found at Tell el-Dab‘a, but that may be a misimpression resulting from the small size of the two datasets. However, one cannot leave out the possibility that the difference is due to some of the specimens in Palestine having come from a different scarab workshop.
[102] Thus, Brandl (in Mazar, Mullins (eds), *Excavations at Tel Beth-Shean*, vol. II, 583-4) identifies a scarab from Beth Shean (our cat. no. 26) as having a B4 head, whereas Keel (*Corpus, Katalog* II, 190, no. 211) says the same piece has a

in the catalogue have B4 heads, and the B4 head-type was probably what the seal-carver intended in nearly all cases.[103] The distinction between a B3 and B4 head, or even between a B4 head and a B2 or B10 head – B2 designating an open head with no eyes and with or without a horn, B10 being a variant added by Keel in which the head may or may not have eyes, and the back half of the head is pyramidal, the front half chimney shaped – has no perceptible chronological or geographical significance for our small database of Type IIIa or IIIb scarabs in Palestine. At the moment, any B-head other than B4 is an inconsequential variant for the identification and dating of Tell el-Dab‘a workshop scarabs.[104]

Regardless of the precise head-type label applied to a Type III scarab, it is unusual to see a head on any of these scarabs that has a perfect hourglass shape – *i.e.*, with the front and back segments being of equal shape and length. The head on many Type III scarabs found at Tell el-Dab‘a and in Palestine appears in the form of a wide or narrow pyramid, with a flaring of various lengths at the front. Since many scarab drawings, especially in older publications, are not exact, and oftentimes even recent black-and-white photographs are too small or too dark or light or blurred to make out small details in the head area (or the scarab is damaged at this point), describing the exact features of the head area without having access to the actual object or clear photographs of the piece is not always possible. Hence, in this catalogue we employ the word ‘hourglass’ as a generic term for a head – actually, a combined head and clypeus area – that is open at both ends and narrows at some point between the two sections.[105]

The sides of Type IIIa and IIIb scarabs most frequently show grooved legs with notching of the front leg, a diagonal line delineating the hind leg and vertical or angled notches cut in front of that diagonal line. Yet the classification of scarabs exhibiting this side-type is not without a bit of confusion. Ward and Tufnell both describe their side-type e9 as displaying ‘*hind leg diagonal, fore and/or hind leg notched*’.[106] Keel also labels the notched legs as those at the front and/or the rear,[107] and Ben-Tor follows Tufnell and Ward in her publication of the two Tel Burga scarabs (cat. nos 8 and 9) as well as in her paper in this volume.[108] Mlinar, on the other hand, characterizes side-type e9 as showing ‘*schematical legs with fore and mid legs notched*’, and Ilin-Tomich follows Mlinar in his presentation.[109] The notching on the Tel Burga and other Type III scarabs is, as stated above, actually in front of the diagonal line delineating the hind leg. In 2019, the author consulted Jason Dombroskie, Manager of the Insect Collection and Coordinator of the Insect Diagnostic Laboratory in Cornell University’s Department of Entomology, on the question of whether the notching in front of the diagonal line on Type III scarabs relates to the mid leg or the rear leg. Dombroskie expressed the opinion that the placement of the incisions likely represents notching of the mid leg.[110] Since e9 traditionally has included scarabs that have notching on the hind leg as well as in front of the diagonal line indicating the hind leg, Tufnell and Ward’s side-type e9 probably should be subdivided into e9a and e9b – the first subtype for sides with front and mid legs notched, the second for sides with front and rear legs notched. Unfortunately, there is already a side-type e9a for a dif-

B3 head. Similarly, in the ‘Ara final report, Ben-Tor, Keel, in Gadot (ed.), *The Bronze Age Cemetery at ‘Ara*, 190, no. AR299, classify the head on a local Type IIIb scarab as B4, but just three years later, in Keel *Corpus, Katalog* V, 560-1, no. 5 ,the same head is labeled B3. See Tufnell, *Studies* 2, 34, *cf.* fig. 12 and Ward, Dever, *Studies* 3, 162, *cf.* fig. 9.1 for their definitions of B3 and B4 heads.

[103] Mlinar does not identify a single Type III scarab as having a B3 head, though at least one Type IIIa scarab in her corpus (Mlinar, in Bietak, Czerny (eds), *Scarabs of the Second Millennium BC*, fig. 6a.4) displays a head that the Ward-Tufnell system would classify as B3. She labels her fig. 6b.16 as having a ‘B2/4’ head; it was found in a late Second Intermediate Period context. The Type III scarabs at Tell el-Dab‘a show a fairly wide range of eye forms, though not quite as variable as the Type III scarabs in Palestine.

[104] The reader may reasonably conclude from the above remarks that the typological analysis of scarabs is not an exact science!

[105] There is a line across the back of the head on one of Mlinar’s Type IIIa scarabs (Mlinar, in Bietak, Czerny (eds), *Scarabs of the Second Millennium BC*, fig. 6a.9). The scarab has an e9 side and displays a hodgepodge of Egyptian and Palestinian elements on the base. Mlinar interprets the Tell el-Dab‘a seal as probably having been created by a Canaanite seal-cutter. Whether this is a genuine Type IIIa scarab is debatable. See n. 182 for a possible Type IIIa scarab from Lachish that also has a line drawn across the back of the head.

[106] Ward, Dever, *Studies* 3, 164, fig. 9.3; Tufnell, *Studies* 2, 36, fig. 14.

[107] Keel, *Corpus, Einleitung*, 56, § 108.

[108] Ben-Tor, *‘Atiqot* 68, 94 (‘*notched fore and hind legs*’).

[109] Mlinar, in Bietak, Czerny (eds), *Scarabs of the Second Millennium BC*, 116. Ilin-Tomich, *Egyptian Name Scarabs*.

[110] Interestingly, a single Type IIIa scarab does have notches on the rear legs: Mlinar, in Bietak, Czerny (eds), *Scarabs of the Second Millennium BC*, fig. 6a.8 (see n. 7, above, for a second possible Type IIIa scarab with similar notching). This suggests that the notches incised in front of the line delineating the hind leg were intended to represent notching on other than the hind leg – *i.e.*, on the mid leg. It is conceivable, though unlikely, that this placement of the notches was simply a shortcut taken by the seal-carver to indicate notching of both the mid leg and the hind leg.

ferent variant of type e9.[111] In this paper, 'e9' refers to the side-type with notched front and mid legs. Importantly, the bottom line on side-type e9 is incomplete – *i.e.*, there is a small gap in the grooving near the rear.

The overall typology of almost all Type IIIa scarabs from Tell el-Dab'a is conventionally written B4/0/e9 (for a B4 head, no lines separating the pronotum from the elytra), and B4/I or II/e9 for Type IIIb (a B4 head, one or two lines separating the pronotum and elytra and/or between the two wing-cases, and an e9 side).[112] Scarabs found in Palestine that deviate slightly from this basic typology may be Tell el-Dab'a workshop pieces, but in some cases they may be copies or imitations or totally unrelated. As an example, the catalogue references at least one scarab that has an e10 side (cat. no. 4, from Lachish; see also the description of the local Type IIIb scarab from 'Ara in n. 228), where the bottom line around the side of the scarab is continuous, not interrupted near the rear. At Tell el-Dab'a, e10 sides do not appear on workshop scarabs prior to Mlinar's Type IV – *i.e.*, in the Hyksos period. Their appearance on a Type IIIa royal-name import at Lachish and a (likely) imitation Type IIIb design scarab at 'Ara may or may not be accidental or may be related to a different place of manufacture.[113]

Regarding the designs on the Type IIIa and IIIb scarabs in Palestine, no one design predominates, and there are no more than a few examples of any one design motif. The double-Z spiral, cross/rosette patterns, spirals and scrolls, the Horus-falcon and *rdi-r^{c}* motifs are the most common constituent design elements.[114] Other designs include single examples of the Canaanite version of the Hathor symbol (the goddess *en face*), a standing hippopotamus and a recumbent lion. The decorative repertoire also includes schematically rendered Egyptian hieroglyphs, pseudo-hieroglyphs and signs facing in multiple directions; such decorative peculiarities are also attested on Type II and III scarabs at Tell el-Dab'a and indicate the presence of seal-cutters not always well versed in the writing of hieroglyphics or the best artistic traditions of Egyptian seal-carving. The inconsistent quality of workmanship on the scarabs – especially those found in Palestine – could be due to any one of a number of factors. Altogether, the subject matter of the decoration on the base of most scarabs in the catalogue reflects the typical range of designs found on late Middle Kingdom glyptics, with the additional presence of a significant number of specimens displaying Canaanite influence. There is no single typological feature or decoration on the base that identifies a seal-amulet in Palestine as the product of the late Middle Kingdom-early Second Intermediate Period scarab workshop at Tell el-Dab'a. Instead, it is a combination of typological features and, to a somewhat lesser extent, the decoration on the base that justifies inclusion of a scarab in this category.

One group of Type III scarabs – the royal-name specimens – requires special mention. Whereas no Type II or III scarabs at Tell el-Dab'a name a specific king of the Twelfth Dynasty,[115] there may be as many as five Type III royal-name scarabs in Palestine. These include Type IIIa scarabs of Senusert II, at Lachish (cat. no. 4), and Senusert III, at Ta'anach (cat. no. 11), and Type IIIb scarabs of Senusert III and Amenemhat III, at Ashkelon

[111] See Keel, *Corpus, Einleitung*, 56, § 108, fig. 69, who already noted this problem.

[112] A few Type II and III scarabs have a pair of lines separating the elytra, and these are designated so in the catalogue (see cat. nos 2, 26).

[113] Not all scarabs having a B4/0 or I/e9 typology necessarily originated at Tell el-Dab'a. For example, a design scarab from the late MB IIB Tomb 596 at Tell el-Far'ah (S.) has the head, back and side features of a Type IIIa scarab. The base design shows linked circles set out in a cross pattern, which fits into Tufnell's Types 4C1 ('Concentric Circles, small, single ring') and 5 ('Cross Patterns') (Tufnell, *Studies* 2, pl. 23.2030). Circles – linked or unlinked and consisting of central dots surrounded by single or double rings, the circles arranged in a variety of patterns and often combined with additional decorative elements – are ubiquitous in the late MB II tombs at this site (e.g., Keel, *Corpus, Katalog* III, Tell el-Far'ah (S.) nos 5, 46, 110, 113, 116, 174, 190 etc) and appear elsewhere in Palestine in the Middle Bronze Age. They first appear at Tell el-Dab'a on Type IVa scarabs starting in the Second Intermediate Period (Mlinar, in Bietak, Czerny (eds), *Scarabs of the Second Millennium BC*, fig. 10.9). Keel, *Corpus, Katalog* III, 60-1, no. 76, assigns the Tomb 596 seal-amulet to the early Palestinian series. While this scarab could be a Type IIIa import, the author is skeptical about such an attribution considering how common the motif is on local scarabs in MB IIB. At best, this is a Type IIIa imitation.

[114] The Type III scarabs from Lisht in the Metropolitan Museum of Art display designs and hieroglyphs that are very similar to those found on the Type III scarabs in Palestine: *rdi-r^{c}* (MMA 20.1.34-5), spirals and scrolls (MMA 09.180.1061, 22.1.348, 22.1.353), the Canaanite version of the 'Hathor' symbol (MMA 22.1.408), *nb.ty* (MMA 09.180.1078), *wḏ3t*-eye (MMA 22.1.348), hippopotamus (MMA 22,1,384), red crown on *nb* (MMA 22.1.404), red crowns standing on elongated *nb*-sign (MMA 20.1.106), royal names (MMA 30.8.448-9: Tufnell, *Scarabs* 2, pl. 52.3051-2). These elements – excepting the hippopotamus and royal names – also appear on the Type III scarabs at Tell el-Dab'a.

[115] One Type IIIb scarab containing the generic royal name 'Sobekhotep' may relate to a king of the Thirteenth Dynasty, but the *ḥtp* in the second part of the name is displayed in reverse and is followed by a misrendered *nbw*-sign. This is simply a pseudo-royal-name scarab: Mlinar, *Die Skarabäen von Tell el-Dab'a*, no. 302; Mlinar, in Bietak, Czerny (eds), *Scarabs of the Second Millennium BC*, fig. 8.4; see also Bietak, *BASOR* 281, 51, fig. 17.

(cat. nos 16 and 17), and probably Senusert III, at Dhahrat el-Humraiya (cat. no. 21). The writing of the prenomen on these scarabs is typical of that found on many other scarabs bearing the names of Twelfth Dynasty kings: the Senusert II scarab at Lachish and the Amenemhat III seal at Ashkelon display the king's throne name within a cartouche that is framed on both sides by symmetrically arranged *Neferzeichen*, while the Senusert III scarabs at Ta‘anach and Ashkelon, and probably a scarab of the same king at Dhahrat el-Humraiya, show the simple prenomen without a cartouche or good-luck hieroglyphs alongside. Most, if not all, of these scarabs come from Tell el-Dab‘a and are likely to be later issues or imitations created for commemorative or amuletic purposes. With few exceptions, scarabs made anywhere in Egypt that name Twelfth Dynasty rulers are routinely thought to date to the Thirteenth Dynasty or later.[116] The four or five Type III royal-name scarabs found in Palestine derive from contexts later than MB IIA or even transitional MB IIA/B; the earliest archaeological context for any of these pieces is probably the first half of the MB IIB period (for cat. no. 4, the Senusert II scarab from Lachish).[117] The absence of Type III royal-name scarabs at Tell el-Dab‘a is cause for some hesitation in claiming that all of these royal-name pieces come from the Tell el-Dab‘a workshop, though, on balance, that source does seem more likely than not.[118]

Finally, it must be stressed that the fact that many Type III scarabs in Palestine derive from MB IIB contexts, when Lisht and Thebes were no longer significant players in the Levantine trade, supports the view that these scarabs originated at Tell el-Dab‘a, not the old capital at Lisht or places farther south. Such an interpretation rejects the view that all these scarabs could be heirlooms in their Palestinian contexts. It also dismisses the high radiocarbon chronology recently proposed for the Middle Bronze Age, which would make the start of the MB IIB period at least a century closer in time to the Twelfth Dynasty than supported by conventional archaeological dating.

Catalogue

Type IIa Scarab

1. Jericho (Pl. I)

Museum/Field Registration Number: Italian-Palestinian Expedition to Tell es-Sultan, Field no. TS.99.G.500

Typology and Dimensions: A3/I for line separating pronotum from elytra, II for lines separating the elytra/d9(?). 18 × 12 × 8 mm. Type IIa

Glaze: Not mentioned

Base: Design class 9E, ‘Animals and Heraldic Beasts, lions’. Recumbent lion (E23) facing right; above is a horizontal sign of uncertain identification (*w3ḏ*? [M13]). Beneath the lion are two parallel curved lines (‘*Doppelbogen*’?)[119]

Context: Tomb D.641

Date of Context: Early MB IIB

References: Marchetti, *REAC* 5, 9-22, figs 3a-b, 4 (right); Marchetti, in Bietak (ed.), *The Synchronisation of Civilisations*, vol. II, 306, fig. 9b (right); Marchetti, Nigro, Taha, in Thuesen (ed.), *Proceedings of the Second International Congress*, 591, fig. 8; Antonetti, in Bietak, Czerny (eds), *The Synchronisation of Civilisations*, vol. III, 345; Nigro, in Nigro, Taha (eds), *Tell es-Sultan/Jericho*, 27-8, fig. 39, TS.99.G.500; Nigro, *Scienze dell'Antichità* 14, 292-8, figs 23-4; Nigro, in Schloen (ed.), *Exploring the* Longue Durée, 371-4, fig. 23; Nigro, *NEA* 79, 14, fig. 20,TS.99.G.500; Nigro, in Peilstöcker, Wolfram (eds), *Life at the Dead Sea*, 147-8, fig. 8; Nigro, in Sparks *et al.* (eds), *Digging up Jericho*, 199-201,

[116] See, e.g., Ben-Tor, *Scarabs, Chronology, and Interconnections*, 36-8; Ilin-Tomich, *Egyptian Name Scarabs*, 42-3, table 4. For Ben-Tor and Ilin-Tomich, the earliest evidence for the manufacture of royal-name scarabs dates to the reign of Senusert III and relates to scarabs made in semi-precious stones. As Ilin-Tomich pointedly observes, ‘*it is only from Amenemhat IV onward that one may safely assume most royal-name scarabs to be contemporary to the kings whose names appear on them*’ (Ilin-Tomich, *Egyptian Name Scarabs*, 43, *cf.* table 4).

[117] Ben-Tor has identified three private-name scarabs belonging to the local rulers of Byblos as Type III pieces and linked them to Tell el-Dab‘a's political and economic involvement in trade with the Levant during the late Middle Kingdom. One is of Type IIIa: Ben-Tor, in Bickel *et al*., *Bilder als Quellen*, 180, pl. 23.4=Martin, *Egyptian Administrative and Private-Name Seals*, 66-7, no. 810, pl. 30.11; the second is of Type IIIb: Ben-Tor, in Bickel *et al*., *Bilder als Quellen*, 180, pl. 23.3=Martin, *Egyptian Administrative and Private-Name Seals*, 25, no. 261, pl. 32.14. The third scarab, of Type IIIa, will appear in Ben-Tor, *BES* 20. None of the three come from controlled excavations.

[118] Mlinar notes three pseudo-royal-name scarabs – all from Stratum E/3 or later (Mlinar, *Die Skarabäen von Tell el-Dab‘a*, nos 302, 518, 618). Another cause for some uncertainty is the absence in Palestine of any high-quality design scarabs like the ones that Mlinar, in Bietak, Czerny (eds), *Scarabs of the Second Millennium BC*, 120, fig. 7 identified as the output of a single craftsman at Tell el-Dab‘a. The workmanship revealed on many of the ‘Type III’ scarabs in Palestine is inferior to that seen on many scarabs of the same type at Tell el-Dab‘a.

[119] Keel, *Corpus, Einleitung*, 169, § 449; Keel, *Corpus, Katalog* V, 274, no. 597.

fig. 23; Maeir, *'In the Midst of the Jordan'*, 58-9; Massafra, in Bombardieri *et al*. (eds), *SOMA 2012*, 147-50, figs 9-10; Keel, *Corpus, Katalog* V, 274-5, no. 597. BODO: http://www.bible-orient-museum.ch/bodo/details.php?bomid=4540, <accessed 12.06.2022>; Bohström, "5000-Year-Old Cosmetics"

Comments: It is difficult to offer a precise typological analysis of this scarab. No published photographs exist for the right or left side of the artifact, and the drawing of the right side is not sufficiently sharp to make out the details; also, the single published photograph of the back leaves the head area too bright to discern all the individual elements there. Marchetti classified the head as A4 (indicating a plain, lunate, somewhat rounded head with a horn and no eyes) but his illustration shows a lunate head with a slight crown protruding in front,[120] two exterior eyes, and no horn – so likely not an A4 head. He lists the side as d9 (indicating a chip-carved side with the front leg notched and the mid and hind legs plain). Keel, who, like the author, could analyze the head and side only through the published illustrations, defines the head as A1 (*i.e.*, a plain, lunate head lacking any horn or eyes) and the side as d6 (chip-carved; front, mid and hind legs notched).[121] The published illustrations suggest an A3 head – *i.e.*, a head having a lunate, somewhat rounded shape with the eyes set off by single side lines and with no horn protruding at the front. A3 is the most common head type on Type IIa and IIb scarabs at Tell el-Dabʻa.[122] The Tomb D.641 scarab has the lined back present on both Type IIa and IIb scarabs, but not the extra lines encircling the pronotum and elytra that regularly appear on the Type IIb specimens from Tell el-Dabʻa, and not the three lines that separate the wing-cases on two of the four Type IIb specimens found at that site. Hence, the back suggests that the scarab is Type IIa. Since there is no photograph of the side, it is unknown whether the side-type might be d5 (chip-carved and all legs plain, typical of Type IIa scarabs at Tell el-Dabʻa) or d6 (chip-carved and all legs notched, occurring on three of the four Type IIb scarabs at Tell el-Dabʻa) or d9 (chip-carved and only front legs notched, found on no Type IIA scarabs and only a single Type IIb scarab at Tell el-Dabʻa). A proper set of photographs is needed in order to resolve the typological problems relating to this scarab.[123] The object is likely a Tell el-Dabʻa Type IIa seal-amulet.[124]

Regarding Lorenzo Nigro's reading of the hieroglyphic signs on the base as forming the title *ʿḏ-mr rḫʿ*, 'administrator of Jericho,' Keel has rightly dismissed that concoction. This is a design scarab, plain and simple. Identification of the sign above the lion is not certain; it could conceivably be a fish (*ʿḏ* or *ʿḏw*[*ꜣ*]), as proposed by Marchetti and Nigro, but if so, the fish is facing in the opposite direction from the lion, an unusual though not unknown arrangement.[125] The hieroglyph is most likely a misrendered *wꜣḏ*, which here serves as a decorative 'filler'.[126] Such signs are common on late Middle Kingdom scarabs and sealings and regularly appear with animals on Palestinian series scarabs.[127] The rear legs of the lion rest slightly lower than they do in most Egyptian representations of the couchant lion. For parallels, see, e.g., a scarab from Cemetery U at Ukma West, where the lion's back legs curve down along the bottom edge of the seal, while the elongated tail winds its way upward along the edge; this scarab also provides an excellent overall parallel for the Jericho scarab – not just the lion pushing up slightly on its haunches, but also the

[120] Marchetti, *REAC* 5, 10 and n. 3. The crown is occasionally found on early Palestinian series scarabs having an A head; see, e.g., Ben-Tor, *Scarabs, Chronology, and Interconnections*, pl. 71.12.

[121] Keel, *Corpus, Katalog* V, 274, no. 597.

[122] Mlinar, in Bietak, Czerny (eds), *Scarabs of the Second Millennium BC*, figs 4-5.

[123] Lorenzo Nigro (personal communication 06.06.2021) kindly offered the author the excellent digital image of the base of the scarab which appears in Pl. I. Unfortunately, no photographs of the back and side were available.

[124] Contra Keel, *Corpus, Katalog* V, 274, no. 597, who sees it as being of local origin. Vanessa Boschloos (oral communication 21.05.2018) is to be credited as the first person to recognize this artifact as a Tell el-Dabʻa Type IIa scarab.

[125] For example, two late Palestinian series scarabs (Ben-Tor, *Scarabs, Chronology, and Interconnections*, pls 99.10, 100.18) show the central animal facing in one direction, and the *ʿnḫ* filler facing in the opposite direction. The sign that Nigro understands as a fish has a long set of 'fins' on the lower side, but lacks fins on the upper side. Several fish on Type IIa and IIb scarabs at Tell el-Dabʻa have a long set of fins on the upper side (Mlinar, in Bietak, Czerny (eds), *Scarabs of the Second Millennium BC*, 114, figs 4.5, 5.3), but they also have two short, angular fins on the lower side. The Jericho 'fish' has no dorsal or adipose fins on the upper side. The sign is thus unlikely to represent a fish and may not even be a *wꜣḏ*-sign.

[126] Keel, *Corpus, Katalog* V, 274, no. 597.

[127] See, e.g., Ben-Tor, *Scarabs, Chronology, and Interconnections*, pl. 19, Design class 9, *passim*. Note, e.g., the *ʿnḫ* above a recumbent lion on a late Middle Kingdom seal impression from Kahun (Petrie, Brunton, Murray, *Lahun II*, pl. 64.256=Tufnell, *JEA* 61, fig. 11.431=Ben-Tor, *Scarabs, Chronology, and Interconnections*, pl. 19.6=Quirke, *Birth Tusks*, 342, fig. 4.43) as well as above a caprid on a Tell el-Dabʻa Type IIb workshop scarab (Mlinar, in Bietak, Czerny (eds), *Scarabs of the Second Millennium BC*, fig. 5.1=Ben-Tor, *Scarabs, Chronology, and Interconnections*, pl. 30.2).

‘*Doppelbogen*’ as well as a *nfr* as filler signs.[128] Yet another close parallel is a design scarab of unknown provenience in the Petrie Museum (UC60933).[129] Middle Bronze Age Canaanite scarabs typically show the lion standing, walking or sitting nearly upright on its haunches, making it unlikely that the Jericho scarab comes from a Palestinian scarab workshop.[130] The ‘signs’ above and behind the lion are doubtful as a ‘fish’ and *mr* ‘canal’ (N36) (the latter is simply the outline of the lion’s tail, as Keel has already noted).[131] Altogether, the problematic *ʿḏ* and fictional *mr* should not be combined to form the title *ʿḏ-mr* ‘excavator’.[132] As for the lion (*rw*) joining with the two curving lines beneath it, which have been misunderstood as *ḫʿ* (N28), the curving lines along the base are not part of the hieroglyph for the sun rising over a hill (*ḫʿ*), but probably just ‘*Doppelbogen*’, as Keel has noted, and the two signs do not combine to create the ancient name of Jericho, *rwḫʿ* ‘Ruha.’ Whereas Keel viewed this object, like the other scarab from the tomb, as of local manufacture, here we identify it as an imported design scarab, likely from Tell el-Dab‘a. In summary, there is nothing on the base that allows one to create the title, ‘Administrator of Jericho’.

The dating of Tomb D.641 is open to discussion. In 1999 the Italian-Palestinian Expedition to Tell es-Sultan discovered this rectangular mudbrick-lined tomb in Area G on the summit of the Spring Hill, just west of the ‘Ain es-Sultan spring on the east side of the mound. The tomb was beneath Garstang’s ‘Hyksos’ palace, which the excavators assigned to their Sultan IVb phase.[133] It contained the flexed bodies of two females – one an adult, the other much younger – resting on their left side, heads facing east.[134] The several pieces of jewelry interred with the latter included two seal-amulets. One was a late Middle Kingdom design scarab with symmetric decoration (reg. no. TS.99.G.458), worn as part of a ring.[135] The other was the Tell el-Dab‘a workshop scarab (reg. no. TS.99.G.500) found on the young person’s breast and identified as ‘*part of a signet ring*’.[136] Among the ad-

[128] Andreu, in Vila, *Le cimetière kermaïque d’Ukma Ouest*, 237, no. 198/1. pls 7-8.198/1). The published photograph is too dark to make out many details, but the head and back appear to show the features of a Tell el-Dab‘a Type III scarab (whether of subtype ‘a’ or ‘b’ is not clear).

[129] Petrie, *Buttons and Design Scarabs*, pl. 14.878 (=London, UCL Inv. no. UC60933). See also a local Canaanite scarab from Tell el-‘Ajjul: Keel, *Corpus, Katalog* I, 492-3, no. 1139, with previous bibliography.

[130] See Keel, *Corpus, Einleitung*, 196, § 537; Keel, *Corpus, Katalog* I, 160-1, no. 163 (=London, UCL Institute of Archaeology, no. E.XII.47/16); 388-9, no. 832 (=IAA Inv. no. 1935.3937); 492-3, no. 1139 (=IAA Inv. no. 47.577) or a few (later) local scarabs from Tell el-‘Ajjul showing couchant lions or lions sitting on their haunches which, however, look nothing like the Jericho lion; Ben-Tor, *Scarabs, Chronology, and Interconnections*, 147, pl. 62.29 lists no. 832 (=Keel, *Corpus, Katalog* I, 388-9, no. 832) as an early Palestinian series product. Mourad rightly dismisses the interpretation of the hieroglyphic signs as constituting an administrative title; however, she, too, took the leonine figure on the Jericho scarab to be Palestinian rather than Egyptian and therefore considered the artifact a local product (Mourad, *Rise of the Hyksos*, 159).

[131] *Cf.* the tails on the recumbent lions on the ivory birth tusk/magical wand in the British Museum (cited above; BM EA 18175, Pinch, *Magic in Ancient Egypt*, figs 19, 20 (lower photo, left end); Quirke *Birth Tusks*, fig. 3.33) and on a standing lion on a similar object, from Rifeh, in the Penn Museum (inv. no. E2914, Petrie, *Gizeh and Rifeh*, pl. 12, top; Quirke, *Birth Tusks,* 188, fig. 2.85).

[132] E.g., Nigro, in Schloen (ed.), *Exploring the* Longue Durée 372; Nigro, in Sparks *et al.* (eds), *Digging up Jericho*, 199.

[133] Plan in Nigro, in Schloen (ed.), *Exploring the* Longue Durée, fig. 9=Nigro, *Scienze dell’Antichitaà* 14, fig. 6; Nigro, in Sparks *et al.* (eds), *Digging up Jericho*, fig. 20; also, Massafra, in Bombardieri *et al.* (eds), *SOMA 2012*, fig. 16.

[134] The female is variously described as being 9-10 years of age (e.g., Nigro, in Schloen (ed.), *Exploring the* Longue Durée, 361; Bohlström, “5000-Year-Old Cosmetics”) or 12-14 (Marchetti, in Bietak (ed.), *The Synchronisation of Civilisations*, vol. II, 306; Marchetti, Nigro, Taha, in Thuesen (ed.), *Proceedings of the Second International Congress*, 581; Nigro, in Nigro, Taha (eds), *Tell es-Sultan/Jericho*, 27; Antonetti, in Bietak, Czerny (eds), *The Synchronisation of Civilisations*, vol. III, 345). See also Marchetti, *REAC* 5, 9 (‘adolescente’). Nigro identifies the older individual as the child’s ‘adult maid’ (Nigro, in Peilstöcker, Wolfram (eds), *Life at the Dead Sea*).

[135] Massafra, in Bombardieri *et al.* (eds), *SOMA 2012*, fig. 9 shows both the scarab and its corroded ring. This seal-amulet appears to have a D8 head (not D6, as reported in Marchetti, *REAC* 5, 10, n. 3), a 0 (*i.e.*, unlined) back and an e9 side. The signs on the plinth include the looped cord *s3*-sign (V16) at the top, *wrs* (Q4) flanked by *ʿnḫ*-signs in the middle. and a pair of *nfr*-signs between *w3ḏ*-signs across the bottom. For a few parallels, see Reisner, *Kush* 3, fig. 15.394; Ben-Tor, *Scarabs, Chronology, and Interconnections*, pls 27.5, 28.9. A common late Middle Kingdom variant found at Uronarti and elsewhere replaces the signs below the *s3* with an oblong in which appears the formula *nfr rʿ* (Ben-Tor *Scarabs, Chronology, and Interconnections*, pl. 12.6-14). Keel considers the scarab as of local manufacture, whereas this paper sees it as a late Middle Kingdom import (Keel, *Corpus, Katalog* V, 274-5, no. 596).

[136] Opinion on the origin of the two scarabs has varied over the years. Some early publications identified both scarabs as ‘Hyksos’ or ‘Canaanite’ (e.g., Marchetti, *REAC* 5, 14; *cf.* Marchetti, in Bietak (ed.), *The Synchronisation of Civilisations*, vol. II, 306). Subsequently, multiple articles by the principal excavator labeled TS.99.G.458 as ‘Canaanite’, while the signs on TS.99.G.500 were interpreted as containing an Egyptian administrative title and the ancient name of Jericho (e.g., Nigro, *Scienze dell’Antichità* 14, 298-9; Nigro, in Schloen (ed.), *Exploring the* Longue Durée, 372-4) without

ditional items accompanying the young female was a necklace containing one carnelian and two rock crystal beads, 'bronze' earrings and a toggle pin.[137] The burial also yielded the remains of a young goat and a gazelle.

An MB IIB date for this tomb appears without explanation in one recent article by Nigro[138], but the excavators have otherwise been quite consistent in placing Tomb D.641 in local stratum Sultan IVa2 and dating it very late in MB IIA (the end of their 'MB IB' period, ca. 1825-1800 BC).[139] Keel, without explanation, recently dated the tomb to early MB IIB,[140] while Maeir has expressed the view that the ceramic repertoire in this tomb, as in a number of other early second-millennium BC tombs that the Italian excavators put in the MB IIA period, is better suited to a date in MB IIB.[141]

Five of the pottery vessels in the burial might belong in late MB IIA or transitional MB IIA/B, but the sixth, the black burnished ware piriform juglet, probably pushes the burial down into early MB IIB. The handle of this vessel is attached to the neck below the rim. Marchetti and Nigro discuss this black burnished ware juglet principally in connection with black burnished ware stepped-rim juglets of slightly earlier date found in Syria, without serious consideration of the two different forms of black burnished ware juglets in the southern Levant in the early second millennium BC[142] In Palestine, these juglets initially appear at the very end of MB IIA and in transitional MB IIA/B in the form of stepped-rim juglets. The handles of these juglets attach directly to the rim (where that is preserved) – e.g., in the late MB IIA Tomb K3 at Jericho itself[143]; another early example at Jericho comes from a child burial excavated by Garstang.[144] The stepped-rim black burnished ware juglets also appear in transitional MB IIA/B contexts in Cave 1181 at Hazor, Tomb 641 at Munhata; and Dolmen no. 23 at Qubbet Qar'a in the Golan.[145] Black burnished ware juglets became popular at Jericho in MB IIB, but those later vessels, while still having a gray or black core and vertical burnishing, no longer have stepped rims, and the upper end of the handle now typically connects to the neck below the rim – see, e.g., the several black burnished ware specimens from Tombs J3, G37 and B35 at Jericho, representing Kenyon's MB IIB Groups I, II and III, respectively.[146] These piriform juglets have a wider geographical distribution than the juglets with stepped rims (e.g., at Tell Beit Mirsim, Gibeon, Shechem and Tell el-Far'ah [N.]).[147] The Tomb D.641 piriform juglet

actually opining on the origin of the latter. Keel went in the opposite direction, defining both scarabs as 'lokal' and dating them typologically to the early-mid MB IIB period (Keel, *Corpus, Katalog* V, 274, nos 596-7).

[137] Carnelian, rock crystal and amethyst beads in various combinations are not uncommon in MB IIA and transitional MB IIA/B burials in Palestine; see, e.g., Golani, *'Atiq*ot 68, 91, fig. 19.3-5 (amethyst, rock crystal); Ferembach, Furshpan, Perrot, in Landes (ed.), *Report on Archaeological Work at Ṣuwwānet Eth-Thanīya*, fig. 10.3-5 (rock crystal, carnelian, turquoise); Loud, *Megiddo II*, pls 207.14 (amethyst, carnelian), 208.18 (amethyst, rock crystal); Maeir, in Ben-Tor, Bonfil (eds), *Hazor V*, 317, fig. IV.9.8-12 (amethyst, carnelian, rock crystal). Sources for all of these semiprecious stones are found in Egypt or Sinai, though that does not preclude the possibility that some of the beads, such as those made of rock crystal or carnelian, which have a wider geological distribution than amethyst, may be of Levantine origin.

[138] Nigro, *NEA* 79, caption to fig. 20.

[139] E.g., Nigro, in Schloen (ed.), *Exploring the* Longue Durée, 361; Marchetti, in Bietak (ed.), *The Synchronisation of Civilisations*, vol. II, 306, fig. 9; Nigro, in Sparks *et al.* (eds), *Digging up Jericho*, 199. Marchetti, Nigro, Taha, in Thuesen (ed.), *Proceedings of the Second International Congress*, 591-2, n. 14 cites ceramic parallels from Kenyon's Tomb HAR in support of a late MB IIA date for the burial, but as Maeir (*'In the Midst of the Jordan'*, 58-9) has pointed out, that tomb, and others like it, '*appear more at home in the MB I/II, and better yet in the early/mid MB II*' (*i.e.* in our transitional MB IIA/B and early-mid MB IIB).

[140] Keel, *Corpus, Katalog* V, 274, no. 597 ('*frühe MB IIB [1700-1600]*').

[141] Maeir, *'In the Midst of the Jordan'*, 58-9. Maeir calls the Jericho D.641 lion scarab a 'late' Palestinian series specimen.

[142] See Nigro, in Bietak (ed.), *The Middle Bronze Age in the Levant*, 310; Nigro, in Bietak (ed.), *The Synchronisation of Civilisations*, vol. II, 351-3, especially n. 34, for a discussion of black burnished ware in Syria and Palestine. Nigro observes that the appearance of black burnished ware stepped-rim juglets in Palestine (where they are generally considered as belonging to the transitional MB IIA/B) '*took place with some decades of delay in respect of Syria*'. The Jericho black burnished ware juglet does not have a stepped rim, however, so that typological feature is not relevant to the dating of Tomb D.641.

[143] Kenyon, *Excavations at Jericho*, vol. II, 206, fig. 93, 16-17.

[144] Burial 2, in Square K.6: Garstang, *LAAA* 21, pl. 17.16; *cf.* Antonetti, in Bietak, Czerny (eds), *The Synchronisation of Civilisations*, vol. III, 341-2, fig. 6, upper right.

[145] Hazor: Maeir, in Ben-Tor, Bonfil (eds) *Hazor V*, 301, fig. 4.5.1-2 (both with stepped rims), photo IV.26; Munhata (Ferembach, Furshpan, Perrot, in Landes (ed.), *Report on Archaeological Work at Ṣuwwānet Eth-Thanīya*, 100, fig. 5.15 (fragmentary, rim not preserved); and Dolmen no. 23 at Qubbet Qar'a in the Golan (Epstein, *'Atiqot* (English Series) 17, 36, fig. 5.22-3 (both pieces fragmentary, no. 22 has a stepped rim, no. 23 preserves only the lower part of the vessel).

[146] Kenyon, *Excavations at Jericho*, vol. I, figs 116.11, 122.7-10, 13, 18; 150.4-5.

[147] Tell Beit Mirsim: Ben-Arieh, in Ben-Arieh, *Bronze and Iron Age Tombs at Tell Beit Mirsim*, figs 2.1.10; 2.10.42, 47; 2.22.33-4; Gibeon: Pritchard, *The Bronze Age Cemetery at Gibeon*, 39 (four piriform juglets in Tomb 22 reported as being

Fig. 3 – Blakhiya, Type IIb scarab from Roman ruins. After Sadeq, in Haldimann *et al*., *Gaza, à la croisée de civilisations*, fig. 156. Courtesy of Moain Sadeq

has the handle attached not to the rim, but slightly lower down, at the top of the neck, indicative of a somewhat later date for the juglet – and therefore the burial.[148] An early MB IIB date for this tomb and its contents seems appropriate.[149]

Type IIb Scarab

***2. Blakhiya (Fig. 3*)**

Museum/Field Registration Number: PDA Inv. no. 102/ Field no. Bla 6012

Typology and Dimensions: A3/II/d6. 14 × 10.5 × 6 mm. Type IIb

Glaze: Traces of a dark glaze visible on the back and side.

Base: Design class 2B, ‘Scrolls and Spirals, round interlocking spirals’.[150] Complex design consisting of two connected rows of spirals in reverse imaging. Each row of spirals has a floral ending

Context: Unstratified rubble

Date of Context: Roman[151]

References: Burdajewicz, in J.-B. Humbert, *Gaza Méditerranéenne*, 35, photo, scarab on right; Sadeq, in Haldimann *et al.* (eds), *Gaza, à la croisée de civilisations*, fig. 156; Wawrzinek, in Anonymous (ed.), *Gaza: Brücke zwischen Kulturen*, fig. 3; Keel, *Corpus, Katalog* IV, 132-3, no. 9. BODO: http://www.bible-orient-museum.ch/bodo/details.php?bom-id=31390, <accessed 21.12.2021>[152]

Comments: Keel has classified this scarab as a local creation dating to the second half of MB IIB,[153] while Sadeq labeled it Egyptian and dated it to the Hyksos period,[154] and both Burdajewicz and Wawrzinek, without opining on where it was made, placed the object in either the Second Intermediate Period or the Iron Age (with a question-mark!).[155] The artifact best fits in Mlinar’s Type IIb category. A combination of features – the lunate head (typologically an A-head), the extra line around the inside of the pronotum, the lined back with the line

black burnished ware; not illustrated in related fig. 30); see also the juglet from Tomb 15 in figs 22.59, 97.14. Shechem: A single sherd of this ware is attested in MB IIB, Cole, *Shechem I*, 71, fig. 20, pl. 28.i. Tell el-Far‘ah (N.): Mallet, *Tell el-Far‘ah (Région de Naplouse)*, pl. 15.2.

[148] The author thanks Amnon Ben-Tor for confirming the MB IIA date for the Tomb D.641 pottery, except possibly for the black burnished ware juglet, which may be early MB IIB (personal communication 22.02.2019).

[149] A scarab from Garstang’s Tomb 30 that is inscribed with the prenomen *ḥtp-ib-rˁ* (Keel, *Corpus, Katalog* V, 76-7, no. 104, with previous bibliography) and is often cited by Nigro (e.g., Nigro, *Contributi e Materiali de Archeologia Orientale* 18, 439-48; Nigro, in Sparks *et al.* (eds), *Digging up Jericho*, 199-201; Nigro, in Peilstöcker, Wolfram (eds), *Life at the Dead Sea*, 148) as providing additional evidence for close Egyptian political relations with Jericho during the Thirteenth Dynasty is also problematic. Besides the fact that the tomb covers multiple generations within the MB IIB period and remains largely unpublished, neither the identity of the king nor the scarab’s background (Egyptian import? local imitation?) is certain (see, e.g., Ryholt, *The Political Situation in Egypt*, 51-2; Ben-Tor, Allen, Allen, *BASOR* 315, 62).

[150] Ben-Tor recognizes only a single design class, 2B. She does not employ the subclasses 2B1 and 2B2 utilized by Tufnell to distinguish designs having scrolls and spirals with ends (2B1) from designs with round interlocking spirals unending (2B2) (Ben-Tor, *Scarabs, Chronology, and Interconnections*, 12-14). This paper follows Ben-Tor’s use of a single Type 2B design class.

[151] Personal communication from Jean-Baptiste Humbert, 08.07.2019.

[152] The drawing of the base in Keel’s, *Corpus, Katalog* IV, 133, no. 9 and in BODO appears to be upside down and reversed.

[153] *Op. cit*.

[154] Sadeq, in Haldimann *et al*. (eds), *Gaza, à la croisée de civilisations*, fig. 156 caption.

[155] Burdajewicz, in Humbert, *Gaza Méditerranéenne*, 35, photo caption; Wawrzinek, in Anonymous (ed.), *Gaza: Brücke zwischen Kulturen*, fig. 3 caption.

surrounding the 'tail' of the beetle (which is more pronounced on, though not exclusive to, Tell el-Dab'a Type IIb scarabs than on Palestinian A-head group scarabs), and the chip-carved side having notches on all legs – are entirely consistent with a Type IIb classification.[156] Keel sees the side-type as d7 (*i.e.*, having only the front and mid legs notched), but both his drawing and the photographs that Sadeq and Wawrzinek have published show traces of notching on the (left) rear leg,[157] so a d6 side type, which is normal for Type IIb scarabs, seems secure.

The design on the base represents a somewhat awkward attempt to display two linked rows of spirals, each row having a floral terminus and being the reverse (*i.e.*, mirror) image of the other. The squeezed, inelegant execution of the design led Keel to identify the scarab as a local product, and while this may be a Palestinian imitation of a Tell el-Dab'a Type IIb seal-amulet, more likely it is a genuine import. The reverse imaging of the spiral design has no exact parallels (but see the mirroring of red crowns on *nb* on a Type IIIa scarab from 'Ara [cat. no. 10]), though rows of spirals with floral endings are well attested in the late Middle Kingdom.[158]

This scarab comes from salvage excavations conducted by a joint mission of the École biblique et archéologique française de Jérusalem (represented by Jean-Baptiste Humbert) and the Palestinian Department of Antiquities (represented by Moain Sadeq) at Blakhiya (Hellenistic Anthedon) in Gaza in the 1990s and early 2000s.[159] As yet, there is no final report from this project. The scarab, like the Type IIIb import that appears later on in the Appendix (cat. no. 15), reportedly comes from Roman rubble.

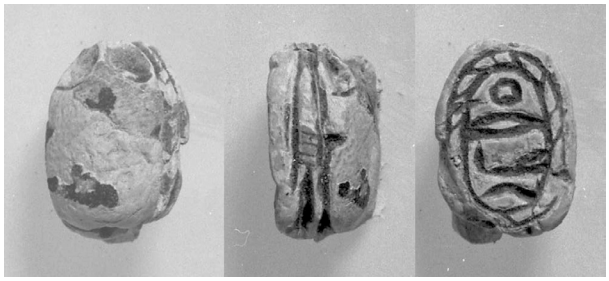


Fig. 4 – Tell el-'Ajjul, Type IIIa scarab from Tomb 303B. Courtesy of Institute of Archaeology, University College London © UCL, Institute of Archaeology

Type IIIa Scarabs

3. Tell el-'Ajjul (Fig. 4)

Museum/Field Registration Number: London, UCL Institute of Archaeology, no inventory number (scarab missing)[160]

Typology and Dimensions: B4/0/e9. 9.2 × 6.5 × 4.7 mm. Scarab damaged in multiple places. Type IIIa

Glaze: No glaze specifically mentioned; Keel reports a '*weisser Überzug*' on the scarab

Base: Design class 3C, 'Egyptian Signs and Symbols, formulae', inscribed vertically, *rᶜ*, *r* , *ᶜ*, followed by a gently arching line (probably a bow), the whole composition enclosed within a rope border

Context: Cave-Tomb 303B in the Courtyard Cemetery

Date of context: Late MB IIA or transitional MB IIA/B

References: Petrie, *Ancient Gaza III*, 4, pls 4.115; 5, lower-right photo, top row, first scarab on left; 49-50; Tufnell, *'Atiqot* (English Series) 14, 47, fig. 3.6; 1984, 92, pls 16.1720 und 35.2460; Ward, Dever, *Studies* 3, 71-2, 95, fig, 5:1a.6; Beck, Zevulun, *BASOR* 304, 67; Weinstein, *BASOR* 304, 58; Keel, *Corpus, Katalog* I, 266-7, no. 483; Ben-Tor, *IEJ* 47, 175, fig. 7.3; Keel, in Bietak, Czerny (eds), *Scarabs of the Second Millennium BC*, 79-81, fig. 26; Ben-Tor, *Scarabs, Chronology, and Interconnections*, 21 (Design class 3C), 84 and n. 422, 118 and n. 574. BODO: http://www.bible-orient-museum.ch/bodo/details.php?bomid=19206, <accessed 21.12.2021>

[156] *Cf.* Mlinar, in Bietak, Czerny (eds), *Scarabs of the Second Millennium BC*, 115-16, fig. 5.

[157] Sadeq, in Haldimann *et al.* (eds), *Gaza, à la croisée de civilisations*, fig. 156; Wawrzinek, in Anonymous (ed.), *Gaza: Brücke zwischen Kulturen*, fig. 3 caption.

[158] E.g., at Mirgissa and Uronarti: Gratien, *Mirgissa V*, pl. 82.6B-64, 6B-65, 6B-67; Tufnell, *JEA* 61, fig. 3:138-43, 145, 148.

[159] Humbert, Sadeq, in Humbert, *Gaza Méditerranéenne*; Humbert, Sadeq, in Haldimann *et al.* (eds), *Gaza, à la croisée de civilisations*. Keel's *Corpus, Katalog* IV, 132, no. 9 geographical designation of the scarab's origin as '*Blakhiya=Tell as-Sakan, 700m nordwestlich vom Tell el-'Aǧul*' is misleading. Blakhiya and Tell es-Sakan are two distinct sites; the former lies close to the Mediterranean shore, at the northwest edge of Gaza City, while the latter is about 8 km to the southwest (as pointed out to the author by Pierre de Miroschedji, personal communication 06.07.2019). Cat. nos 2 and 15 are from Blakhiya. See Wawrzinek, in Anonymous (ed.), *Gaza: Brücke zwischen Kulturen*, fig. 1, for the locations of the two sites.

[160] Tufnell, *'Atiqot* (English Series) 14, 47, lists the scarab as inv. no. 33.1471 in the collections of the Palestine (now Rockefeller) Archaeological Museum, Jerusalem, but Keel located the artifact at the UCL Institute of Archaeology, where it lacked an inventory number and was mistakenly assigned to Tell el-Far'ah (S.). He photographed the piece for publication in his *Corpus, Katalog* I, 266-7, no. 483. According to Rachael Sparks (personal communication 13.09.2021), the scarab has since gone missing. Fortunately, she was able to find Keel's photographic negatives, which she kindly scanned and then prepared the tiff files for the author's publication.

Comments: The scarab is damaged in several places. The typological details are unclear in previously published illustrations,[161] but digital images prepared at the Institute of Archaeology, London from Keel's photographic negatives reveal an open head with elongated eyes, notches separating the pronotum and elytra, and notches on a mid leg sloping slightly forward from top to bottom. The scarab's features are thus B4/0/e9. The final sign on the base is the curved bow, whereas the *t*-sign is engraved in the same place on the *rdi-r*^{c} scarab from Tell el-Far‘ah (N.) (cat. no. 25) and a flattened *nb* appears on the three Type IIIb specimens at Tell el-Dab‘a.[162] As for the rope border surrounding the hieroglyphs, that does not appear on any of the *rdi-r*^{c} scarabs at Tell el-Dab‘a or on the specimen from Tell el-Far‘ah (N.) or the unpublished exemplar at Tel Megadim (for the latter, see above, n. 96), but it is attested on a Second Intermediate Period example from Mostagedda.[163] The small size of the Tomb 303B scarab (at 9.2 mm) only slightly exceeds that of the three Tell el-Dab‘a pieces, at 7.5 mm (TD 213), 8 mm (TD 303) and 8.5 mm (TD 404), respectively, and is considerably shorter than the Tell el-Far‘ah (N.) scarab, whose 13.1 mm length puts it more in line with *rdi-r*^{c} scarabs produced during the Second Intermediate Period.[164]

Cave-Tomb 303 and its burials have been discussed numerous times in the literature, in large measure due to the inadequacies of the original field records and Petrie's confusing final report volume (*Ancient Gaza*, vol. III). Petrie assigned the *rdi-r*^{c} scarab to the lower burial on both the original tomb card and in his final report.[165] Ward and Dever preferred Tufnell's early-to-mid MB IIA date for the pottery in burial B as well as her 're-allocating' of the formulaic scarab in burial 303B to burial 303A above.[166] Their assessment, based partly on the pottery and weapons found in 303B as well as Ward's acceptance of Tufnell's view that a scarab found in 303A shows an abbreviated form of the Horus name of Amenemhat IV,[167] allowed them to date 303B back to MB IIA, earlier than the reign of Amenemhat IV, and 303A above to the transitional MB IIA/B. Beck and Zevulun subsequently redated burial 303B to the end of MB IIA or transitional MB IIA/B, based on ceramic comparisons with Stratum F at Tell el-Dab‘a, and burial 303A to MB IIB.[168] Burial 303B cannot be early-to-mid MB IIA, for the burial also contained a distinctive Piriform 1b Tell el-Yahudiyeh ware jug.[169] Tufnell already noted a possible parallel for this vessel at Jericho, from an uncertain use phase in Tomb J14, of MB IIB date[170]; a better comparison comes from chamber A in a disturbed tomb (Tomb K9) at Buhen, a parallel recognized by Aston and Bietak.[171] Tombs in Cemetery K do not predate the late

[161] The drawings in Keel, *Corpus, Katalog* I, 267, no. 483 and in BODO are not accurate, as the photo of the back clearly shows a B4 head.

[162] Mlinar, in Bietak, Czerny (eds), *Scarabs of the Second Millennium BC*, fig. 8.3, 5 and 8, from Strata F, E/3 and E/2, respectively.

[163] Brunton, *Mostagedda and the Tasian Culture*, pl. 69.40.

[164] The dimensions of the *rdi-r*^{c} scarabs at Tell el-Dab‘a come from Mlinar, *Die Skarabäen von Tell el-Dab‘a*, nos 213 (from Stratum F), 303 (from Stratum E/3) and 404 (from Stratum E/2). For the larger size of *rdi-r*^{c} scarabs produced during the Second Intermediate Period, see Ben-Tor, in Bietak, Czerny (eds), *Scarabs of the Second Millennium BC*, 33-4, fig. 3.1-4. *Rdi-r*^{c} scarabs appear already in Egypt in the late Middle Kingdom: Ben-Tor, *Scarabs, Chronology, and Interconnections*, 20-1, pl. 12.1-4.

[165] Petrie, *Ancient Gaza III*, 7, pls 4.115, 50.303B. The front of the tomb card for Tomb 303 specifically assigns the Amenemhat IV scarab to burial A, and the *rdi-r*^{c} scarab to burial B, but the back of the card is blank, so there is no drawing showing the placement of either scarab. Mysteriously, the tomb card has a reference to a burial 'C', to which a dagger was assigned, but that 'burial' is not mentioned in Petrie's final report and the dagger was published there as belonging with burial B. The field notebook kept by the dig architect, Carl Pape, provides sketches of the burials (on pages B11-12 [burial A] and B15 [burial B]), but there, too, there is no information on the positioning of the two scarabs. The author thanks Rachael Sparks for providing him with photocopies of the tomb card, the relevant pages in Pape's field notebook (personal communication 25.02.2018), the tiff files made from the negatives of Keel's photographs and explanations of the problems surrounding Tomb 303's excavation records.

[166] Tufnell, *'Atiqot* (English Series) 14, 39; Ward, Dever, *Studies* 3, 72, 95. Tufnell decided that (1) the scarab in 303A naming Amenemhat IV meant that burial should date to the time of that king and (2) something had to be done about the *rdi-r*^{c} scarab attributed by Petrie to 303B, because *rdi-r*^{c} scarabs should not appear as early as the early-to-mid Twelfth Dynasty. She therefore discounted the field records and Petrie's final report and reassigned the *rdi-r*^{c} scarab to 303A.

[167] Tufnell, *'Atiqot* (English Series) 14, 38; Tufnell, *Studies* 2, 10, 195, pl. 53.3093. Ilin-Tomich, *Egyptian Name Scarabs*, 43, table 4, accepts the royal-name scarab as contemporary with Amenemhat IV's reign. Like Tufnell, Ward and Dever were inclined to take the chronological implications of various scarabs naming Twelfth Dynasty rulers at face value, with limited concern for the possibility – indeed, probability – that they might be later issues or heirlooms in their Levantine contexts. Recently, Keel, *Corpus, Katalog* V, 524, no. 15, has rejected the notion that the scarab in 303A even contains a royal name.

[168] Beck, Zevulun, *BASOR* 304, 67.

[169] Petrie, *Ancient Gaza III*, pl. 38.60M5.

[170] Tufnell, *'Atiqot* (English Series) 14, 42-3, fig. 3.11, pl. 6.10; Kenyon, *Excavations at Jericho*, vol. II, 331, fig. 162.3.

[171] Randall-MacIver, Woolley, *Buhen*, 201-2, 234, pl. 49.10765, a parallel already recognized by Aston, Bietak, *Tell el-Dab‘a VIII*, 144 (Type Group I.2.1a), figs 87, 99.

Twelfth Dynasty, and the great majority of the burials belong in the Thirteenth Dynasty or even later.[172] Thus, Tomb 303B, in agreement with Beck and Zevulun, is no earlier than the late MB IIA period, and there is no justification for rejecting Petrie's original assignment of the *rdi-rˁ* scarab to 303B. This *rdi-rˁ* scarab is one of the earliest Type IIIa scarabs in Palestine. As for the Amenemhat IV scarab, it may be an heirloom in 303A, but in any event it does not provide an absolute date for the end of the MB IIA period.[173]

4. Lachish (Pl. II)

Museum/Field Registration Number: British Museum BM 1980,1214.15764/Field no. 6065

Typology and Dimensions: B4/0/side features of both e9 and e10. 14 × 9 × 8 mm. Type IIIa

Glaze: No trace of glaze

Base: Design class 3D5, 'Egyptian Signs and Symbols, cartouches, neck between oblong and base'. *Rˁ* (N5)-*r* (N28)-ˁ (D36)-*ḫpr* (L1) written vertically within a cartouche, the combination of signs forming the prenomen of Senusert II (*ḥˁ*-*ḫpr*-*rˁ*).[174] The complementary *ayin* is unusual in the writing of Senusert II's name.[175] A decorative line – representing a highly schematized uraeus – curls down, then up, from each end of the cartouche. On either side of the cartouche are two signs: on top is an extremely stylized uraeus (little more than a nearly vertical line with a short curve at the bottom); below is a *nfr*. Beneath the cartouche is the stock phrase *di-ˁnḫ*

Context: Pit 4022, Layer 1

Date of Context: MB IIB (second half of period)

References: Tufnell, *Lachish IV*, 95, 115, 288-90, pls 30-1.63; Magrill, *Researcher's Guide*, 42; Ilin-Tomich, *Egyptian Name Scarabs*, table 51 (Tufnell, Lachish, 63); https://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details.aspx?objectId=373729&partId=1&searchText=1980,1214.15764&page=1, <accessed 10.12.2021>

Comments: This scarab was discovered by the Wellcome-Marston Expedition to Lachish (1932-1938) in Pit 4022 at the northeast corner of the mound. The pit had three use-phases for burials, with the uppermost one (designated Layer 1) yielding '*the remains of at least five skeletons*'. Burial goods included ten pottery vessels (two cylindrical juglets and a piriform juglet; a jug and miniature pithos; three carinated bowls, two lamps); a simple, undecorated toggle pin with a slightly thickened head and an eyelet in the center of the shaft; and four scarabs.[176] The ceramics and scarabs point to a date for the inhumations in the second half of the MB IIB period.[177] There is no information in the excavation report on the layout or distribution of the inhumations. None of the scarabs can be linked to specific bodies or burial offerings.

The Type IIIa scarab is worn and damaged in numerous places. A considerable portion of the right wing-case is lost, as is a chunk of the rear (around the threading hole) and parts of the sides and base. The head and back display the standard features of a Type IIIa scarab: an open head; small, elongated eyes at the base; and notches to separate the pronotum and elytra.[178] The chart of scarab side-types that Tufnell provides in the excavation report – there are no drawings of the sides of individual specimens – indicates that this item has notched front and hind legs and a continuous bottom line (*i.e.*, side-type e10), with no diagonal line to demarcate the hind

[172] See, e.g., Smith, *Askut in Nubia*, 66-7; Ben-Tor, *Scarabs, Chronology, and Interconnections*, 53-6.

[173] Beck, Zevulun, *BASOR* 304, 67.

[174] Tufnell, *Lachish IV*, 95 recognized the possibility that this item might show the prenomen of Senusert II. Ilin-Tomich lists it as a Senusert II scarab with B4/0/e10 features, without further comment (Ilin-Tomich, *Egyptian Name Scarabs*, table 51).

[175] The complementary *ayin* appears but once among the fifteen scarabs displaying the prenomen of Senusert II that Tufnell illustrates in her *Studies* 2. pl. 52.3044.

[176] Tufnell, *Lachish IV*, 288-90, fig. 15.1-8, pl. 51.22-9 (pottery); pl. 24.16 (toggle pin); pls 30-1.63-6 (scarabs). The seal-amulets include at least two late Palestinian series pieces. One depicts an enthroned toga-wearer (for which, see Ben-Tor, *Scarabs, Chronology, and Interconnections*, 182, pl. 106.14); the other displays the *nbw*-sign in a longitudinal setting with flanking *ˁnḫ*-signs (*op. cit*., 164-5, pl. 81.2). There is also the Type IIIa scarab discussed as cat. no. 4.

[177] The piriform and cylindrical juglets; miniature pithos; carinated bowls with simple everted rims; lamps; and four scarabs all set the date range for the Pit 4022 burials within the second half of MB IIB. One of the carinated bowls (Tufnell, *Lachish IV*, fig. 15.1=pl. 51.24) has a small ridge on the base interior, a feature found on late MB IIB bowls (Bonfil, in Gitin (ed.), *The Ancient Pottery of Israel and Its Neighbors*, vol. III, 81, pls 5-6), and the miniature pithos has a close parallel in late MB II tomb 3030 at Megiddo (Loud, *Megiddo II*, pl. 42.5, cited in Tufnell, *Lachish IV*, 218-9; for the question of whether this tomb belongs with Stratum X or IX, see Müller, *ZDPV* 86, 63). Regarding the scarabs, see above, n. 92, for the two late Palestinian series specimens, and below, n. 98, for a second possible Tell el-Dab'a workshop scarab from this pit. At the same time, Kan-Cipor Meron, Shalev, in Levy, Kletter, *Rishon le-Zion*, vol. I/2, 494, fig. 7.2:type 2 give a date range from late MB IIA to early MB IIB for the type of simple toggle pin that appears in Pit 4022.

[178] The back is damaged along the right side, but the nick is preserved on the left side.

leg.[179] Photographs show that Tufnell's typological assignment for the side is inaccurate.[180] The side actually possesses a curious combination of e9 and e10 features: the mid and hind legs are delineated and the front and mid legs are notched (as on e9 sides), but there is also a continuous bottom line (a feature of e10 sides). The base has a layout that is common on scarabs that name kings of the Twelfth and early Thirteenth Dynasty: the cartouche is framed with a symmetric arrangement of *Neferzeichen*. The highly stylized uraei at the top of the cartouche as well as curling up from the base of the cartouche evince slipshod workmanship.[181] The scarab may be a Type IIIa copy of a genuine Senusert II seal-amulet, while the muddled side-type and schematic execution of the engraving on the base indicate the work of an inexperienced seal-cutter, one not fully conversant with Egyptian hieroglyphs. In any event, the typological features of the scarab point to Tell el-Dab‘a as its place of origin.[182]

5. Jericho (Pl. III)

Museum/Field Registration Number: Brussels, Royal Museums of Art and History. Inv. no. O.01165

Typology and Dimensions: B4? (see Comments below)/0/e8. 15 × 10 × 6 mm. Type IIIa

Glaze: No trace of glaze visible in photographs

Base: Design class 5, ‘Cross Patterns’. Narrow floral petals with interior hatching on each side of a small center circle. Four spirals flare out above the center circle, and four below; the top and bottom two spirals curl around to form C-scrolls. The overall layout creates a fancy rosette pattern

Context: Tomb 5, Garstang excavations

Date of Context: MB II-LB I

References: Garstang, *LAAA* 20, 29, no. 12 (cat. no. 41), pl. 26, Tomb 5, no. 12; Speleers, *BMRAH* 6, 102, fig. 4; Boschloos, *BMRAH* 76, 45-6, fig. 7; Keel, *Corpus, Katalog* V, 50-1, no. 42; https://www.carmentis.be:443/eMP/eMuseumPlus?service=ExternalInterface&module=collection&objectId=87852&viewType=detailView, <accessed 12.06.2022>; BODO: http://www.bible-orient-museum.ch/bodo/details.php?bomid=34878, <accessed 12.06.2022>

Comments: The front part of the head is damaged, as is the front of the threading hole beneath.[183] The scarab has a wide, triangular head; small, elongated eyes at the exterior base of the head; and a plain back with nicks separating the pronotum from the elytra. It also has an incomplete bottom line around the side and numerous incised notches sloping downward, front to back, on the front and middle legs; unusually, there are also small notch-

[179] Tufnell, *Lachish IV*, caption for pls 30-1.63; pl. 41, side-type 11.

[180] I am much indebted to James Fraser for taking photographs of the scarab during the recent pandemic.

[181] *Cf.* the uraei facing the cartouche of Amenemhat III at the top of a scarab from Tell el-‘Ajjul (Keel, *Corpus, Katalog* I, 212-3, no. 326); also, Giveon, *Scarabs from Recent Excavations*, 84-5, no. 95, from Lachish.

[182] Brandl has suggested that a design scarab from pit tomb 4022 at Lachish, Tufnell, *Lachish IV*, 108, 115, caption for pls 30-31.66=BM 1980,1214.15767 (cited in Magrill, *Researcher's Guide*, 42) ‘*might be another product of a Tell ed-Dab‘a workshop*’ (Brandl, in Mazar, Mullins (eds), *Excavations at Tel Beth-Shean,* vol. II, 599, n. 16). This piece displays signs oriented in multiple directions, like the Type IIIb scarab from Beth Shean (cat. no. 26). The drawing in Tufnell *Lachish IV*, pl. 30.66 indicates a B3 head, an unlined back and an e9 side, all acceptable for a Type IIIa scarab. It has a line drawn across the back of the head, as on the back of one Type IIIa scarab from Tell el-Dab‘a (Mlinar, in Bietak, Czerny (eds), *Scarabs of the Second Millennium BC*, fig. 6a.9), but it also has a small stroke at the front of the head area, indicating the beetle's horn, something not attested on any of the Type IIIa scarabs published by Mlinar. The large angular incised lines separating the pronotum from the elytra and the clumsiness of the signs on the base – including the schematized *wḏ3t*-eye and the upside-down *n* – suggest that the scarab could be another Type IIIa scarab, or a local imitation of such. Another *possible* Type IIIa scarab comes from Cave-Tomb 6028 on the northeastern side of the tell (Tufnell, *Lachish IV*, 302, pls 30-31.62). This item has a B4/0/e6a,b typology (a and b side subtypes both show front and rear legs notched type, mid legs fringed). Mlinar attributes a single seal-amulet with this side-type to her Type IIIa (based on the head and back, and base design, but not the side) (Mlinar, in Bietak, Czerny (eds), *Scarabs of the Second Millennium BC*, 119, fig. 6a.8). The decoration on the base of the Lachish scarab, with its four horizontal rows of linked spirals (the middle two rows connected by an additional, vertical spiral on each side), is a slightly more complex version of the spiral design on the Type IIIa scarab from Megiddo (cat. no. 12). The typological classification of the design is 2B1 (‘Scrolls and Spirals, rounding interlocking spirals, with ends’) in the Ward-Tufnell system, 2B following Ben-Tor (see above, n. 66). Stefan Münger kindly provided the author with photographs of this scarab, which is in the Weingreen Museum of Biblical Antiquities at Trinity College, Dublin. The photographs are not of publishable quality, but they are sufficiently clear to show that Tufnell's drawings accurately reflect a B4/0/e6a,b typology. Inasmuch as e6 is a common late Middle Kingdom Egyptian side-type (see Ben-Tor, *Scarabs, Chronology, and Interconnections*, 41, pls 26-8, *passim*), one can comfortably date the scarab to the late Middle Kingdom, but attributing it to the Tell el-Dab‘a workshop may be a stretch.

[183] Keel's photograph and drawing of the base are upside down. Also, inasmuch as Keel's photograph shows the area at the front of the head to be undamaged, the injury to the scarab evidently took place subsequent to his photographing of the piece.

Fig. 5 – Rishon le-Zion, Type IIIa scarab from Tomb A8. Courtesy of the Israel Antiquities Authority

es on the rear leg, so the side-type is e8.[184] Keel labels the head as between B2 and B10.[185] A color photograph (see Pl. III) shows that the head is so damaged at the front that we can neither confirm nor deny Keel's typological assessment; it should be noted that Keel's drawing, which does not indicate the eyes, is incomplete.[186]

The rosette design on the plinth is a close copy of the decoration found on a Type IIIa scarab from Stratum G/1-3 at Tell el-Dab'a.[187] The publications of Boschloos and Keel note parallels for the design, and Ben-Tor has shown that the rosette pattern with spirals and floral designs appears on late Middle Kingdom as well as early and late Palestinian series scarabs.[188] Keel, though noting the presence of Tell el-Dab'a Type III features on the scarab, sees it as a local product of early MB IIB date. While it could be a local (early Palestinian series) piece that copies the features of a Type IIIa scarab, it is more probable that this seal-amulet is a genuine Tell-Dab'a import.

The stratigraphic context of the scarab is indeterminate. Garstang excavated Jericho on behalf of the University of Liverpool and the British School of Archaeology in Jerusalem between 1930 to 1936. Tomb 5, excavated in 1932, was a roughly rectangular, open grave in the cemetery west of the mound. It was just over 1.5 m in depth and contained the jumbled remains of an unknown number of individuals. The tomb was dug in seven arbitrary layers (labeled *a-g*), each one of which was 10-15 cm thick.[189] The abundant ceramics and seventeen seal-amulets in the pit cover at least several hundred years within the Middle and Late Bronze Age,[190] and the excavator does not indicate which of his arbitrary layers was the context for our cat. no. 5. The scarabs included late Middle Kingdom imports; local, early and late Palestinian series seal-amulets; and even two early Eighteenth Dynasty Egyptian royal-name specimens (one naming Hatshepsut; the other, Tuthmosis III).[191]

6. Rishon le-Zion (Fig. 5)

Museum/Field Registration Number: Field no. B3258

Typology and Dimensions: B4/0/e9. 13.29 × 8.75 × 5.82 mm. Type IIIa

Glaze: No trace of glaze

Base: Design class 3A3, 'Egyptian Signs and Symbols, monograms and varia'. Falcon (G5) wearing damaged (red?) crown facing right toward a *nfr*-sign (F35) written as *sm3* (F36), *nb* (V30) underneath; elongated, lozenge-shaped sign behind the falcon. Herringbone pattern incised inside the falcon and *nb*, hatching inside the *nfr*

Context: Tomb A8, Level I, Locus 277

Date of Context: Possibly MB IIA or transitional MB IIA/B

[184] *Cf.* Mlinar, in Bietak, Czerny (eds), *Scarabs of the Second Millennium BC*, fig. 6a.8, which has notching on the front and rear legs, and a herringbone pattern of incisions on the middle leg.

[185] Keel, *Corpus, Katalog* V, 50.

[186] The head is wide at the base and may be compared to the head on a Type IIIa scarab at Tell el-Dab'a that Mlinar classifies as B4 (Mlinar, in Bietak, Czerny (eds), *Scarabs of the Second Millennium BC*, fig. 6a.1). The elongated eyes best match those found on B4 heads.

[187] *Op. cit.*, 118, fig. 6a.3=Ben-Tor, *Scarabs, Chronology, and Interconnections*, pl. 30.11=Forstner-Müller, *Tell el-Dab'a XVI,* 135, fig. 74a.2.

[188] Ben-Tor, *Scarabs, Chronology, and Interconnections*, 23-4, 137-8, 169, pls 12, 59 and 87, Design class 5.

[189] Garstang, *LAAA* 20, 27-8, pls 18-9.

[190] Bienkowski, *Jericho in the Late Bronze Age*, 10, 32-71, gives the ceramics a range of MB IIB-LB II, while Mazar and Panitz-Cohen favor LB I as the lower limit for the pottery (as cited by Keel in conjunction with scarabs numbered 32-48 in his *Corpus, Katalog* V, 46-55). All of the layers except the earliest one and the latest one contained Middle and Late Bronze materials mixed together.

[191] Keel, *Corpus, Katalog* V, 46-55, nos 32-48. There was even a single (intrusive) scarab of Iron Age II date in the mix.

Fig. 6 – Rishon le-Zion, Type IIIa scarab from Tomb F4. Courtesy of the Israel Antiquities Authority

References: Ben-Tor, in Levy, Kletter, *Rishon le-Zion*, vol. I/2, 579, no. 55, fig. 10.16. For the scarab's context, see Levy, Jakoel, Kletter, in Levy, Kletter, *Rishon le-Zion*, vol. I/1, 312, plan 4.43

Comments: The scarab's typological features are typical of Type IIIa. The eyes, as on the other two Type III scarabs from Rishon le-Zion, are elongated rather than round. The engraving of the large individual signs on the plinth is crowded and fairly crude compared to the careful cutting of most of the Type III scarabs at Tell el-Dab‘a.[192] The hieroglyph in front of the falcon is the *sm3* (F36) to be read as the more normal and expected *nfr* (F35).[193] The four hieroglyphs on this scarab are the same (except for the replacement of *nfr* by *sm3*) as appear on the upper half of the base of a Type IIIb scarab from Tomb F10 (cat. no. 22).

Yosi Levy excavated a large Middle Bronze Age cemetery at Rishon le-Zion, situated ca. 20 km south of Tel Aviv, as an Israel Antiquities Authority salvage project between 1991 and 1998. Area A at the site included a dozen or more shaft tombs, with Tomb A8 (dug in 1992) containing sixteen primary and secondary burials distributed among four stratigraphically complex phases. The eleven seal-amulets in A8 included one late Middle Kingdom and nine early Palestinian series pieces, as well as this Type IIIa scarab.[194] The latter was the only scarab associated with the tomb's earliest use-phase (labeled Level I), which held the remains of a single individual laid out on his/her back, the head turned to face north; there is no information on the age or gender of the deceased. The scarab was found '*north of the skull*'.[195] Evidence for the dating of this burial (Locus 277) is scanty: the three juglets (two of them piriform) and (broken) toggle pin accompanying the deceased are neither illustrated nor described, and the pottery was '*not entirely retrieved*'.[196] As for the knife linked to the burial, it cannot be closely dated within the MB II period.[197] Uziel and Shai assign most of the Level II-IV burials to MB IIB, while noting that a few pottery items (e.g., a Levantine Painted Ware vessel) associated with those levels may belong to an earlier phase of MB II.[198] Their 'Periodization of Tombs' table allows for burials in the tomb starting in MB IIA (thinking of the interment in Level I?) and continuing on through MB IIB.[199]

7. Rishon le-Zion (Fig. 6)

Museum/Field Registration Number: Field no. B8104

Typology and Dimensions: B4/0/e9. 11.36 × 8.32 × 5.82 mm. Type IIIa

Glaze: No trace of glaze

Base: Design class 2A, 'Scrolls and Spirals, Z-, S-, C-scrolls'. Z-spiral flanked on both sides, as well as on top and bottom, by a decorative version of the base of a *nb.ty* sign

Context: Tomb F4, southern burial zone, lower phase (Locus 769)

Date of Context: Early MB IIB(?)

[192] A small number of scarabs assigned to Type III at Tell el-Dab‘a show similarly crowded signs: Mlinar, in Bietak, Czerny (eds), *Scarabs of the Second Millennium BC*, figs 6a, no. 9 (Type IIIa); 8, no. 10 (Type IIIb).

[193] Keel and Ben-Tor are undoubtedly correct in interpreting the sign as a *nfr*: Ben-Tor, in Levy, Kletter, *Rishon le-Zion*, vol. I/2, 579, no. 55; Keel, *Studien*, vol. IV, 70, fig. 43a-44b. Several additional examples: Keel, *Corpus, Katalog* II, 530-1, no. 29; Keel, *Corpus, Katalog* IV, 596-7, no. 36; Keel, *Corpus, Katalog* V, 234-5, nos 499-500; Horn, *JNES* 32, 282, fig.1.36.

[194] Ben-Tor, in Levy, Kletter, *Rishon le-Zion*, vol. I/2, 573-9, nos 44-55.

[195] Levy, Jakoel, Kletter, in Levy, Kletter, *Rishon le-Zion*, vol. I/1, 312, plan 4.43 (no. 3258).

[196] Uziel, Shai, in Levy, Kletter, *Rishon le-Zion*, vol. I/2, 312; the pottery in Tomb A8 illustrated by Uziel, Shai, in Levy, Kletter, *Rishon le-Zion*, vol. I/2, pl. 6.9, does not include any of the juglets from Locus 277.

[197] Kan-Cipor Meron, Shalev, in Levy, Kletter, *Rishon le-Zion*, vol. I/2, 530, table 7.15.8.

[198] Uziel, Shai, in Levy, Kletter, *Rishon le-Zion*, vol. I/2, 399.

[199] *Op. cit.*, table 6.4.

References: Ben-Tor, in Levy, Kletter, *Rishon le-Zion*, vol. I/2, 604, no. 115, fig. 10.33.115; for the scarab's context, see Kletter, Jakoel, Levy, in Levy, Kletter, *Rishon le-Zion*, vol. I/1, 198

Comments: The typological features of this scarab are again typical of Type IIIa. There is a Z-spiral in the middle of the design on the plinth, flanked by a decorative element repeated on all four sides. This decorative element is unusual, but appears identifiable as a seal-carver's creative rendition of the base of the popular Middle Kingdom *nb.ty*-design. Here, the normal single top line linking the parallel *nb*-signs has been replaced by parallel double lines – one line slightly longer than the other, the lines connected at the ends to form an elongated trapezoid. In addition, there is a curving third line connecting the two *nb*-signs themselves to form an overall design that looks like a range of hills.[200]

The double base-line appears on several scarabs in connection with terms indicating 'foreign land, hill country, oasis', including the determinative with *wḥ3t* 'oasis' on a late Middle Kingdom name-and-title scarab of the official *ʿig3i-ḥtp*.[201] It also occurs as the determinative in *kpny* 'Byblos' on a scarab of the governor of that city, Yantin, and on a scarab of Abi-Shemu of unknown provenience,[202] as well as in the foreign-land sign with *ḫ3st* (N25) on several local design scarabs.[203] The overall design, including the double base-line and the three connecting curving lines, appears on a pair of Type IIIb scarabs at Tell el-Dab'a – one from a tomb in Stratum F, the other from a tomb in Stratum E/3.[204]

Area F, like Area A (the source of cat. no. 6) was the locus of a series of shaft tombs. Tomb F4 was a complex shaft tomb that had three burial zones, each zone in turn having multiple use-phases. The burials in F4 date to the transitional MB IIA/B and MB IIB periods. Although the Type IIIa scarab's findspot is not indicated on either of the published plans of Locus 769,[205] the final report places the object (B8104) on the finger of an individual (gender and age unknown) who represents the primary burial (B8155) in the southern burial zone, lower phase.[206] There were some even earlier remains in that lower phase (associated with burial B8183), including a red-cross bowl (B8168),[207] which the archaeologists suggest '*may indicate that the tomb's initial use was in the MB IIA-IIB transition*'.[208] The primary burial, whose pottery, weapons and bronze belt indicate an MB IIB date, included another red-cross bowl (B8129), which was placed beneath the head of the deceased.[209]

8. Tel Burga (Pl. IV)

Museum/Field Registration Number: Field reference, Area A-4163, Locus 18, Basket 150

Typology and Dimensions: B4[210]/0/e9. 14 × 10 × 6 mm Type IIIa

Glaze: Glaze 'almost completely worn off'

[200] In the standard *nb.ty* composition, the space between the two *nb*-signs is often left open, but is sometimes filled with various small shapes – from simple vertical lines to a triangle, square, rectangle or, in the case of several Tell el-Dab'a Type III scarabs, a curving line.

[201] Fischer, *JNES* 16, fig. 1; Martin, *Egyptian Administrative and Private-Name Seals*, 27, no. 284, pl. 37.27.

[202] Yantin: Ben-Tor, in Bickel *et al*. (eds), *Bilder als Quellen*, 178, pl. 23.1; Kopetzky, in Miniaci, Grajetzki (eds), *The World of Middle Kingdom Egypt*, vol. II, 144-5, fig. 7.4; Keel, *700 Skarabäen*, 14-5, no. 31, with previous bibliography. Abi-Shemu: Kopetzky, in Miniaci, Grajetzki (eds), *The World of Middle Kingdom Egypt*, vol. II, 151, 153, fig. 13, with previous bibliography.

[203] Tell el-'Ajjul, Level II: Keel, *Corpus, Katalog* I, 118-19, no. 42, with previous bibliography; the drawings in Petrie, *Ancient Gaza I*, pl. 13.46 and Ben-Tor, *Scarabs, Chronology, and Interconnections*, 173, pl. 93.9 are missing the second base-line. Shiloh: Brandl, in Finkelstein, Bunimovitz, Lederman, *Shiloh*, fig. 8,4. Megiddo: Loud, *Megiddo II*, pl. 151.121. Efrata: Ben-Tor, in Gonen, *Excavations at Efrata*, 93, fig. 56, shows a local scarab that has the double base-line on framing *nb*-signs displayed on their edges in addorsed position. Unknown provenience: Halayqa, Rmilah, *Ugarit-Forschungen* 47, 107-8, HB 4306. See also Petrie, *Historical Scarabs*, pl. 19.542.

[204] Mlinar, in Bietak, Czerny (eds), *Scarabs of the Second Millennium BC*, 120-2, fig. 8.2, 8.6. On the latter (Stratum E/3) scarab, the connecting curving line is part of the motif at the lower end of the base design; the motif at the upper end shows three independent triangles sitting on a double base-line to form a misrendered *ḫ3st*-sign. For the development of the *nb.ty* composition on Egyptian scarabs, see Ward, *Scarabs* 1, 68-72, fig. 15.

[205] Kletter, Jakoel, Levy, in Levy, Kletter, *Rishon le-Zion*, vol. I/1, plans 3.29-30.

[206] *Op. cit.*, 198.

[207] *Op. cit.*, 197-8, plan 3.29; Uziel, Shai, in Levy, Kletter, *Rishon le-Zion*, vol. I/2, pl. 6.30.1, fig. 6.2.5.

[208] Uziel, Shai, in Levy, Kletter, *Rishon le-Zion*, vol. I/2, 401-2, table 6.4.

[209] Kletter, Jakoel, Levy, in Levy, Kletter, *Rishon le-Zion*, vol. I/1, plan 3.30, *cf.* fig. 3.47; Uziel, Shai, in Levy, Kletter, *Rishon le-Zion*, vol. I/2, pl. 6.30.8, fig. 6.5. Various scholars have shown that red-cross bowls continue into MB IIB (Gadot, Ilan, Uziel, in Gadot (ed.), *The Bronze Age Cemetery at 'Ara*, 40-1; Beck, Zevulun, *BASOR* 304, 67; Bonfil, in Gitin (ed.), *The Ancient Pottery of Israel and Its Neighbors*, vol. III, 79-80, pls 1.3.1:4; 1.3.3:3).

[210] Keel, *Corpus, Katalog* II, 334, no. 2 classifies the head as B10, which would have the back half of the head pyramidal, the front half chimney shaped. Since the front half of the head on this scarab looks nothing like a chimney stack, we identify the head-type as B4.

Base: Design class 2B, 'Scrolls and Spirals, round interlocking spirals'. Two columns of interlocking spirals connected at both ends to vertical back lines that meet at a small horizontal center bar; small triangles serve as 'fillers' at the top and bottom center

Context: Subterranean cist tomb; one of two scarabs found between the lower and upper burial phases

Date of Context: Late MB IIA or transitional MB IIA/B.

References: Keel, *Corpus, Katalog* II, 334-5, no. 2; Ben-Tor, *'Atiqot* 68, 93-5, fig. 20; BODO: http://www.bible-orient-museum.ch/bodo/details.php?bom-id=27791, <accessed 15.11.21>. See Golani, *'Atiqot* 68, 76, 93 for the context of cat. no. 8

Comments: Cat. no. 8 has an elongated, open head that flares outward slightly at the front, tiny rounded (somewhat squarish) eyes at the base; and an unlined back with small notches separating the pronotum and elytra.[211] The side has an incomplete groove, a diagonal line separating the mid and hind legs, and oblique notches on the front and middle legs (the notches sloping slightly forward from top to bottom). The design on the base points to a date in the late Middle Kingdom. Interlocking spiral designs are found on both Type IIIa and IIIb scarabs at Tell el-Dab'a.[212] The seal impressions at Uronarti include several parallels for the triangular fillers and columns of spirals.[213]

Tel Burga lies in the northern part of the coastal plain. Amir Golani conducted two soundings on the mound in 2004 on behalf of the Israel Antiquities Authority. Excavation of a stone-lined cist tomb in the southwest quadrant of the MB IIA enclosure revealed two burial phases. The earlier phase held the disturbed remains of at least five individuals of varying ages; the later phase yielded the flexed body of a single male aged 18-25 years. Two scarabs (cat. nos 8 and 9 here) and a juglet were found just above the lower burial phase: the excavator tentatively concluded that this small group of objects belonged with the later burial phase. Both phases yielded pottery primarily associated with the late MB IIA in Palestine, as well as stepped-rim juglets typical of the transitional MB IIA/B.[214] As there was no later material in the tomb, the stratification of the burials and the associated ceramics afford us solid evidence for the initial appearance of Type IIIa scarabs in the southern Levant as early as the late MB IIA, but in any case not later than the transitional MB IIA/B. An amethyst bead and two rock crystal beads found near the skull of one of the five early burials may well also have had their origins in Egypt and thus provide additional evidence for contact between Egypt and the southern Levant in the early second millennium BC.[215]

9. Tel Burga (Pl. V)

Museum/Field Registration Number: Field reference, Area A-4163, Locus 18, Basket 151

Typology and Dimensions: B4[216]/0/e9. 15 × 11 × 7 mm. Type IIIa

Glaze: Glaze 'almost completely worn off'

Base: Design class 5, 'Cross Patterns'. Complex design consisting of a small circle in the center, with vertical bars extending above and below the circle and ending in small horizontal crossbars; a pair of lotus flowers set between spirals flare out in a cross pattern from the center circle

Context: Same as for cat. no. 8

Date of Context: Same as for cat. no. 8

References: Keel, *Corpus, Katalog* II, 334-5, no. 3; Ben-Tor, *'Atiqot* 68, 93-5, fig. 21. BODO: http://www.bible-orient-museum.ch/bodo/details.php?bom-id=27792, <accessed 15.08.21>. See Golani, *'Atiqot* 68, 76, 93 for the context of cat. no. 9

Comments: This scarab comes from the same context and has the same basic typological features as cat. no. 8. The head flares out only slightly at the front. Previously published, black-and-white photographs and drawings leave the eyes barely, or not at all, visible. However, the color photograph of the back clearly shows elongated eyes on both sides of the head. The side has an incomplete grooved bottom line, a diagonal line near the back indicating separation of the mid and hind legs, and oblique notches on the front and mid legs sloping slightly backward from top to bottom (*i.e.*, just the re-

[211] The eyes are visible in the black-and-white photographs published by Ben-Tor in *'Atiqot* 68, fig. 20, and by Keel in his *Corpus, Katalog* II, 335, no. 2. Keel labels the head as B10, whereas we identify it as B4.

[212] Mlinar, in Bietak, Czerny (eds), *Scarabs of the Second Millennium BC*, figs 6b.13; 8.1.

[213] Tufnell, *JEA* 61, fig. 4.205, 217, 220; Ben-Tor, *Scarabs, Chronology, and Interconnections*, pls 3.39, 4.27. 29, 59. Note the small triangles used as fillers on the Type IIIb scarab from Jericho (cat. no. 20).

[214] Golani, *'Atiqot* 68, 92-3, figs 15.4-5, 18.6. Ilan, Marcus, in Gitin (ed.), *The Ancient Pottery of Israel and Its Neighbors*, vol. III, 21-2, pl. 1.2.29:6-7. At Tell el-Dab'a, stepped-rim juglets appear in connection with both late MB IIA and transitional MB IIA/B materials: Aston, in M. Bietak (ed.), *The Middle Bronze Age in the Levant*, 50, figs 14.7-8, 15.3-6.

[215] Golani, *'Atiqot* 68, 74-5, fig 19.3-5. Amethyst and rock crystal beads appear together in small numbers in MB IIA and transitional MB IIA/B tombs (see above, n. 53).

[216] Keel, *Corpus, Katalog* II, 334-5, no. 3 labels the head as B9, which would be open at the back and rounded at the front. We think it is best to leave the head as B4, inasmuch as the photograph shows the front of the head to be basically flat, not rounded.

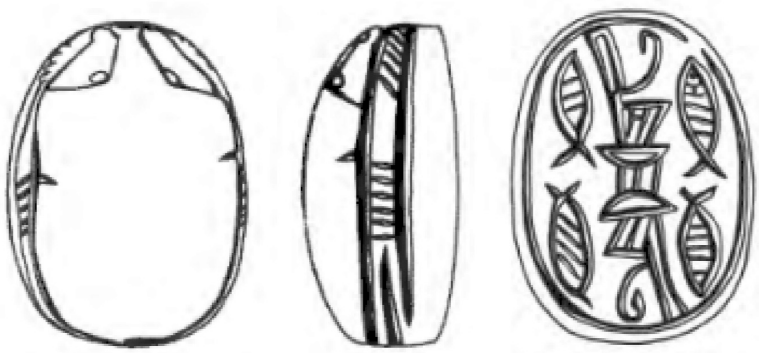


Fig. 7 – ʻAra, Type IIIa scarab from Tomb II. Courtesy of Yuval Gadot and Daphna Ben-Tor

verse of the direction of the notches on the other scarab from this tomb).[217]

Like cat. no. 8, this is a classic Type IIIa import. The complex decoration on the plinth forms a rosette pattern. Such patterns appear on several Type IIIa scarabs at Tell el-Dabʻa[218]; Keel cites parallels for the design in Egypt at Kahun, Elephantine, and Uronarti.[219] The design continued to be popular on local, early Palestinian series scarabs.[220]

10. ʻAra (Fig. 7)

Museum/Field Registration Number: IAA Inv. no. 2008.445. Beth Shemesh storerooms/Field no. AR304

Typology and Dimensions: B4[221]/0/e9. 16 × 11 × 7 mm. Type IIIa

Glaze: No trace of glaze

Base: Variant of Design class 3B3a, 'Egyptian Signs and Symbols, symmetric patterns, red crowns addorsed on *nb*'. The red crowns (S3) on *nb* (V30) are displayed in portrait mode, the bottom signs inverted and reversed from the top ones; three short lines connect the facing *nb*-signs in the center. A pair of *s3*-signs (V18) flank the upper red crown, while a pair of inverted and reversed *s3*-signs flank the lower red crown. There is diagonal hatching in the two red crowns and all four *s3*-signs

Context: Tomb II, main hall, Locus 20

Date of Context: MB IIA-LB IIA

References: Ben-Tor, Keel 2014, 192, 208, fig. 8.10; Keel, *Corpus, Katalog* V, 562-3, no. 10

Comments: This scarab has typical Type IIIa features: a long, narrowing head with a small flaring at the front; small, slightly open oval eye on the left side and an elongated (open?) eye on the right. Small nicks separate the pronotum from the elytra. An incomplete groove runs around the side, while a diagonal line defines the hind leg and notching is seen on the front and mid legs. The portrait design on the base is unusual and has no exact parallels. The parallel Ben-Tor cites for red crowns on *nb* arranged in a somewhat similar fashion is on a late Middle Kingdom scarab from the North Cemetery at Lisht, which design, however, shows both red crowns on *nb* facing right (*i.e.*, not in reverse arrangement) and with no connecting lines[222] A somewhat better parallel comes from a grave (no. 5021) that Brunton excavated in the Qau and Badari region. The design on a scarab from this burial shows a pair of horizontal red crowns attached at their base (*i.e.*, with no intervening *nb* signs or connecting strokes), but in the same reversed positioning as on the ʻAra scarab; above and below are a small sun disk flanked by a pair of confronted uraei on *nb* signs, again inverted and reversed.[223] A set of four *s3*-signs displayed in the same vertical arrangement (though not with the identical hatching) as on the ʻAra scarab appears on a scarab assigned to Mlinar's Type IVc which was found in a grave in Stratum E/1 at Tell el-Dabʻa.[224] As for the connecting strokes linking the two red crowns on *nb* on the ʻAra scarab, the use of a set of straight or curved lines to connect two identical signs is not an uncommon feature on seals in the late Middle Kingdom.[225]

[217] Whether the direction (forward or backward) of the oblique lines reflects a random decision on the part of the artisan or has some greater significance should be a subject for future enquiry – but such a study will require the analysis of *both* sides of each scarab.

[218] Mlinar, in Bietak, Czerny (eds), *Scarabs of the Second Millennium BC*, fig. 6a.2, 3, 10.

[219] E.g., Keel, *Corpus, Katalog* II, 334, no. 3.

[220] E.g., Keel, *Corpus, Katalog* V, 54-5, no. 52, with further references.

[221] See above, n. 102, for how the head of this scarab was initially defined as B3 and subsequently labeled B4.

[222] Ben-Tor, *Scarabs, Chronology, and* Interconnections, pls 5.10, 8.25=MMA 20.1.115.

[223] Brunton, *Qau and Badari III*, pl. 19.53. According to the excavator's Second Intermediate Period tomb register (*op, cit.*, pl. 6.5021), the scarab was the only artifact in the burial.

[224] Mlinar, in Bietak, Czerny (eds), *Scarabs of the Second Millennium BC*, 128, fig. 11a.3. An example that is close in date appears on a sealing at Uronarti (Tufnell, *JEA* 1975, fig. 3.113). See also Guy, *Megiddo Tombs*, pl. 105.14.

[225] E.g., Ben-Tor, *Scarabs, Chronology, and Interconnections*, pls 1.18, 47-50; 2.27; Wegner, *The Mortuary Temple of Senwosret III*, fig. 138.32.

Fig. 8 – Ta‘anach, Type IIIa scarab from Burial 49. Adapted from Keel, in Lapp, Salem (eds), *Figurines to Bones*, fig. 18

In 2000, a joint Israel Antiquities Authority/Tel Aviv University Institute of Archaeology salvage team led by Yuval Gadot excavated a badly disturbed, multichambered shaft tomb (labeled Tomb II) cut in the rock in the Wadi ‘Ara (Nahal ‘Iron). The pottery in this cave-tomb ranged in date from MB IIA through at least LB IIA.[226] The tomb contained the disarticulated remains of at least seventy individuals. Locus 20 in this large cave-tomb was one of two loci (the other being Locus 22) into which the excavators divided the upper level of Tomb II’s main hall.[227] Among the small finds in the locus were eight scarabs, mostly early and late Palestinian series but also including one late Middle Kingdom piece. In addition, there was a nineth scarab in this locus (our cat. no. 10), which, like the others, cannot be linked to a specific burial. One of the early Palestinian scarabs is likely an imitation Type IIIb scarab.[228]

11. Ta‘anach (Fig. 8)

Museum/Field Registration Number: Field no. 1640

Typology and Dimensions: B4(?)/0/variant of e9(?) (see Comments below). 10 × 7.1 × 4.7 mm. Type IIIa

Glaze: No mention of glaze

Base: Design class 11, ‘Names and Titles, royal names. *Ḫ^{c}-k3w-r^{c}* inscribed in portrait mode, followed by an *^{c}nḫ* or *nfr* resting on its side. No cartouche. The upper part of the *h^{c}*-sign has interior hatching

Context: Burial 49, an intramural child burial ‘*cut through the earliest floor*’ of a large MB IIC structure in Square SW 5-7, Locus 226[229]

Date of Context: MB IIC

References: Lapp, *BASOR* 195, 47-8, fig. 31.6; Ward, in Tufnell, *Studies* 2, pl. 52.3049, *cf.* p. 153; Keel, *Corpus, Einleitung*, 231, § 628, fig. 536; Keel, in Bietak, Czerny (eds), *Scarabs of the Second Millennium BC*, 86, fig. 48; Keel, in Lapp, Salem (eds), *Figurines to Bones*, 156, no. 17 (TT 1640); Ilin-Tomich, *Egyptian Name Scarabs*, table 51

Comments: This scarab comes from one of the numerous late Middle Bronze Age infant jar burials that Paul Lapp excavated at Ta‘anach in 1968.[230] The long, narrowing head is open and flares outward at the front. The eyes are faint but visible[231]: their presence is evident in

[226] Ilan, Gadot, Uziel, in Gadot (ed.), *Bronze Age Cemetery at ‘Ara*, table 16.1.

[227] The lower level (Locus 26) contained MB IIA pottery. No scarabs or other Egyptian finds were associated with this earlier use-phase of the tomb.

[228] Ben-Tor, Keel, in Gadot (ed.), *The Bronze Age Cemetery at ‘Ara*, 190-4, figs 8.5-8.13 (field nos AR299-303, 305-7). A possible Type IIIb import – though more likely a local imitation – comes from the same tomb and locus as cat. no. 10: Ben-Tor, Keel, in Gadot (ed.), *The Bronze Age Cemetery at ‘Ara*, 190, fig. 8.5; Keel, *Corpus, Katalog* V, 560-1, no. 5; field number AR299, IAA Inv. no. 2008.478. The scarab’s typological features are B3/I for line separating pronotum from elytra, II for lines separating the elytra, lotus flower on pronotum/e10. The dimensions are 12 × 8 × 5 mm. The base design fits into class 3C, ‘Egyptian Signs and Symbols, Formulae’, and shows a vertical series of signs – an inverted *nb*, followed by *n*, *r* and a pseudo-hieroglyph (?) at the bottom. The side type is e10 (not e9, *contra* Ben-Tor and Keel). The signs on the plinth display a variant of the standard *^{c}nr^{c}* formula, suggesting a local origin for the artifact. A local Palestinian series parallel for the design comes from Lachish (Keel, in Ussishkin, *The Renewed Archaeological Excavations at Lachish*, figs 23.41.2, 23.42.2). The lotus decoration is a well-documented feature on scarab backs in MB IIB (Tufnell, *Levant* 2) and also indicates a local origin. The lotus flower appears on scarab backs in Egypt already in the late Middle Kingdom and subsequently became part of the Canaanite seal-carver’s repertoire of decorative motifs (Brandl, in Mazar, Mullins (eds), *Excavations at Tel Beth*-Shean, vol. II, 585-6).

[229] Keel, in Lapp, Salem (eds), *Figurines to Bones*, 156.

[230] For these burials, see Lapp, *BASOR* 195, 27-8; Glock, in Stern (ed.), *The New Encyclopedia of Archaeological Excavations in the Holy Land*, vol. IV, 1432. Lapp worked at Ta‘anach in 1965, 1966 and 1968 on behalf of the American Schools of Oriental Research and Concordia Seminary. The Middle Bronze Age burials remain largely unpublished.

[231] Photograph in Keel, in Lapp, Salem (eds), *Figurines to Bones*, 156. Unfortunately, Nancy Lapp (personal communication 21.09.2018) was unable to provide a better photo-

the published drawings of the artifact as well as on the right side of the head in our black-and-white photograph. There are small nicks or notches separating the pronotum from the elytra. Keel (in 1995) and Ward both saw the scarab's head-type as B3.[232] Keel then changed his mind and in 2004 labeled the head as B2.[233] Finally, in 2015 he settled on the head being B4.[234] Identification of the side type has also changed over time. In 1995, Keel labeled the side as e8 (whereby all legs are grooved and notched), the same as Ward, whereas in 2015 he identified the side as a variant of e10 (where the legs are indicated by raised grooves and only the front and middle legs are notched).[235] Ilin-Tomich labels the head as B4 and the side as e8.[236] Black-and-white photographs that Stefan Münger kindly provided to the author are reproduced in this Appendix but do not fully resolve the questions about this specimen. There is notching on the mid leg and maybe also on the front leg, and the bottom groove along the side seems to have a break. That would suggest an e9 side, but the grooving seems deeper than what appears on the great majority of Type III scarabs; the closest parallels for such grooving appear on a few Type IIIb scarabs at Tell el-Dab'a.[237] Altogether, the typological assignments given for the scarab here must be considered tentative; a proper set of color photographs is needed to answer the typological questions surrounding this item.

Ward read the top three signs on the base as constituting the prenomen of Senusert III (*Ḥᶜ-kȝw-rᶜ*).[238] In 1995 Keel interpreted these signs in the same fashion,[239] but in 2015 he decided it was 'more probable' that they should be seen as a set of good-luck hieroglyphs, and he thus interpreted the artifact as an early Palestinian series design scarab.[240] In 1995 he read the bottom sign on the plinth as a *nfr*, whereas in 2015 he took it to be an *ᶜnḫ*.[241] As for the *kȝw*, the double *kȝ*-sign was popular on, though not exclusive to, seal-amulets naming Senusert III.[242] A sampling of the numerous seals that employ the double-*kȝ* sign with the name of Senusert III includes: a scarab naming the king formerly in the Matouk Collection[243]; an institutional sealing associated with the funerary temple of this king at Abydos South[244]; and an unprovenienced Tell el-Dab'a Type IIIa scarab in the Metropolitan Museum of Art that shows the throne name without a cartouche and with the prenomen followed by the *t*-sign[245] The identification of the first three signs on the plinth of the Ta'anach scarab as forming a royal name is accepted here. Ilin-Tomich accepts the artifact as a royal-name scarab of B4/0/e8 type. The scarab is an heirloom in its late Middle Bronze Age context, but how much later than the reign of Senusert III it was carved is unknown.

12. Megiddo (Pl. VI)

Museum/Field Registration Number: Chicago, Oriental Institute Museum, Inv. no. A23864/ Field no. d401

Typology and Dimensions: B4/0/e9. 13 × 9 × 6 mm. Type IIIa

Glaze: No trace of glaze

Base: Design class 2B, 'Scrolls and Spirals, round interlocking spirals'. Three rows of pairs of interlocking spirals, stacked one on top of the other

graph of the scarab or additional information on it. According to Keel's article, the seal-amulets from Ta'anach were held at the (former) Palestinian Institute of Archaeology at Birzeit University. Whether the Senusert III scarab is still at Birzeit University is unknown to the author.

[232] Keel, *Corpus, Einleitung*, 231, § 628; Ward, in Tufnell, *Studies* 2, pl. 52.3049. Curiously, Ward labels the head as B3, while he identifies the same head-type on another scarab of Senusert III, illustrated on pl. 52.3051, as B4.

[233] Keel, in Bietak, Czerny (eds), *Scarabs of the Second Millennium BC*, 86

[234] Keel, in Lapp, Salem (eds), *Figurines to Bones*, 156.

[235] Keel, *Corpus, Einleitung*, 231, § 628; Keel, in Lapp, Salem (eds), *Figurines to Bones*, 156, specifically says that '*the legs are represented by no more than a raised groove with notches in the front and middle*'.

[236] Ilin-Tomich, *Egyptian Name Scarabs*, table 51.

[237] E.g., Mlinar, in Bietak, Czerny (eds), *Scarabs of the Second Millennium BC*, fig 8.11-12.

[238] Ward, in Tufnell, *Studies* 2, pl. 52.3049. Ilin-Tomich, *Egyptian Name Scarabs*, table 51, follows Ward in accepting the signs as constituting a genuine Senusert III scarab.

[239] Keel, *Corpus, Einleitung*, 231, § 628; Keel, in Bietak, Czerny (eds), *Scarabs of the Second Millennium BC*, 86 and n. 117. Ben-Tor (personal communication 21.08.2019) agrees with the author that this item may be a royal-name scarab from Tell el-Dab'a.

[240] Keel in Lapp, Salem (eds), *Figurines to Bones*, 156.

[241] Either reading is possible depending on how the sign is oriented if written vertically.

[242] It also appears on a few scarabs and cylinder seals displaying the prenomen of Amenemhat II, *Nbw-kȝw-rᶜ*: e.g., Petrie, *Scarabs and Cylinders,* pl. 13.12.3:9 (=UC11277); MMA 26.7.15.

[243] Tufnell, *Studies* 2, pl. 52.3066.

[244] Wegner, *The Mortuary Temple of Senwosret III*, fig. 145.1.

[245] MMA 30.8.449 (=Ward, in Tufnell, *Studies* 2, pl. 52.3051). For some other examples of the fused *kȝw*-sign on scarabs, seal impressions, and a cylinder bead naming Senusert III, see von Pilgrim, *Elephantine XVIII*, fig. 98,54; Régen, Soukiassian, *Gebel el-Zeit*, vol. II, 125; Keel, *Corpus, Katalog* IV, 22-3, no. 51; see also Keel, *Corpus, Einleitung*, 231-2, § 628, fig. 536. Kitchen offers a general discussion of the form of the sign (Kitchen, *JEA* 48). *Cf.* Giveon, *Egyptian Scarabs from Western Asia*, 110-11, Gezer no. 1=Keel, *Corpus, Katalog* IV, 408-9, no. 562 (likely a local, Canaanite imitation). See also Keel, *Corpus*, *Katalog* V, 54-5, no. 48, from Tomb 5 at Jericho (Garstang excavations), for the fused *kȝw*-sign on a local scarab that imitates an Egyptian private name-and-title scarab; this tomb also yielded the scarab described in cat. no. 5.

Context: Tomb 5133, Stratum XI, Area BB. Square M12
Date of Context: MB IIB, probably second half of period
References: Loud, *Megiddo II*, 185, pls 150.106, 156.106; Tufnell, *Levant* 5, 75, fig. 1.31; Ben-Tor, *Scarabs, Chronology, and Interconnections*, 124, pl. 50.15; photo of back available at https://oi-idb.uchicago.edu/id/08d70a0b-604e-47fc-9365-d5f4e5365e0e, <accessed 18.12.2021>. Tomb 5133 appears on the plan of Stratum XI, in the northwest corner (Square M12) of Area BB on the eastern side of the tell: Loud, *Megiddo II*, fig. 399

Comments: The scarab's open head is long, narrow and nearly funnel-shaped. Ben-Tor identified this artifact as a local, early Palestinian series scarab, based primarily on the black-and-white photograph in *Megiddo II* that suggested the head was a B2 type (which would not have any eyes)[246]; new photographs published here show that the head is a B4. The piece has all the standard characteristics of a Type IIIa import.[247] Design class 2B appears on two Type IIIa workshop scarabs at Tell el-Dab‘a,[248] and interlocking scrolls and spirals form a common Design class among late Middle Kingdom scarabs.[249] A general parallel for the design on the Megiddo scarab base appears already on a carnelian lentoid seal-amulet in the Montet Jar at Byblos, where, however, the three rows of pairs of spirals are unlinked.[250] Late Middle Kingdom parallels for the Megiddo scarab design include examples from Byblos, Mirgissa and Tell el-‘Ajjul.[251] The engraving of the spirals is rather clumsy. The spirals appear to terminate in (misrendered) papyrus stems; a more carefully engraved late Middle Kingdom scarab from Tell el-Dab‘a has three pairs of interlocking spirals arranged vertically and ending in papyrus stems.[252]

Tomb 5133 contained the skeletal remains of two individuals whose bones were ‘badly mixed’ and whose gender and sex are unknown.[253] The tomb yielded two scarabs; the second seal-amulet is a local, early Palestinian series product.[254] The relationship of the scarabs to the bodies is unknown. The three pottery vessels in the tomb included a globular jug with a low ring base;[255] a piriform juglet with triple-strand handle and small button base[256]; and a wide, shallow bowl with everted rim.[257] Kempinski illustrates the bowl in connection with Stratum XI but does not mention the vessel in his text.[258] Similar open bowls come from late MB IIB and MB IIC levels at other northern sites such as Yokne‘am (Stratum XXI) and Tel Qashish (Strata IXA-VIII).[259] There were also a number of pieces of bone inlay in the tomb.[260] Müller assigns the tomb to Strata XI-X.[261] Kenyon does not mention Tomb 5133 in her study of the Middle and Late Bronze Age tombs on the mound.[262]

13. Kabri (Fig. 9)

Museum/Field Registration Number: IAA Inv. no. 1999.1297/Field no. 1582. Beth Shemesh storerooms
Typology and Dimensions: B4/0/e9. 9.5 × 6.6 × 4.5 mm. Type IIIa
Glaze: No trace of glaze
Base: Design class 10D2, ‘Human and Mythical Figures, goddess, Hathor symbol’. ‘Hathor’ symbol appears *en face* in center; two inverted *ḥm*-signs (U36) flank the lower part of the symbol. Both the symbol and the *ḥm*-signs are hatched[263]

[246] Ben-Tor, *Scarabs, Chronology, and Interconnections*, 124 and n. 596.
[247] The author thanks Bruce Williams, Associate of the Oriental Institute, University of Chicago, for taking a new set of photographs of this scarab in the Oriental Institute Museum; and Susan Allison, Associate Registrar of the Oriental Institute Museum, for facilitating the study and publication of the object.
[248] Mlinar, in Bietak, Czerny (eds), *Scarabs of the Second Millennium BC*, figs 6a.4, 6b.13.
[249] *E.g*., Ben-Tor, *Scarabs, Chronology, and Interconnections*, pls 3-5 (Design class 2B).
[250] Tufnell, Ward, *Syria* 43, 176-7, fig. 2.19, pl. 13.19.
[251] Byblos: Dunand, *Fouilles de Byblos*, vol. II, 634, pl. 199.13905; Mirgissa: Gratien, *Mirgissa V* , pl. 82.6B-58. Spiral designs in various forms are ubiquitous on seal impressions at Mirgissa: Gratien, *Mirgissa V*, pls 79-87, *passim*. Tell el-‘Ajjul: Keel, *Corpus, Katalog* I, 264-5, no. 478. For a parallel at Pella possibly dating to the early Eighteenth Dynasty, see Eggler, Keel, *Corpus der Siegel-Amulette aus Jordanien*, 202-3, no. 8, with previous bibliography.
[252] See Mlinar, in Bietak, Czerny (eds), *Scarabs of the Second Millennium BC*, fig. 1.4; note also fig. 4.6, a Type IIa scarab which, however, lacks the papyrus stem terminals.
[253] Loud, *Megiddo II,* fig. 321.
[254] Loud, *Megiddo II*, pls 150.105, 157.105=Tufnell, *Levant* 5, fig. 1.48=Ben-Tor, *Scarabs, Chronology, and Interconnections*, pl. 52.20, 55.
[255] *Op. cit.*, pl. 31.2.
[256] *Op. cit.,* pl. 32.25.
[257] *Op. cit.*, pl. 37.19.
[258] Kempinski, *Megiddo*, fig. 24.10.
[259] Yokne‘am: Livneh, in Ben-Tor, Ben-Ami, Livneh, *Yoqne‘am III*, 60-1, fig. II.23.13); Tel Qashish: Ben-Tor, Bonfil, in Ben-Tor, Bonfil, Zuckerman (eds), *Tel Qashish*, 222-3, 233, figs 86.1-2, 96.1.
[260] Loud, *Megiddo II*, pl. 193.6.
[261] Müller, *ZDPV* 86, 68.
[262] Kenyon, *Levant* 1.
[263] For the Hathor symbol in its Egyptian and Canaanite renditions on scarabs, see Ben-Tor, *Scarabs, Chronology, and Interconnections*, 33, 101-2, 150, 181-2; Keel, *Corpus, Einleitung*, 212-3, § 577-9. The Egyptian symbol makes its initial appearance on stamp-seals in various forms as early as the Sixth Dynasty (Wiese, *Die Anfänge der ägyptischen Stempel-*

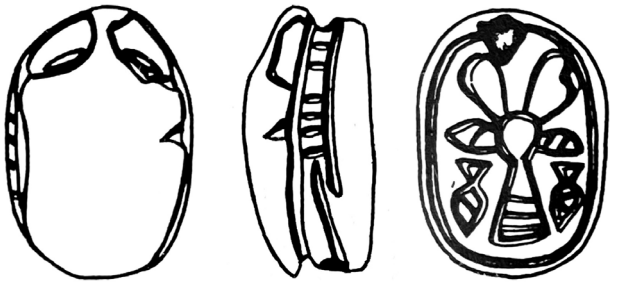


Fig. 9 – Kabri, Type IIIa scarab from Tomb 498 © Stiftung BIBEL+ORIENT, Fribourg Switzerland

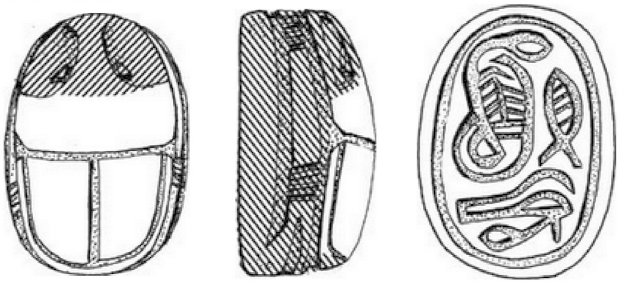


Fig. 10 – Tell Beit Mirsim, Type IIIb scarab from Tomb 24 © Stiftung BIBEL+ORIENT, Fribourg Switzerland

Context: Tomb 498, a stone-built shaft and chamber tomb in the northwestern part of the mound (Area C)
Date of Context: Tomb finds are primarily MB IIA, but burials continue on through MB IIB-C
References: Mizrachy, in Kempinski, *Tel Kabri*, 326, no. 10, fig. 9.2.7; Keel, *Corpus, Katalog* V, 538-9, no. 11

Comments: The plinth has the only representation of the 'Hathor' fetish on a Type III scarab in Palestine.[264] The typological features of the artifact are Type IIIa. The notch separating the pronotum and elytra is missing on the left side. The goddess is depicted in her Canaanite form, with two large plumes rather than the standard Egyptian horns rising above the head; there are small filler signs below, on either side of the goddess.

Kempinski, Miron and Niemeier excavated Kabri for eight seasons (1986-1993) on behalf of Tel Aviv University's Institute of Archaeology. Rectangular multigenerational Tomb 498 contained the jumbled remains of at least 23 individuals together with a large quantity of ceramic material and other offerings.[265] It is not possible to link the Tell el-Dab'a workshop scarab to a specific burial or even to a particular phase of use of the tomb. The pottery in the tomb is largely MB IIA and transitional MB IIA/B, but there are also some later pieces.[266] According to Kempinski, the pottery '*demonstrates that this tomb was in use over a very long period*'.[267] Most of the 14 seal-amulets found here are local, early Palestinian series specimens that typologically best fit in the first half of MB IIB, but there are also some later pieces.[268] There are also two late Middle Kingdom scarabs.[269] In addition to the scarab showing the signs *nfr* and *r*^{c} surrounded by a continuous spiral design, already identified by Mizrachy as dating to the late Middle Kingdom, Keel has recently identified the lion scarab in the tomb as either Thirteenth Dynasty Egyptian or early MB IIB Palestinian.[270] He noted a near perfect parallel for the design on the base of an Egyptian scaraboid in the Czartoryski Museum in Krakow.[271] Ben-Tor accepts the late Middle Kingdom character of the head on the second scarab, noting its rectangular shape, double side-lines and square, exterior eyes.[272]

The 'Hathor' symbol appears on three scarabs at Tell el-Dab'a linked to Strata E/3-D/3-2, *i.e.*, to Second Intermediate Period levels, with the earliest scarab (from Stratum E/3) being a Type IIIa piece.[273] Numerous scarabs exist displaying representations of the Canaanite version of the Egyptian goddess Hathor, and they primarily

siegel-Amulette, pl. 1). On the question of whether the symbol most typically showing a goddess *en face* and having a cow's ears and a pair of horns represents the goddess Hathor, see Schroer, in Keel, Keel-Leu, Schroer (eds), *Studien zu den Stempelsiegeln aus Palästina/Israel*, vol. II, 139-99; Mizrachy, in Kempinski, *Tel Kabri*, 324, 326.

[264] Keel, *Corpus, Katalog* V, 538 was first to mention in print that the Kabri scarab is a Tell el-Dab'a Type III piece.

[265] Kempinski, *Tel Kabri*, 51-4.

[266] Notably, Kempinski, Gershuny, Scheftelowitz, in Kempinski, *Tel Kabri*, 110, fig. 5.28.1-4.

[267] Kempinski, *Tel Kabri*, 52.

[268] Mizrachy, in Kempinski, *Tel Kabri*, 321-30, nos 4-17, fig. 9.2.1-14; Keel, *Corpus, Katalog* V, 536-41, nos 5-18.

[269] Mizrachy, in Kempinski, *Tel Kabri*, 329, nos 15-16, fig. 9.2.12-13=Keel, *Corpus, Katalog* V, 540-1, nos 16-17.

[270] Lion scarab: Keel, *Corpus, Katalog* V, 540-1, no. 16=Mizrachy, in Kempinski, *Tel Kabri*, 329, no. 15, fig. 9.2.12. Ben-Tor accepts the rectangular shape of the head, its double side-lines and the square exterior eyes as indicative of a late Middle Kingdom date (personal communication 21.08.2019). *Nfr r*^{c} scarab: Keel, *Corpus, Katalog* V, 540-1, no. 17=Mizrachy, in Kempinski, *Tel Kabri*, 329, no. 16, fig. 9.2.13. Ben-Tor, *Scarabs, Chronology, and Interconnections*, 141, n. 690 already noted the late Middle Kingdom character of this scarab.

[271] Published most recently in Śliwa, *Egyptian Scarabs and Seal Amulets*, 105, 188, no. 137.

[272] See above, n. 269.

[273] Mlinar, in Bietak, Czerny (eds), *Scarabs of the Second Millennium BC*, 119, fig. 6b.14; see also Mlinar, *Die Skarabäen von Tell el-Dab'a*, nos 304 (Stratum E/3), 603 (E/1-D/3), 802 (D/3-2). A fourth specimen, no. 1015, was unstratified.

belong in the late Palestinian series.[274] The closest parallels in Egypt and Palestine for the design on the Kabri series relate to the second half of the MB IIB period.[275] Nonetheless, while the typological features of the Kabri scarab point to its manufacture at Tell el-Dab‘a sometime in the late Middle Kingdom or early Second Intermediate Period and its deposition in Tomb 498 in conjunction with one of the tomb’s early MB II burials, the archaeological date of the Kabri Type IIIa scarab is best left indeterminate.

Type IIIb Scarabs

14. Tell Beit Mirsim (Fig. 10)

Museum/Field Registration Number: IAA Inv. no. 84-1288. Beth Shemesh storerooms

Typology and Dimensions: B4/I/e9. 10.5 × 7.5 × 5.0 mm. Type IIIb

Glaze: Traces of yellowish glaze

Base: Design class 3A3, ‘Egyptian Signs and Symbols, monograms and varia, varia’ or 9C6, ‘Animals and Heraldic Beasts, cobras confronted, single uraeus’.[276] Vertical composition consisting of a large erect uraeus (*i‘rt* [I12]), its interior decorated with herringbone incisions, in the upper left; *s3* (V18) with interior hatching at the top right; and a *wḏ3t*-eye (D10) across the bottom

Context: Tomb 24

Date of Context: MB IIB

References: Brandl, in Ben-Arieh, *Bronze and Iron Age Tombs at Tell Beit Mirsim*, 126, no. 3, fig. 3.3; Keel, *Corpus, Katalog* II, 68-9, no. 60. BODO: http://www.bible-orient-museum.ch/bodo/details.php?bomid=15612, <accessed 21.10.2021>

Comments: The description of this scarab in Keel’s *Corpus* volume is a slightly modified version of the text Brandl presented in the final report of the excavation; the sign in the upper right is now identified as *s3* (V18) rather than *šn* (V7), and a statement is added that ‘*according to D. Ben-Tor the scarab displays features of the early workshop at Tell el-Dab‘a (Mlinar Type IIIb); it seems to be a Tell el-Dab‘a product imported to Palestine*’. The head, back and side display the characteristic features of a Type IIIb seal-amulet. The design on the plinth – showing two or more signs dominated by a large standing cobra – and especially the combination of the uraeus and *wḏ3t*-eye – would point to an early Palestinian series identification for the scarab were it not for the scarab’s Type IIIb features.[277]

David Alon excavated a rich but badly disturbed burial cave (designated Tomb 24) southwest of the mound during a salvage project conducted between 1978 and 1982 on behalf of the Israel Department of Antiquities and Museums. The tomb was entered via a vertical shaft and contained the skeletal remains of some thirty individuals, more than half of whom were children.[278] The pottery spans the entire MB IIB period, with a small number of vessels going back to transitional MB IIA/B.[279] Among the finds were three scarabs – two of local manufacture, the third an import from Tell el-Dab‘a. None of the scarabs can be associated with a specific burial.

15. Blakhiya (Fig. 11)

Museum/Field Registration Number: PDA Inv. no. 101/ Field no. Bla 134

Typology and Dimensions: B4/I for line separating pronotum from elytra, II for lines separating the elytra/ e9.[280] 21 × 14 × 9 mm. Type IIIb

Glaze: Traces of glaze reported by Keel

Base: Design class 2A; ‘Scrolls and Spirals, Z-, S-, C-scrolls’. The design, engraved in landscape mode, shows an unlinked double Z-spiral flanked by *nfr*-signs (F35) displayed *tête-bêche* within elongated rings

Context: Unstratified rubble

Date of Context: Roman[281]

References: Burdajewicz, in Humbert, *Gaza Médi-*

[274] Ben-Tor, *Scarabs, Chronology, and Interconnections*, 150-1, 181, pl. 105. Design class 10D2.

[275] Two good parallels include a scarab from Stratum D3/2 at Tell-Dab‘a and a scarab from Stratum II at Tell el-‘Ajjul: Mlinar, *Die Skarabäen von Tell el-Dab‘a*, no. 802=Mlinar, in Bietak, Czerny (eds), *Scarabs of the Second Millennium BC*, fig. 11a.10=Forstner-Müller, *Tell el-Dab‘a XVI*, 360-1, fig. 289. Tell el-‘Ajjul: Keel, *Corpus, Katalog* I, 264-5, no. 476=Petrie, *Ancient Gaza III*, 4, pl. 3,108, pl. 5, lower-left photo, row 5, no. 6.

[276] Keel, *Corpus, Einleitung*, 192, § 529.

[277] Numerous early Palestinian series parallels exist for the uraeus + *wḏ3t*-eye combination with additional sign(s). E.g., Keel, *Corpus, Katalog* I, 154-5, no. 146; Keel, *Corpus, Katalog* V, 118-19, no. 204, 564-5, no. 16; Tufnell, *Studies* 2, pl. 8.1331; Ben-Tor, *Scarabs, Chronology, and Interconnections*, pls 56.22, 67.12, 69.1, 70.2; Ben-Tor, in Levy, Kletter, *Rishon le-Zion*, vol. I/2, figs 10.10.32, 10.25.84 (=Ben-Tor, *Scarabs, Chronology, and Interconnections*, pl. 51.34).

[278] Smith, Dujovny, in Ben-Arieh, *Bronze and Iron Age Tombs at Tell Beit Mirsim*.

[279] Ben-Arieh, in Ben-Arieh, *Bronze and Iron Age Tombs at Tell Beit Mirsim*, 13-5.

[280] Keel lists the scarab as having an e10 side, but the photograph and drawing show the side to have front and mid legs notched and a break in the bottom line – therefore an e9 side.

[281] Jean-Baptiste Humbert, personal communication 08.07.2019.

Fig. 11 – Blakhiya, Type IIIb scarab from Roman ruins. After Sadeq, in Haldimann *et al*., *Gaza, à la croisée de civilisations*, fig. 155. Courtesy of Moain Sadeq

terranéenne, 35, photo, scarab on left; Sadeq, in Haldimann *et al*., *Gaza, à la croisée de civilisations*, fig. 155; Wawrzinek, in Anonymous (ed.), *Gaza: Brücke zwischen Kulturen*, fig. 9; Keel, *Corpus, Katalog* IV, 132-3, no. 8. BODO: http://www.bible-orient-museum.ch/bodo/details.php?bomid=31389, <accessed 21.07.2021>

Comments: This scarab derives from the same salvage excavations at Blakhiya in Gaza as yielded the Type IIb scarab described above in cat. no. 2, and like that artifact it comes from Roman-period rubble. The scarab has an open, funnel-shaped head, elongated eyes, an incomplete grooved bottom line on the side, and notches on the front and mid legs – altogether a typical Type IIIb product. The plinth has the same double-Z spiral design as appears on the Type IIIb scarab from Jericho (cat. no. 20), except the latter shows the spiral in portrait mode. Single- and double-Z spirals appear on both imported and local seal-amulets during the Middle Bronze Age.[282] A scarab of local manufacture, engraved horizontally with a double-Z spiral design and flanked by curving lines ('*Doppelbogen*'?) and *ʿnḫ*-signs, comes from Tell Beit Mirsim and dates somewhat later within the MB II period.[283] Another local scarab, from Aphek, shows a double-Z spiral flanked by papyrus plants (the inner stem standing upright, the outer one bent over and bound) on *nb*.[284] Sadeq labels the Blakhiya piece as Egyptian and dates it to the Hyksos period,[285] while Burdajewicz and Wawrzinek both place the object in either the Second Intermediate Period or the Iron Age (with a question-mark!).[286] Keel, while recognizing that the scarab has a Type III head, expresses uncertainty regarding the origin of this scarab ('*ungewiss ob importiert oder lokal*'). The skepticism is unnecessary.[287] The head, back and side point to the scarab being a true Type IIIb import.

16. Ashkelon (Pl. VII)

Museum/Field Registration Number: ID no. 80/97 50.47. L311.B182.(49,208), Leon Levy Expedition to Ashkelon

Typology and Dimensions: B4/I/e9. 0.9 × 0.6 × 0.3 mm. Type IIIb

Glaze: No trace of glaze

Base: Design class 11A, 'Names and Titles, royal names' Prenomen of Senusert III, *Ḫᶜ-kȝw-rᶜ* inscribed in portrait mode, without a cartouche

Context: Chamber 7 in large tomb complex in Grid 50 on the northwest edge of the South tell

Date of Context: MB IIC-LB IIA[288]

References: Ashkelon material culture number 49,208. Unpublished

Comments: The Leon Levy Expedition to Ashkelon (1985-2016) excavated a large, multichambered tomb complex in Grid 50 on the northwest edge of the South tell on this coastal site between 1996 and 2000.[289] This

[282] The double-Z spiral design with floral endings appears in portrait arrangement already on Eleventh Dynasty stamp seals (Wiese, *Die Anfänge der ägyptischen Stempelsiegel-Amulette*, pl. 50.1031-2).

[283] Keel, *Corpus, Katalog* II, 54-5, no. 27. BODO: http://www.bible-orient-museum.ch/bodo/details.php?bomid=26891, <accessed 18.06.2021>.

[284] Keel, *Corpus, Katalog* I, 88-9, no. 28=Lalkin, in Gadot, Yadin, *Aphek-Antipatris II*, 444, fig. 14.1.1.

[285] Sadeq, in Haldimann *et al*. (eds), *Gaza, à la croisée de civilisations*, fig. 155 caption.

[286] Burdajewicz, in Humbert, *Gaza Méditerranéenne*, 35, photo caption; Wawrzinek, in Anonymous (ed.), *Gaza: Brücke zwischen Kulturen*, fig. 9 caption.

[287] Keel, *Corpus, Katalog* IV, 132, no. 8.

[288] I thank Mario A.S. Martin (personal communication 02.11.2021) for providing me with a preliminary assessment of the date range of the pottery in this chamber.

[289] A preliminary report on this complex appears in Stager, Schloen, Master, Press, Aja, in Stager, Schloen, Master (eds), *Ashkelon 1*, 300-3; see also Baker, *The Funeral Kit*, 60-4; Baker, *Levant* 38, 3, 7-10, fig. 3.1; Baker, *Levant* 42, 8, 10, fig. 1; Baker, *The Funeral Kit*, 60-2, fig. 3.1. The author thanks Daniel Master (personal communication 01.11.2021) and Mario A.S. Martin (personal communication 02.11.2021) for providing me with preliminary information on Chamber 7.

cave-tomb was hewn out for burials from possibly as early as the transitional MB IIA/B period through LB II.[290] Chamber 7, a part of subcomplex 7/10/11/12, was dug out in the MB IIC period and used for burials through the LB IIA period, with interments peaking in the LB I. There was no internal stratigraphy or intact burials in the chamber. Study of the materials in the chamber is in progress. A scarab inscribed with the prenomen of Senusert III was among the finds in this chamber. The scarab, which is not mentioned in any previous publications, was spotted by Daphna Ben-Tor in November 2021 in a preliminary study of a batch of scarabs from Ashkelon awaiting publication. Study of the materials in Chamber 7 is ongoing, but as of December 2021 the scarab had not been assigned to a particular burial.

This tiny scarab is about the same length as the Type IIIa scarab from Cave-Tomb 303B at Tell el-‘Ajjul (cat. no. 3). The scarab looks worn on the side. The head and eyes of the beetle are similar to those on the scarab of Senusert III at Ta‘anach (cat. no. 11), and the engraving of the king’s name is slightly more crude than on the Ta‘anach piece: the signs have obviously been incised hastily. This is especially noticeable with the *rᶜ*-sign (created with two curved lines joined together, as on the Ta‘anach scarab) and the *hᶜ*-sign (the base of this sign running to the edge of the oval border).

17. Ashkelon (Pl. VIII)

Museum/Field Registration Number: ID no. 73/98 50.48. L509.B151.(51,545), Leon Levy Expedition to Ashkelon

Typology and Dimensions: B4/I/e9. 16 × 11 × 6 mm. Type IIIb

Glaze: No trace of glaze

Base: Design class 11A, ‘Names and Titles, royal names’. Prenomen of Amenemhat III, *N*(*y*)-*mꜣᶜ(t)-rᶜ* inscribed vertically within a cartouche engraved so as to represent a double thickness of rope tied together at the ends; above are *ḫᶜ* and *nṯr*, followed by a pair of inverted *wꜣḏ* (M13) signs. Symmetric pairs of *ᶜnḫ* and *ḥm* (U36) signs flank the cartouche

Context: ‘Sandy Burial Niche’ off Chamber 5 in large tomb complex in Grid 50 on the northwest edge of the South tell

Date of context: Early MB IIB-LB II[291]

References: Ashkelon material culture number 51,545. Unpublished[292]

Comments: This scarab comes from a different chamber (Chamber 5) in the tomb complex than the Senusert III scarab (cat. no. 16). Chamber 5 was a rectangular chamber used for burials from early MB IIB through LB II. It was the earliest of the tomb chambers and had multiple subsidiary niches, one of which, a subfloor area termed the ‘Sandy Burial Niche’ on the east side of Chamber 5, held the largely disarticulated remains of eight individuals (including a child).[293] A scarab inscribed with the prenomen of Amenemhat III was among the finds in the niche. Study of the materials in Chamber 5 is ongoing, but as of December 2021 the scarab had not been assigned to a particular burial

This is one of three Type IIIb seal-amulets displaying the throne name of Amenemhat III. The others are a scarab from the Kerma cemetery at Ukma West in Nubia and a seal-amulet lacking provenience that is in the Mouly collection in Beirut.[294] The scarab has an open head with a wide base narrowing to a small flaring at the front, elongated eyes, a lined back and vertical notches on the front and middle legs on both sides.

The base displays a slightly abbreviated form of the prenomen of Amenemhat III (the *t* in *mꜣᶜt* is missing), enclosed within a cartouche. This is one of three scarabs and two seal impressions from Palestine that carry the name of this king. The others are a scarab impression on a late MB II or early LB I bowl in Stratum XXa at Yokne‘am,[295] a bulla from an unstratiified context at Tel Michal[296] a scarab, also unstratified, from Tell el-‘Ajjul[297] and a fragmentary scarab from a level attributed by Petrie to the Twentieth Dynasty at Tell Jemmeh that displays the prenomens of Senusert III and Amenemhat III side-by-side.[298] The Amenemhat III scarab stands out from the other Type IIIa and b royal-name scarabs in Palestine in being much more carefully cut. The presence of two inverted *wꜣḏ*-signs standing next to each other is peculiar. One possible explanation is that the seal-maker underestimated the amount of space he

[290] Daniel Master personal communication 23.07.2018.

[291] See the sources cited in n. 289, above.

[292] Ben-Tor, *Scarabs, Chronology, and Interconnections*, 69 n. 340, noted the existence of this scarab, which she said ‘*bears an imitation of a royal-name scarab of Amenemhat III*’, but see below, n. 300 for Ben-Tor’s more recent opinion of it. The scarab is also mentioned by Keel, *Corpus, Katalog* IV, 22 no. 15, who thinks it probably was a Fifteenth Dynasty creation.

[293] Baker, *Levant* 38, 3, 7-10, fig. 3.1; Baker, *Levant*, 42, 8, 10, fig. 1, table 1; Baker, *The Funeral Kit*, 60-2, 178, fig. 3.1.

[294] The Ukma West specimen lacks the cartouche and flanking hieroglyphs: Andreu, in Vila, *Le cimetière kermaïque d’Ukma Ouest*, 235, pls 7-8.170/4. The same is true of the scarab in the Mouly Collection: Loffet, *AHL* 42-3, 118, fig. 4.

[295] Ben-Tor, in Ben-Tor, Ben-Ami, Livneh, *Yoqne‘am III*, 361-2, fig. 5.8.

[296] Giveon, in Herzog, Rapp, Jr., Negbi (eds), *Excavations at Tel Michal, Israel*, 343, fig. 29.1:7, pl. 75.8.

[297] Petrie, *Ancient Gaza II*, 9, pl. 8.123; Keel, *Corpus, Katalog* I, 212-13, no. 326 with previous bibliography.

[298] Petrie, *Gerar*, 10, pl. 19.2; Keel, *Corpus, Katalog* IV, 22-3 no. 51.

needed to accommodate a symmetric arrangement of three good-luck signs on both sides, and for a simple solution to his problem he inserted the extra *w3ḏ* into the available space on the left side. As for the sign for water (*n*) in the prenomen, the writing of the sign as a straight line with a short vertical stroke at each end is attested on other scarabs naming this king.[299] Like the Senusert III scarab from Chamber 7, this artifact is probably a later reissue rather than being contemporaneous with Amenemhat III's reign.[300]

18. Beth Shemesh (Pl. IX)

Museum/Field Registration Number: Philadelphia, Penn Museum, Inv. no. 61-14-959

Typology and Dimensions: B4/I/e9 (see Comments below). 12.4 × 9.2 × 4.9 mm. Type IIIb

Glaze: Traces of blue glaze

Base: Design class 1E, 'Linear Patterns, floral motifs'. Vertically arranged symmetric design, each half consisting of a pair of plants with bound stems on a *nb*-sign (V30), the two halves of the design linked by pairs of vertical concave lines facing each other, with hatching between the pairs of lines and with a crudely cut *rʿ*-sign (N5) on either side

Context: Tomb 13 (formerly Tomb 3), Haverford College excavations

Date of Context:, MB IIB[301]

References: Grant, *Beth Shemesh (Palestine)*, 71; 89 row 4, no. 4; 132 no. 750 (where dimensions of 18 × 12 mm. are given); Keel, *Corpus, Katalog* II, 252-3, no. 82. Photographs showing the head, back and base of this scarab are available at https://www.penn.museum/collections/object/84402, <accessed 22.11.21>; for all views of this object, see BODO: http://www.bible-orient-museum.ch/bodo/details.php?bom-id=27485, <accessed 22.11.2021>

Comments: Keel classified the head as B3 and the side as e10.[302] However, the scarab has an open head with a small, rounded eye on the left side and a more elongated eye on the right side (so a B4), an incomplete grooved line around the side, a diagonal line defining the hind leg, and notching on the front and mid legs (thus, e9). There is some minor damage around the edge of the base. The typological features of the head, lined back and side are consistent with Tell el-Dabʿa workshop scarabs of Type IIIb. The overall design on the base is well known and appears in various forms on the sealings at Uronarti.[303] Tufnell and Ward's typological designation for the design would be 1E3 ('Linear Patterns, floral motifs, three stems', but with Ben-Tor we do not divide the 'floral motifs' into subclasses (1E1, 1E2 and 1E3) based on the number of stems present.[304] Keel's view that the scarab is '*wahrscheinlich importiert*' is no doubt correct.

Tomb 13 is a typical Middle Bronze Age multiple-burial tomb – *i.e.*, the skeletal remains of each body and the accompanying offerings were pushed aside to make room for the next interment; it is not possible to connect the Tell el-Dabʿa scarab to a specific burial. The tomb yielded no less than 14 scarabs.[305] The seal-amulets include a late Middle Kingdom private name-and-title scarab of *Śnᶜ-ib* (dateable typologically to the 'Sobekhotep group' of scarabs of the Thirteenth Dynasty) as well as two late Middle Kingdom design scarabs, a plain rock-crystal scarab, and this Tell el-Dabʿa Type IIIb specimen; the remaining pieces are local and belong to the early Palestinian series, except possibly for a single hard stone (serpentine?) piece that Keel suggests may have been imported as a plain scarab, then engraved locally.[306]

19. Gezer (Fig. 12)

Museum/Field Registration Number: London, PEF, Inv. no. 1042; scarab '*jedoch nicht mehr vorhanden*', per Keel, *Corpus, Katalog* IV, 244, no. 172, Cast no. 197 (location of original object unknown)

Typology and Dimensions: B4/I/e9.[307] 15 × 10.2 × 10 mm. Type IIIb

Glaze: No mention of glaze in Macalister's reports

[299] E.g., MMA 20.1.7, 16.1.22 (the lapis lazuli scarab of the king from the tomb of Sithathoryunet); Israel Museum reg. no. 76.031.3955.

[300] See above, n. 292, for Ben-Tor's initial view of this scarab. More recently, she has suggested that the item may be '*a genuine Tell el-Dabʿa workshop late Middle Kingdom reissue of an early 12th Dynasty royal name*' scarab (personal communication 21.11.2019).

[301] Keel, *Corpus, Katalog* II, no. 82, places the tomb in early MB IIB. Dever, in Cross, Lemke, Miller (eds), chart 2, places the tomb as early as transitional MB IIA/B, while both Gerstenblith, *The Levant at the Beginning of the Middle Bronze Age*, 33 (referring to it by its old tomb number, 3) and Ward, Dever, *Studie*s 3, fig. 3.1, date the tomb generally within MB IIB. The scarab cannot be linked to a particular individual in this multi-burial tomb, so we have left the date simply as MB IIB.

[302] Keel, *Corpus, Katalog* II, 252, no. 82.

[303] Ben-Tor, *Scarabs, Chronology, and Interconnections*, pl. 1.46-50. The connecting lines on these scarabs are somewhat longer than those on the Beth Shemesh scarab.

[304] *Op. cit.*, 10-12.

[305] Thirteen appear in Keel, *Corpus, Katalog* II, 252-7, nos 80-92; the fourteenth is an uninscribed rock-crystal scarab (Grant *Beth Shemesh (Palestine)*, 89 row 4, no. 3; 132, no. 751).

[306] Keel, *Corpus, Katalog* II, 254-5, no. 89.

[307] Keel, *Corpus, Katalog* IV, 244, no. 172, identifies the side as e10 rather than e9. The cast of the Gezer scarab shows the standard e9 side.

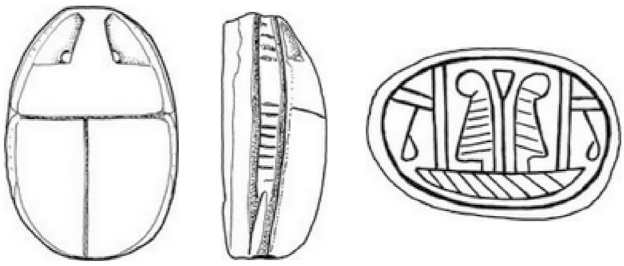


Fig. 12 – Gezer, Type IIIb ‘Second Semitic Period’ scarab © Stiftung BIBEL+ORIENT, Fribourg Switzerland

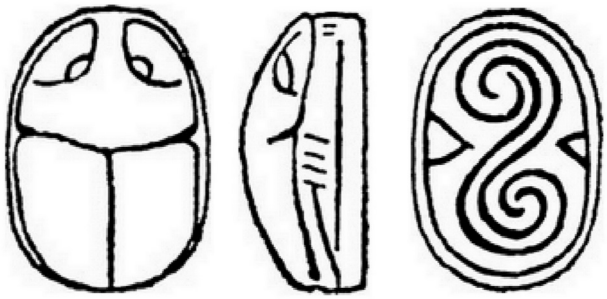


Fig. 13 – Jericho, Type IIIb scarab from Kenyon’s Tomb G1 © Stiftung BIBEL+ORIENT, Fribourg Switzerland

Base: Variant of Design class 3B3a, ‘Egyptian Signs and Symbols, symmetric patterns, red crowns addorsed on *nb*’. Longitudinal design comprising a papyrus stem flanked on either side by *m3‘t*-feathers (H6) in addorsed position and flanked by inverted and addorsed red crowns (*dšrt* [S3]), all of these signs standing on a single elongated *nb* (V30) decorated with interior diagonal hatching

Context: ‘Above Stratum III’

Date of Context: ‘Second Semitic Period’

References: Macalister, *PEFQS* 35, 211, no. 2, pl. 2.2; Macalister, *Excavation of Gezer*, vol. II, 315, no. 58; vol. III, pl. 203a.2; Keel, *Corpus, Katalog* IV, 244-5, no. 172. BODO: http://www.bible-orient-museum.ch/bodo/details.php?bomid=2370, <accessed 21.11.2021>

Comments: The head, back and side fit Type IIIb. The disposition of the red crowns on the base is unusual. Late Middle Kingdom scarabs most typically show a pair of red crowns either addorsed on *nb*-signs or plain and addorsed (Type 3B3a or b), or plain, confronted red crowns above *nbw* (Type 3B3c). On the Gezer piece, the crowns are inverted and addorsed and stand on a single, elongated *nb*-sign in a landscape design.[308] The design parallel that Keel cites for the arrangement of the red crowns is on a local scarab from Lachish which Ben-Tor had placed in her late Palestinian series; Keel also labels the scarab as a local specimen and dates it to late MB IIB-C (‘1650-1500’).[309] There are, however, parallels for the inverted and addorsed red crowns as well as for the overall longitudinal design on this scarab. These include the designs on two scarabs from Lisht (MMA 20.1.106 and 22.1.1172), a scarab from Level II at Tell el-‘Ajjul,[310] and a scarab of unknown provenience in the Petrie collection (UC60325). The *nb* on all of these items is decorated with interior hatched lines.

This is one of innumerable scarabs that Macalister attributed to his ‘Second Semitic Period’, which included everything he believed was contemporary with the Thirteenth through Eighteenth Egyptian dynasties. Such a ‘context’ is obviously meaningless and of no chronological value. It is reasonable to conclude that the Gezer scarab is a late Middle Kingdom or early Second Intermediate Period import from Tell el-Dab‘a.

Finally, the present whereabouts of the actual scarab is unknown. It is not now – and may never have been – in the Palestine Exploration Fund Museum, which only has a cast of the object.[311] The ‘Inv. no. 1042’ listed for the Gezer seal-amulet in Keel’s *Corpus* is the number assigned to the cast in an old, archival PEF Museum catalogue.[312]

20. Jericho (Fig. 13)

Museum/Field Registration Number: Birmingham Museum and Art Gallery, Inv. no. A. 177.1983

Typology and Dimensions: B10/I/e9. 10 × 7.3 × 5.0 mm. Type IIIb

Glaze: No mention of glaze in publications

Base: Design class 2A, ‘Scrolls and Spirals, Z-, S-, C-scrolls’. Unlinked double Z-spiral, small horizontal triangular fillers on either side of double Z-spiral and attached to side border line. Design engraved in portrait mode

[308] Confronted red crowns share a single *nb* on a seal impression at Mirgissa: Gratien, *Mirgissa V*, pl. 79.5K.130,

[309] Tufnell 1958, pls 32-33.78; Ben-Tor, *Scarabs, Chronology, and Interconnections*, pl. 78.43.

[310] Keel, *Corpus, Katalog* I, 378-9, no. 808.

[311] Felicity Cobbing, the Chief Executive and Curator at the Palestine Exploration Fund, has suggested that the item may be either in Istanbul or the Rockefeller Museum in Jerusalem (personal communication 03.11.2021). The author thanks Felicity Cobbing, Rupert Chapman and Ava Clark at the PEF for their assistance in identifying this item.

[312] The current museum database identifies PEF Inventory no. 1042 as belonging to a Rhodian jar handle.

Context: Tomb G1, earlier burials, Kenyon excavations.
Date of Context: Late MB IIB (Kenyon's MB II Group IV)
References: Kenyon, *Excavations at Jericho*, vol. I, 445, 453 [no. 65]; Kirkbride, in Kenyon, *Excavations at Jericho*, vol. II, 642, fig. 299.19; Tufnell, *Studies* 2, 73, pl. 4.1131; Ben-Tor, *Scarabs, Chronology, and Interconnections*, 159, pl. 75.1; Keel, *Corpus, Katalog* V, 224-5, no. 473. BODO: http://www.bible-orient-museum.ch/bodo/details.php?bomid=4233, <accessed 16.08.2021>. See Kenyon, *Excavations at Jericho*, vol. I, fig. 188: layer 3, no. 65 for context of scarab

Comments: The open head with small eyes, the lined back and e9 side of the Jericho scarab fit well with Type IIIb scarabs, which is one of the few workshop specimens to have a genuine B10 head. The design consisting of a single Z-spiral, along with side triangles as fillers, appears on scarabs in both Egypt and the Levant in the early second millennium BC; a fine early example comes from the Montet Jar at Byblos.[313] A double-Z spiral with side fillers of either the letter *r* or perhaps a flattened *nb*-sign appears on a surface find at Tell el-Dab'a.[314] Most parallels date later in the MB II, including several specimens from uncertain, though likely late, MB II contexts at Tell el-'Ajjul as well as Second Intermediate Period examples at Qau and Semna.[315] Keel labeled the Jericho scarab an Egyptian import of Fifteenth Dynasty date, while Ben-Tor called it late Palestinian series (on the basis of the design, which has several good local single- or double-Z parallels).[316] A Type IIIb scarab in a private collection in Beirut that allegedly comes from the Amuq plain also has a double-Z spiral displayed vertically, flanked on the upper left and lower right side by crudely incised facing *wḏ3t*-eyes (D10).[317] The Jericho object's typological features support its identification as a Type IIIb import. The scarab is likely an heirloom in its late MB IIB context.[318]

This scarab is thought to come from one of the earlier burials in Tomb G1, a shaft-tomb in Cemetery G northwest of the mound. Following the usual burial practices of the time, the earlier burials in this tomb were pushed aside to make room for the later burials. This scarab was found closest to a pair of earlier burials, W and K, on the right side of the cave. Based on the ceramics placed with the earlier interments, Kenyon linked these burials to her MB IIB Group IV (=late MB IIB) and related the later burials to her MB II Group V (=MB IIC).

21. Dhahrat el-Humraiya (Pl. X)

Museum/Field Registration Number: Kibbutz Palmachim Museum, IAA Inv. no. 44.309
Typology and Dimensions: B4 or B10?/I/?. This small scarab is badly damaged and worn; preserved dimensions 10.8 × 6.6 × 3.7 mm. Type IIIb
Glaze: No trace of glaze[319]
Base: Design class 11A, 'Names and Titles, royal names' (?). Left side completely missing, right side preserves three partial signs, only one of which, the *ḥ*^{c} (N28) in the middle, is certain
Context: Grave 44, Ory excavations
Date of context: Probably MB IIC
References: Ory, *QDAP* 13, 77, n. 5, 84-5, pl. 33.13; Keel, *Corpus, Katalog* II, 338-9, no. 5. BODO: http://www.bible-orient-museum.ch/bodo/details.php?bomid=27815, <accessed 21.08.2021>

Comments: This fragmentary seal-amulet is attached to a metal ring having a twisted band. Not all Type IIIb features are evident on this small, fragmentary seal-amulet. The scarab has a (badly damaged) head that is open at the front and rear and has a lined back. The small exterior eyes found on Type IIIa and IIIb scarabs are not visible in the small photograph published by Ory or in the photograph and accompanying drawing by Keel,[320]

[313] Tufnell, *Studies* 2. pl. 4.1116.
[314] Mlinar, *Die Skarabäen von Tell el-Dab'a*, no. 1060.
[315] Tell el-'Ajjul: Ben-Tor, *Scarabs, Chronology, and Interconnections*, pl. 75:3-5=Tufnell, *Studies* 2, pl. 4.1144, 1149-50); Qau: Brunton, *Qau and Badari III*, pl. 19.24=Ben-Tor, *Scarabs, Chronology, and Interconnections*, pl. 32.19; Semna: Dunham, Janssen, *Semna, Kumma*, pl. 121.21=Ben-Tor, *Scarabs, Chronology, and Interconnections*, 57-8 and n. 245, pl. 32.29.
[316] Ben-Tor, *Scarabs, Chronology, and Interconnections*, pl. 75.2-5.
[317] Boschloos, in Chatonnet *et al.* (eds), *Nuit de pleine lune sur Amurru*, 113-4.
[318] An early Middle Kingdom scarab from the early MB IIB Burial 100 at Sidon has a single-Z spiral centered horizontally between a pair of blooming plants sitting on *nb*-signs and displayed *tête bêche* (Loffet, *AHL* 34-35, no. 16). A design scarab showing the double-Z spiral displayed vertically and ending in floral petal terminals on either side comes from Batiment II at Byblos (Dunand, *Fouilles de Byblos I*, pl. 130.1376). Vanessa Boschloos, who has examined the Byblos item, informed me that it is a Tell el-Dab'a Type IIIa scarab (personal communication 29.06.2021).
[319] Ory, *QDAP* 13, 85, identified the scarab's composition as 'white paste'; Keel, *Corpus, Katalog* II, 338 correctly labels the material as 'Enstatit' (*i.e.*, fired steatite). As for the shank, Ory, *QDAP* 13, 85, said it was made of gold, while Keel, *Corpus, Katalog* II, 338, no. 5, identified it as '*hellem Gold, vielleicht Elektron*', and Arlette David (personal communication 03.07.2019) has suggested that the material might be 'a copper alloy'.
[320] Ory, *QDAP* 13, pl. 33.13; Keel, *Corpus, Katalog* II, 339, no. 5.

but our color photograph (see Pl. X) and the BODO online illustrations leave open the possibility of at least a tiny eye on the left side of the head (such as one finds on some of the Type IIIb scarabs published by Mlinar.[321] The head-type is probably B4 or B10. There is little one can say about the side other than that the mid leg has diagonal notches sloping backward from top to bottom; we cannot determine whether the grooved line around the side is continuous or not, since the left-rear part of the artifact is broken away.

The scarab's thick metal ring shank shows a mounting technique that finds parallels in the ring bands used with three late Middle Kingdom scarabs: an amethyst scarab from Tomb F/I-m/18 in Stratum G/4 at Tell el-Dab‘a, an amethyst scarab from Tomb II at Byblos, and an amethyst scarab from a pit burial (Locus 38201) of transitional MB IIA/B or early MB IIB date in Stratum R-5 at Beth Shean.[322] The difference between these three shanks and the Dhahrat el-Humraiya band is that the thick wire or rod of the latter is wrapped all around, while the bands of the former are smooth and have rounded to slightly oval cross-sections. Twisted bands are well attested in the early second millennium BC on bracelets in the Tomb of the Princess at Ebla and Tomb II at Byblos.[323] The Dhahrat el-Humraiya shank thus seems to combine features of both Egyptian and Near Eastern jewelry manufacturing techniques.

Regarding the hieroglyphic signs on the plinth: since much of the base is missing, the reading of two of the three partially preserved signs is uncertain. The *ḥ*ᶜ-sign (N28) in the middle is clear, and a tiny piece of an *r* or a flattened *r*ᶜ (N5) is at the top. As for the bottom sign, Keel may be right in identifying it as a papyrus clump (*ḥ3*, M16) as seen, for example, on a Tell el-Dab‘a Type IIa design scarab (though it would be a highly schematic clump),[324] or maybe it is an herb (M2), as appears on the late Middle Kingdom name-and-title scarab of the steward *Ḥnr* at Aphek.[325] An alternative worth considering, however, is that the signs on the base form the prenomen of Senusert III. In this scenario, the right and middle arms of the double-*k3* sign are what we see at the bottom, while the partial sign at the top is a *r*ᶜ. The principal challenge with this reading is that the bottom line of the proposed *k3w* curves slightly – it is not straight as we see, for example, on cat. nos 11 and 16. Nonetheless, our best judgement is that this seal-amulet is a Type IIIb import which contains the prenomen of Senusert III.

In 1942 Jacob Ory excavated 63 graves at Dhahrat el-Humraiya, located ca. 13 km. south of Jaffa in the Wadi Rubin, on behalf of the Department of Antiquities in Palestine.[326] Most of the tombs were simple pit burials of MB IIA and B date (with a small number dating to the end of MB II and the Late Bronze Age).[327] Grave 44 contained a single individual who was laid out in a contracted position. A silver headband or diadem, about 10 cm. wide, was set on the skull. Parallels for these headbands are known from Tell el-Dab‘a, as well as at Tell Sukas in Syria and possibly also at Rishon le-Zion.[328] There is no information on the placement of the scarab vis-à-vis the body.[329] The date of Grave 44 is late MB IIB – probably MB IIC – based on the presence of ‘*two groups of button-base juglets in buff or grey ware with lustrous red or black slip, found near head*’.[330] Ac-

[321] Mlinar, in Bietak, Czerny (eds), *Scarabs of the Second Millennium BC*, fig. 8.3, 5, 10, 12.

[322] Tell el-Dab‘a: Kopetzky, Bietak, *Ä&L* 28, 371, fig. 16; Schiestl, *Tell el-Dab‘a XVIII,* 90-2, fig. 335; Mlinar, *Die Skarabäen von Tell el-Dab‘a*, no. 18. Byblos: Kopetzky, *Ä&L* 28, 312, fig. 2. Paris, Musée du Louvre, Inv. no. AO 9094. https://collections.louvre.fr/ark:/53355/cl010169782, <accessed 10.12.2021>. Beth Shean: Brandl, in Mazar, Mullins (eds), *Excavations at Tel Beth*-Shean, vol. II, 586-7, figs 8.4, 8.4a, photo 8.4. For the location, context and dating of this burial of a child ca. 8-12 years old, see Mazar, Mullins, in Mazar, Mullins, *Excavations at Tel Beth*-Shean, vol. II, 13, 15, figs 1.2, 1.5; Mullins, Mazar, in Mazar, Mullins, *Excavations at Tel Beth*-Shean, vol. II, 39, 47, 50, 200, photos 3.4a–c; Maeir, in Mazar, Mullins, *Excavations at Tel Beth*-Shean, vol. II, *passim*, especially 296-7, pl. 16.1-8.

[323] E.g., Matthiae, *Ebla: Archaeology and History*, 260-1, fig. 12.11; Montet, P., *Byblos et l'Égypte*, pl. 97, no. 635.

[324] Mlinar, in Bietak, Czerny (eds), *Scarabs of the Second Millennium BC*, fig. 4.3.

[325] Keel, *Corpus, Katalog* I, 82-83, no. 14.

[326] The surviving records of Ory's project are available online in the Israel Antiquities Authority Scientific Archives (www.iaa-archives.org.il) *s.v.* Dhaharat el-Humraiya, <accessed 21.10.2021>.

[327] Recent salvage excavations at this site have uncovered additional MB IIB burials: Yannai, "Ḥorbat Ḥumra (Southwest)".

[328] Forstner-Müller, *Tell el-Dab‘a XVI,* 236; Thrane, *Sūkās IV,* 39, figs 63-4. See Kletter, Jakoel, Levy, in Levy, Kletter, *Rishon le-Zion*, vol. I/1, 195; Levy, Jakoel, Kletter, in Levy, Kletter, *Rishon le-Zion*, vol. I/1, 293, 303 for possible remains of such headbands in MB II tombs at Rishon le-Zion.

[329] Ory does not include the scarab, rings or beads in his typescript of finds (item nos 242-54) from Grave 44 being sent to the Department of Antiquities. Interestingly, the document also makes no mention of the gold jewelry found in Grave 57, nor a silver earring from Grave 49, nor fragments of an ostrich eggshell from Grave 2/3. On the other hand, the text does include the many gold jewelry items from the richest burial in the cemetery, Grave 8. One presumes that the unmentioned finds were sent to Jerusalem on a different shipment(s), for which no detailed record is preserved (the project's field records on the IAA Scientific Archives website are very incomplete).

[330] Ory *QDAP* 13, 85.

Fig. 14 – Rishon le-Zion, Type IIIb scarab from Tomb F10. Courtesy of the Israel Antiquities Authority

cording to Ory's list of objects from the grave being submitted to the Department of Antiquities, there were a total of seven button-base juglets, four of them '*held in lump of sand together*'; three of the seven juglets still preserved evidence of a deep red slip. Ory does not illustrate these juglets in the published report, yet there can be little doubt that they belong in the category of red and black slip, burnished button-base juglets common in MB II but which disappeared with the onset of the Late Bronze Age.[331] The knife blade accompanying the deceased is catalogued by Graham Philip with the 'Curved-Bladed Knives' of his Type I, which appear infrequently beginning in late MB IIA, becoming more common in MB IIB-C.[332] The partially preserved handle and globular body of a Cypriot White Painted Pendent Line Style jug was also present in the burial,[333] as were three 'globular amethyst beads' and various bowls and other pottery vessels. Less than half of the objects in this fairly rich burial are illustrated in Ory's report.[334]

22. Rishon le-Zion (Fig. 14)

Museum/Field Registration Number: Field no. B7539.

Typology and Dimensions: B4 or B10/I/e9. 13.21 × 9.8 × 5.91 mm. Type IIIb.

Glaze: No trace of glaze.

Base: Design class 3B3b, 'Egyptian Signs and Symbols, symmetric patterns, red crowns addorsed'. Top row displays lozenge-shaped sign with interior hatching on the left, *nfr* over *nb* in the middle, and a crowned falcon with interior hatching on the right (facing left); bottom row shows a *ḏd*-pillar flanked by addorsed red crowns

Context: Tomb F10, southern burial zone, upper burial phase (Locus 731)

Date of Context: MB IIB[335]

References: Ben-Tor, in Levy, Kletter, *Rishon le-Zion*, vol. I/2, 611, no. 137, fig. 10.40.137; for context, see Kletter, Jakoel, Levy, in Levy, Kletter, *Rishon le-Zion*, vol. I/1, 223, fig. 3.82, and plan 3.53+54 (inside jar B7531)

Comments: This design scarab comes from an infant jar burial in a shaft tomb which is in the same area of the site as yielded cat. no. 7. The head, back and side of the scarab show most of the standard features of a Type IIIb scarab. The tip of the head is broken off, and there is some damage on the left side of the head. The side has front and mid legs notched (the notches sloping forward from top to bottom), an incomplete bottom line and a diagonal line defining the hind leg. The motif of red crowns addorsed appears on scarabs of the late Middle

[331] Bonfil, in Gitin (ed.), *The Ancient Pottery of Israel and Its Neighbors*, vol. III, 87, pl.1.3.28.*passim*. The one button-base juglet from Grave 44 that Ory does illustrate, in *QDAP* 13, pl. 32.23, is said to be of 'buff ware' and have a 'greenish slip'. It also fits in the MB IIC period. In addition to their occurrence in Grave 44, piriform 'button-base juglets with lustrous red surface' were found in Grave 55. In the field records, Ory also mentions button-base juglets with red or black slip, though apparently without burnishing, in Graves 4, 5, 11, 13, 15, 18-21, 22 (? - has "deep-red slip" but no mention of burnishing), 39, 49 and 63. Ory's published report does not always comport with his field records.

[332] Ory *QDAP* 13, 85, pl. 33.21; Philip, *Metal Weapons of the Early and Middle Bronze Ages in Syria-Palestine*, 505, cat. no. 1278; *cf.* Philip, *Tell el-Dab'a XV*, 149-51, table 5 (where they are especially common from Stratum E/1 on).

[333] Ory *QDAP* 13, 85, pl. 32.20; Maguire, *Tell el-Dab'a XXI*, 204-5, no. DHA 654. Although White Painted Pendant Line Style pottery is known from as early as Stratum G/1-3 at Tell el-Dab'a, it was especially popular in Strata E/1 and D/3, making its final appearance there in D/2 – *i.e.*, at the very end of the Second Intermediate Period: Maguire, *Tell el-Dab'a XXI*, tables 2-3; Vilain, in Bietak, Prell (eds), *The Enigma of the Hyksos*, vol. I, 305, graph 1.

[334] The items that were illustrated with photographs appear in Ory, *QDAP* 13, pls 32.20, 22-3; 33.13, 21. Many of the other artifacts in the grave are simply referenced to similar pottery and jewelry items in other graves.

[335] Uziel, Shai, in Levy, Kletter, *Rishon le-Zion*, vol. I/2, 403, table 6.4.

Kingdom as well as late Palestinian series scarabs.[336] The quality of engraving – especially the bungled head of the falcon and on the back in the areas of the head and pronotum – is mediocre.

23. ‘Ain es-Samiyeh (Pl. XI)

Museum/Field Registration Number: Tel Aviv University, Institute of Archaeology, ex-Moshe Dayan Collection no. 427

Typology and Dimensions: B4 or B10?/I/e9. 12.7 × 9.3 × 5.7 mm. Type IIIb

Glaze: No trace of glaze[337]

Base: Design class 3A4 (?), ‘Egyptian Signs and Symbols, monograms and varia, Horus hawk with *nṯr* and other signs’ (?). Longitudinal symmetric composition centering on a Horus-falcon facing right and standing above a *nb*-sign (which is written more like an *r*). The interior of the bird is incised with thin parallel horizontal lines. The falcon faces, from top to bottom, a misrendered *wḏȝt*-eye, a two-part frame or platform, and a triangle. Behind the bird are a reversed triangle and two-part platform frame or platform, and a *ḏd*-pillar

Context: None

Date of Context: None

References: Keel, *Corpus, Katalog* II, 584-5, no. 26. BODO: http://www.bible-orient-museum.ch/bodo/details.php?bomid=19066, <accessed 22.10.2021>

Comments: An enormous cemetery, largely of EB IV and Iron Age date and with some of the tombs of the former period evidently reused in MB II, lies near the spring known as ‘Ain es-Samiyeh, about 19 km NNE of Jerusalem. The site suffered substantial looting following the 1967 Arab-Israeli War, and quantities of pottery and metal weapons ended up in the antiquities shops of Jerusalem’s Old City.[338] This illicit activity also yielded a large number of scarabs, thirty-one of which were acquired by Moshe Dayan and are now in the collections of the Institute of Archaeology at Tel Aviv University. As many as six of these scarabs may be late Middle Kingdom Egyptian, while most of the rest are local and belong to the early as well as late Palestinian series, and two (cat. nos 23 and 24) are Tell el-Dab‘a Type IIIb specimens.[339]

Cat. no. 23’s open head has a tiny flaring at the front and large, elongated eyes stretching from the side of the head to the base-line. The rather roughly made head qualifies as neither precisely B4 nor B10. The e9 sides have small, vertical notches on the front and middle legs. The oblique notches on the left side slope slightly backward from top to bottom, whereas on the right side they slope in just the opposite direction (the drawing published in BODO and Keel’s *Corpus*, vol. II, shows the direction of the sloping on the right side incorrectly, as can be seen by comparing the drawing and the accompanying photograph). The head, back and sides are typical of Type IIIb.

The symmetric design on the base offers a potpurri of (mostly misrendered) hieroglyphic signs centered on a falcon standing on an *r* or *nb*. The typological category into which we should place the design is uncertain. The suggestion offered here is the ‘Horus hawk with *nṯr* and other signs’ motif, which is well known on Second Intermediate Period and early Palestinian series scarabs and still occasionally appears in the late Palestinian series but is not attested on late Middle Kingdom scarabs. The falcon standing on a *nb*-sign makes a frequent appearance on scarabs of this design type,[340] and this specimen would easily fit into the group were it not for the fact that neither the expected *nṯr* (found on the Egyptian version) nor 90-degree angle sign (found on Palestinian pieces) is present. The several muddled signs on the scarab point to a Canaanite artisan working at Tell el-Dab‘a. Keel dates this seal-amulet to the ‘*Ubergang von der 13. zur 15. Dynastie (ca. 1750-1650)*’ and says the item is ‘*wahrscheinlich importiert*’. A Tell el-Dab‘a origin and an early Second Intermediate Period date is proposed here, based on when the design motif first appeared in Egypt as well as the date-range of most Type IIIb scarabs at Tell el-Dab‘a.

24. ‘Ain es-Samiyeh (Pl. XII)

Museum/Field Registration Number: Tel Aviv University, Institute of Archaeology, ex- Moshe Dayan Collection no. 432

Typology and Dimensions: B4 or B10[341]/1/e9. 11.4[342] ×

[336] Ben-Tor, *Scarabs, Chronology, and Interconnections*, pls 8 (Design class 3B3b), 34 (Design class 3B3b), and 78-9 (design classes 3B3b, 3B3e [L shaped]); also, Mlinar, in Bietak, Czerny (eds), *Scarabs of the Second Millennium BC*, fig. 3.3.

[337] Ido Koch, personal communication 15.12.2021.

[338] See, e.g., Dever, *IEJ* 22; Dever, *BASOR* 217.

[339] Keel, *Corpus, Katalog* II, 574-87, nos 1-3, 5, 8-34.

[340] Ben-Tor, *IEJ* 47, 175, 179, fig. 8; *cf.* Ben-Tor, *Scarabs, Chronology, and Interconnections*, 76-7, pl. 33.13-35 (Second Intermediate Period examples) with 126-7, pl. 52.1-40 (early Palestinian series) and 160-1, pl. 77.13-4 (late Palestinian series) examples. *Op. cit.,* pl. 52.27 provides a Canaanite parallel if this is the right motif.

[341] As with cat. no. 23, the head is neither precisely B4 nor B10. The elongated, rounded eyes are fine for B10, but the front of the head is broken off, so we cannot state whether it was originally tunnel-shaped at that point, as B10 heads would be. Keel labels it a B10.

[342] Since the front of the scarab is damaged from top to bot-

9.8 × 6 mm. Type IIIb
Glaze: No trace of glaze[343]
Base: Design class 9G3, 'Animals and Heraldic Beasts, Equids and Other Large Mammals, Hippopotamus'. Standing hippopotamus facing right, a horizontal *w3ḏ*-sign above the animal's back
Context: None
Date of Context: None
References: Keel, *Corpus, Katalog* II, 584-5, no. 29. BODO: http://www.bible-orient-museum.ch/bodo/details.php?bomid=19069, <accessed 22.08.2021>

Comments: This scarab, like cat. no. 23, comes from illicit excavations at 'Ain es-Samiyeh and was formerly in the collection of Moshe Dayan. The preserved portion of the head is similar to that on the other 'Ain es-Samiyeh scarab. The eyes look like those that go with a B10 head, but since the tip of the head is broken off, we cannot be certain whether the head is a B4 or B10. The head, back and side of this scarab are consistent with those features on other Type IIIb scarabs. The oblique notches on both the left and right side of this scarab slope forward from top to bottom.[344]

The artisan who made this scarab has produced an interesting, if not zoologically accurate, hippopotamus. He gave the hippopotamus its expected heavyset frame, with a short tail sloping downward, but he did not try to give the creature its proper beer-barrel shape. Instead, he created a large rectangle with slightly rounded corners at the rear to produce a body. Moreover, he created the body and neck as a single unit, a trapezoidal extension at the front of the body yielding a simple but functional neck. Three vertical lines inside the neck denote the natural folds of the hippo's skin. The artisan gave the animal a long, roughly rectangular head with an inward-curving front, a rounded top, no mouth or eyes, and triangular ears set (too) far forward on the top of the head. The long line protruding upward from the front of the head is strange. It may connect to the broken line coming down from the top of the head and possibly represent a schematic side view of the animal's huge eye sockets, but other interpretations (e.g., an accidental incision) are possible. The animal stands on short, stubby legs, the front legs extended slightly forward. The rows of short horizontal strokes in the body are decorative fillers. Overall, the engraver has taken a simple, intelligent approach to the task of creating a large, fairly complex animal and has produced a rudimentary yet easily identifiable hippopotamus. A *w3ḏ*-sign resting horizontally above the animal completes the design.

The only comparable animal on a Type II or III scarab at Tell el-Dab'a is a couchant gazelle on a Type IIb scarab from Stratum G/1-3.[345] That animal was created by a craftsperson with more artistic skill than the person who made the hippopotamus scarab. The outline of the gazelle's body, neck and head was engraved as a single, naturalistic unit, with lines added to complete the outline of the legs, the neck folds and the eye, and to incise an ear and pair of horns on top. The depiction is more realistic and more sophisticated than that of the hippopotamus. The design elements that the two scarabs have in common are the incised lines denoting the folds of the skin on the neck, the short decorative interior strokes on the body, and the placement of a filler sign (a large *ʿnḫ* in the case of the gazelle scarab).

The hippopotamus makes only an occasional appearance on scarabs and other objects in Palestine prior to the Late Bronze Age. It appears on two excavated scarabs. One is an early Twelfth Dynasty seal-amulet from an MB IIA context at Aphek. That scarab shows two standing hippopotamuses and two couchant caprids alternating in a *tête-bêche* arrangement around the edge, the heads of the hippopotamuses turned backward, their mouths agape, as in Egyptian *Nilpferdjagden* scenes.[346] The second scarab is a local, late Palestinian series product from Level III or II at Tell el-'Ajjul which Keel correctly identified as a recumbent hippopotamus, and Tufnell as a lion.[347] The odd creature on this scarab displays the artisan's misunderstanding of the anatomy of a hippopotamus. He produced a schematic rendering of the head and body of a hippopotamus, including a very short neck and legs too long for a hippopotamus that are folded back under the body. Attestations of the hippopotamus in the Middle Bronze Age are otherwise limited to representations of the composite deity Taweret on various items: a pair of late Middle Kingdom scarabs from Azor and Rishon le-Zion, two unprovenanced

tom, Keel's measurement of the length is only for the preserved portion.
[343] Ido Koch, personal communication 15.12.2021.
[344] At the moment, no significance is attached to the direction of the sloping of the notches – whether backward or forward from top to bottom, or stay perfectly vertical. Eventually it may be determined that the direction of the slope on the notches on e9 (and other?) sides had some purpose, but that will require the availability of photographs of both sides of each scarab, not the one side that has long been the standard publication format.
[345] Mlinar, in Bietak, Czerny (eds), *Scarabs of the Second Millennium BC*, fig. 5.1.
[346] Keel, *Corpus, Katalog* I, 82-3, no. 15; Ben-Tor, *Scarabs, Chronology, and Interconnections*, 118.
[347] Rowe, A., *Catalogue of Egyptian Scarabs*, 80, pl. 8.309=Tufnell 1984, pl. 40.2637;=Behrmann, *Das Nilpferd*, vol. I, Document 152.c; Keel, *Corpus, Katalog* I, 316, no. 631, with previous bibliography.

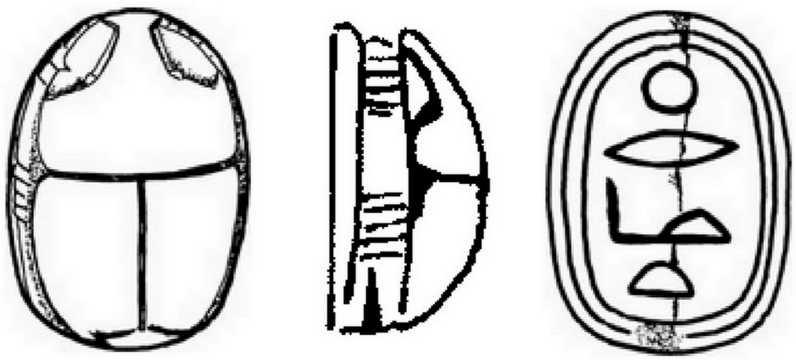


Fig. 15 – Tell el-Far‘ah (N.), Type IIIb scarab from Tomb AA. Drawings of back and base © Stiftung BIBEL+ORIENT, Fribourg Switzerland. Drawing of side adapted from Dumortier, in Amiet *et al.*, *Tell el Far‘ah*, pl. 7.34

scarabs in the BIBEL+ORIENT Museum that likely belong in the late Palestinian series, a pair of ivory inlays from an early MB IIB tomb at el-Jisr, a ceramic figure from Tell el-‘Ajjul, a plaque that reportedly was a surface find at Tell Ridan, and a birth tusk/magical wand from Tell el-‘Ajjul.[348]

25. Tell el-Far‘ah (N.) (Fig. 15)

Museum/Field Registration Number: Jerusalem, Rockefeller Museum, inventory number unknown (scarab reported missing by Keel)/Field no. 3904

Typology and Dimensions: B4/I/e9. 13 × 9 × 7 mm.[349] Type IIIb[350]

Glaze: No trace of glaze

Base: Design class 3C, ‘Egyptian Signs and Symbols, formulae’. The signs *rˁ*, *r*. *di* and *t* written in a neat, orderly column enclosed within double oval lines

Context: Tomb AA (Locus 615, under Locus 606), 5-year-old child in pit burial

Date of context: Early MB IIB

References: Mallet, *Tell el-Fâr‘ah (région de Naplouse)*, 56-7, pls 27.4, XXXII.2.4; Mallet. *Tell el-Fâr‘ah II*, 111, fig. 37.5, pls 93.3; 94.1, no. 1; Weinstein, *BASOR* 288, 41; Dumortier, in Amiet *et al.*, *Tell el Far‘ah*, 65 no. 34, pl. 7.34; Ben-Tor, *IEJ* 47, 175, fig. 7.5; Ben-Tor, *Scarabs, Chronology, and Interconnections*, 84 n. 422; Keel, *Corpus, Einleitung*, 240-1, § 640, fig. 558; Keel, in Bietak, Czerny (eds), *Scarabs of the Second Millennium BC*, 81, 93, fig. 27; Keel, *Corpus, Katalog* III, 20-1, no. 43, with previous bibliography. BODO: http://www.bible-orient-museum.ch/bodo/details.php?bomid=29658, <accessed 21.10.2021> (no photograph or drawing of side)

Comments: Tomb AA is one of five child burials that the École archéologique française de Jérusalem uncovered in 1958 at Tell el-Far‘ah (N.) in the central highlands.[351] The child was buried in a pit and lying on its back, legs folded to the right. In addition to three juglets, the deceased had two scarabs mounted on rings in the left hand. One scarab is a local, early Palestinian series piece, the other a typical Type IIIb scarab.[352] The signs on the plinth of the latter scarab, like those on a Type IIIa scarab from Tomb 303B at Tell el-‘Ajjul (cat. no. 3), show a variant of the standard *rdi-rˁ* motif. There is an incomplete bottom line around the side, a diagonal line indicating the hind leg, and the front and mid legs have vertical notches. The eyes at the exterior base of the head are tiny, so much so that the drawings of the head in the excavators’ reports do not show them.[353] Keel reports that the scarab could not be found in the Rockefeller Museum in Jerusalem, so certainty in the description of this scarab is not possible.[354]

[348] Azor and Rishon le-Zion scarabs: Keel, *Corpus, Katalog* I, 752-3, no. 16; Ben-Tor, in Levy, Kletter, *Rishon le-Zion*, vol. I/2, 608, no. 125, fig. 10.36.125. Scarabs lacking provenience: Keel, *700 Skarabäen*, 158-9, nos 374-5; Ivory inlays from el-Jisr, illustrated and discussed with previous bibliography in BIBEL+ORIENT Museum (Fribourg) online database, BODO: http://www.bible-orient-museum.ch/bodo/details.php?bomid=8443, <accessed 02.06.2022>, to which may be added Kuch, *Distant Worlds Journal* 3, 48, fig. 6b, and IAA National Treasures online database (Inv. nos 1942-275 and 1942-280); Tell el-‘Ajjul pottery figure: Petrie, *Ancient Gaza I*, 9, pl. 24: center figure in bottom center photo, Keel, *Levant* 25, 208-11, fig. 1; Tell Ridan plaque: Keel, *Levant* 25, 211, fig. 7; Birth tusk/magical wand: Petrie, *Ancient Gaza III*, pl. 28:8. For a recent summary of the material, see Kuch, *Distant Worlds Journal* 3, 46-8.

[349] Keel gives the dimensions in both of his publications as 13.1 × 10 × 6.5 mm.

[350] The Type IIIa designation in Keel, *Corpus, Katalog* III, 20, no. 43, is clearly an accidental mistake.

[351] Mallet, *Tell el-Fâr‘ah (région de Naplouse)*, pls 21, 27, XXX.2; Mallet, *Tell el-Fâr‘ah II*, 111, fig. 37, pl. 94.1.

[352] Mallet, *Tell el-Fâr‘ah (région de Naplouse)*, pls 27.5, XXXII.5; Mallet, *Tell el-Fâr‘ah II*, fig. 37.6, pl. 93.4; Keel, *Corpus, Katalog* III, 22-3, no. 44, with previous bibliography.

[353] The photograph of the back published in Keel, C*orpus, Katalog* III, 21, no. 43, and in the BIBEL+ORIENT Museum database shows the eye on the left side of the head (the right side is too dark to make out any details); the accompanying drawing shows both eyes.

[354] Keel, *Corpus, Katalog* III, 20, no. 43.

Fig. 16 – Beth-Shean, Type IIIb scarab from Stratum R-5b © Stiftung BIBEL+ORIENT, Fribourg Switzerland

Three scarabs with base designs and physical features similar in many respects to the Tell el-Far'ah (N.) specimen come from Tell el-Dab'a Strata F, E/3 and E/2.[355] They differ from the Tell el-Far'ah (N.) scarab in minor details, such as showing a flattened *nb*-sign on the plinth in place of the feminine *t* ending, and they lack the double oval border of the Tell el-Far'ah (N.) scarab. They are also considerably smaller than the Tell el-Far'ah (N.) scarab, whose length puts it in a class with *rdi-r*ᶜ scarabs dating to the Second Intermediate Period.[356] Ben-Tor originally viewed the Tell el-Far'ah (N.) scarab as local in origin; more recently, she has opted for it being an import, an assessment with which Keel and the author agree.[357] As noted earlier, this scarab and the two from 'Ain es-Samiyeh are the only Type III scarabs reported from sites in the central highlands.

26. Beth Shean (Fig. 16)

Museum/Field Registration Number: Jerusalem, Institute of Archaeology, The Hebrew University of Jerusalem. Reg. no.105213

Typology and Dimensions: B3/ I for line separating pronotum from elytra, II for lines separating the elytra/ e9. 14.5 × 10 × 6 mm. Type IIIb

Glaze: Traces of white glaze

Base: Design classes 2A, 'Scrolls and Spirals, Z-, S-, C-scrolls' and 3A3, 'Egyptian Signs and Symbols, monograms and varia'. Lion forepart (*ḥ3t*) in upper left-hand corner, upside-down red crown facing right in the upper right corner, single z-scroll resting horizontally across the middle, and a red crown facing downward and to the left at the bottom

Context: Stratum R-5b, Locus 10547, occupational debris on a packed-earth surface, The Hebrew University of Jerusalem excavations

Date of *Context*: Late MB IIB

References: Brandl, in Mazar, Mullins (eds), *Excavations at Tel Beth*-Shean, vol. II, 583-4, fig. 8.1, photo 8,1; Keel, *Corpus, Katalog* II, 190-1, no. 211. BODO: http://www.bible-orient-museum.ch/bodo/details.php?bomid=16039, <accessed 21.10.2021>. See Mazar, Mullins, in Mazar, Mullins (eds), *Excavations at Tel Beth*-Shean, vol. II, 67-8, fig. 3.8 for the context of the scarab

Comments: This scarab, from the Hebrew University Institute of Archaeology excavations at Beth Shean (1989-1996), is unusual in that it was found not in a tomb, but in an occupational context (specifically, a beaten-earth surface near the opening to a late MB IIB building complex on the south side of the mound). Also, it has a rare example of a B3 head on a Type III scarab: the small, exterior eyes are open at the base of the head. A lined back with a single line separates the pronotum from the elytra, while double lines separate the elytra. There is an incomplete grooved line on the side, a diagonal line defining the hind leg, and notching on the front and mid legs (the notches on the mid leg sloping forward slightly from top to bottom). An unusual aspect of this design scarab is the orientation of the signs, which face in three different directions, a phenomenon for which Brandl notes a few parallels, one of which is on a Type IIIa scarab from Tell el-Dab'a.[358] Brandl proposes that a scarab discovered by the University Museum of the University of Pennsylvania back in the early 1930s in a burial in Room 1845 is a second Type IIIb seal-amulet from the site, but it is instead a late Middle Kingdom design piece.[359]

[355] Mlinar, *Die Skarabäen von Tell el-Dab'a,* nos 213, 303, 404=Mlinar, in Bietak, Czerny (eds), *Scarabs of the Second Millennium BC*, fig. 8.3, 5, 8=Ben-Tor, *Scarabs, Chronology, and Interconnections*, pl. 31.6, 10, 15.

[356] See above, n. 164.

[357] Ben-Tor, *IEJ* 47, 175, fig. 7.5; Ben-Tor, *Scarabs, Chronology, and Interconnections*, 84, n. 422; Keel, *Corpus, Katalog* III, 20, no. 43.

[358] Mlinar, in Bietak, Czerny (eds), *Scarabs of the Second Millennium BC*, fig. 6a.9.

[359] Brandl, in Mazar, Mullins (eds), *Excavations at Tel Beth-Shean*, vol. II, 584, 599, n. 14, refers to this design scarab as

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NB. *The illustrations of the scarabs are not to scale*.

a Type IIIb scarab, while Keel, *Corpus, Katalog* II, 142-3, no. 102 sees it as a late Middle Kingdom import. The typological features of the back and side of the scarab, D8/I/d5, are unlike those on Type III scarabs, while the base design is similar to that on a late Middle Kingdom scarab from Tell el-Dab'a Tomb 11, Strata G-F (Mlinar, in Bietak, Czerny (eds), *Scarabs of the Second Millennium BC*, fig, 3.3) and on scarabs from Kahun, Uronarti and elsewhere (e.g., Ben-Tor, *Scarabs, Chronology, and Interconnections*, pl. 8.40; Tufnell, *JEA* 61, figs 2.31, 6.251, 254). Overall, this scarab has no typological features indicative of manufacture in the late Middle Kingdom workshop at Tell el-Dab'a.

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A Hitherto Unpublished Middle Kingdom Stela in the Field Museum of Natural History – Chicago

Edward Brovarski

Abstract

Field Museum FM 31692 somehow escaped the attention of Thomas George Allen when he published his catalogue of Egyptian steles in the Field Museum of Natural History (1936). Although the top of the stele is damaged, the stepped back nature of the top two lines at either side in the upper of three registers suggests the stele was round-topped originally. Contained in the lower registers are seated depictions of Nakht (twice) accompanied by his wife Henyet/Henen(i) and two of Nakht's son by different mothers. One of the son's "Nakht son of Heteput" is attired and equipped as a soldier. Otherwise, we have no idea of occupation of Nakht or his other son. Stylistic and iconograpic considerations such as the lion-headed couch on which Nakht sits coupled with epigraphic and palaeographic criteria argue that FM 31692 belongs to the time of Netjery-hedjet Mentuhotep II. In an Addendum the University of Heidelberg stele of Sobekemhat, Inv. No. 1018, is discussed.

The subject of this article, FM 31692, somehow escaped the attention of Thomas George Allen when he published his catalogue of Egyptian stelas in the Field Museum of Natural History.[1] It is unclear why because FM 31692 was collected (purchased) by Edward E. Ayer, the first president of the Field Museum and accessioned in early 1899.

It is difficult to tell definitively from the photograph of the stela provided by the Field Museum whether or not FM 31692 was originally round-topped. The stepped back nature of the top two lines at either side is suggestive, however, and would be suitable to an inscribed lunette. Round-topped stelas of early Middle Kingdom date frequently include portrayals of family members or retainers[2] as is the case with FM 31692, whose field is divided into three uneven registers.

The first register at the top of the stela is occupied by a prayer to Osiris to provide the deceased with food offerings. The prayer reads: 'An offering which the king gives Osiris, the great god, Lord of Abydos, that offerings might come forth (consisting of) a thousand of loaves of bread, a thousand jars of beer, a thousand of everything good and pure (for) the revered Nakht, true of voice'.

The recipient of the offerings is seated at the left side of the second register below. The line of text before his face identifies him as 'Djau's son, Amerryt's son Nakht'. Nakht's legs overlap and render invisible the front legs of the chair upon which he sits. In fact, all that is discernible of his seat is the chair-back and the cushion draped over it.

Nakht wears a short wig or his own hair cut short and a short kilt. His left hand is extended to the offering table before him, while he holds a scepter erect in his right hand.

[1] Allen, *Egyptian Stelae in Field Museum of Natural History*.
[2] E.g. Brovarski, *Naga ed-Dêr*, App, D, u (BM 159 [96], x (Chatsworth House), z (Turin 1513), z bis (CMNH Z9-497), dd (Louvre C 14), hh (Turin 1447).

Fig. 1 – Stela of Nakht, FM 31692 © The Field Museum,
Image no. A115438d, cat. no. 31692. Photographer John Weinstein

Beneath (actually beside)[3] Nakht's chair his wife sits on a theriomorphic chair. Her figure is on a much smaller scale than his. Like Nakht her legs cover the front legs of her seat. The rear legs, however, are visible and may adopt the form of bull's legs. She is dressed in a tripartite wig with a lappet resting on her chest and a tight-fitting garment, the customary shoulder straps of which are omitted. Although the detail is not entirely clear from the photograph, she holds what looks like a *hezet*-jar to her nose. The owner sporadically holds a *hezet*-jar to his nose in stelas from the reign of Netjery-hedjet Mentuhotep II but this is unusual in the case of the wife.[4] At the far right an identifying caption beneath the food offerings reads: 'His wife Henyet'.[5]

The food offerings include a calf's head, three circular flatbreads all in a row, a foreleg of beef, and three tall, pointed loaves on a trencher. On the same trencher rests a beer? jar with a drinking-bowl? perched on top. By the side of the offerings is a large, stoppered *hezet*-jar.

Before Nakht and Henyet in the same register are two standing figures facing away from them. The individual at the far right holds a knobbed staff or walking stick and scepter. He is garbed in a shoulder-length wig,

[3] See Nord, in Hawass, Wegner (eds), *Millions of Jubilees: Studies in Honor of David P. Silverman*, vol. I, 33-54.

[4] Brovarski, *Naga ed-Dêr*, 490.

[5] Ranke, *Personennamen* I, 241, 27.

Fig. 1 – Stela of Nakht, FM 31692 © drawing by Tamara Bower

a broad collar, and a kilt with a flaring front panel. Before him is a column of inscription as follows: 'His son, his beloved, Nakht, son of Henen.[6]'

The figure behind him is: 'His son Nakht son of Heteput'.[7] The latter wears his own natural hair close-cropped and is dressed in a kilt with flaring front panel and what may be a diagonal should strap attached to a high waistband.[8] He holds a curious staff with a pointed tip before him, but instead of the usual scepter carried by his half-brother, his scepter has a slightly curved tip.

The bottom register of the stela is dominated by large, seated figures of Nakht and his wife. The couch or wide chair on which they sit is lion-footed. The chair-back and the cushion draped over it is visible, but Nakht's legs once again conceal the front legs of the couch. The rear legs appear to be lion-footed.

Nakht has his own close-cropped hair and a chin beard. He wears a broad collar and a pleated kilt with different zones of pleating. He extends his left hand toward the stylized half-loaves of bread on the pedestal offering table before him, while he holds a folded handkerchief in his other hand.[9] The inscription before his face reads: 'The revered Nakht, borne of Henet'.[10]

[6] Ranke, *Personennamen* I, 244, 23.
[7] Ranke, *Personnenamen* I, 260, 12.
[8] Fischer, *Kush* 9, 63, 66. *Pace* Brovarski, *Senedjemib* 1, 136.
[9] Fischer, *MMJ* 10, 9-21.
[10] Ranke, *Personennamen* I, 241, 15.

An inscription over the figure of the wife says simply: 'His wife Heneni'.[11] Heneni has a tripartite wig with a lappet hanging down on her chest. She wears a tight-fitting dress, a broad collar, and bracelets. Once again the shoulder-straps are not depicted. Unlike the collars worn by Nakht here and above, the artist started to carve the rows of beads that would have made up her collar. In her left hand Heneni holds a lotus flower on a tall, erect stem to her nose. She holds the stem low down, while the blossom bends toward her nose. With her other hand she holds Nakht's right arm above the elbow. Under her figure are two bottles resting on a mat?

Underneath (actually beside) the couch is a standing female figure on a small scale. She is: 'daughter Renes-ankh'.[12] It is unclear if the lack of a genitival suffix is in error or 'their daughter' is simply implied. Like her mother, Renes-ankh wears a tripartite wig, a broad collar, and a long tight-fitting dress. It may be that the dress is simply undefined at the top. On the other hand, the waistband just below the breast may be an indication that her upper torso is bare. At Thebes in the early reign of Nebhepetre Mentuhotep II both Queen Kemzit and her female attendants are bare above the waist. In several instances, but not all, there is a band or belt around the waist. Queen Kemzit herself is once completely naked.[13] Female nudity, either partial or total, also occurs sporadically in stelas at Naga ed-Deir in the Nineth-Eleventh Dynasties.[14]

To the left of the pedestal of the offering table are three more tall, pointed bread loaves (of varying size) on a trencher. On the other side of the pedestal is depicted a large stoppered *hezet*-jar. Next to the latter is a rectangular service table with a single strut. On the table are placed three jars with tall, pointed sealings. Resting on a fourth beer? jar is a bowl as also in the register above. Over the two tables the array of offerings includes a dead duck, a calf's head, a branch-like lettuce, three oblong loaves of bread, a meat joint, the foreleg of an ox, and finally three more round flatbreads all in a row.

Discussion

Initially, I thought the name Djau[15] might be succeeded by a title of Nakht, but no title seemed to fit the traces. On the other hand the second element may be a personal name. Ranke cites a Middle Kingdom feminine personal name *amryt*.[16] The damaged sign before the final *-y* in the present instance is unclear, but might be the letter *-t*, in which case the name would be feminine. The direct genitive with the word for 'son' omitted is known from Middle Kingdom monuments,[17] for example, *Nḫrh <s3> ḏḥwty-nḫt <s3> Kʿy*, 'Neheri, <son of> Djehutynakht, <grandson of> Kay' at Hatnub.[18] I know of no example where a feminine name is involved, but there is at least one other peculiarity in FM 31692 in this connection. Both of Nakht's son shown at the left of the second register of the stela are said to be sons of their mothers (Henen and Heteput), not sons of Nakht.

The fact that his two sons have different mothers raises the possibility of polygamy.[19] On the other hand, the fact that Henyt/Heneni alone is shown suggests that Nakht's wife Heteput may have predeceased him or that Nakht may have divorced her.

It is of some interest that none of the men represented on the stela have a title. Thus, except for 'His son Nakht, son of Hetepu', who is attired and equipped as a soldier (*infra*), we have no idea of the occupation of Nakht or his other son. Nor do we know the source of the wherewithal with which Nakht reimbursed the sculptor of his stela.

The women (except for the daughter) in the stela all have names which Scheele-Schweitzer considers hypocoristics of formations with *ḥn-*(?).[20] Thus, Nakht's mother is *Ḥnt*, while his wife is alternatively *ḥnyt*, *ḥnni*, and *ḥnn*.

Stylistic and Iconographic Considerations

The lion-headed couch on which Nakht and his wife Heneni sit is encountered in the Dendera chapel of Netjery-hedjet Mentuhotep II;[21] at Deir el-Bahri in the sarcophagus of Aashayet and in the shrine of Kemzit;[22] both wives of Mentuhotep II (Netjery-hedjet), all of which antedate the reunification of Egypt which took place late in the king's reign.[23] The same couch also appears in the El-Tarif tomb (TT 386) of the general Intef, which similarly predates the reunification.[24] Then too it is represented contemporaneously in BM

[11] Ranke, *Personennamen* I, 244, 24.
[12] Ranke, *Personennamen* I, 223, 20.
[13] Naville, *XI^th Dynasty Temple*, vol. III, pls 2, 3.
[14] Brovarski, *Naga ed-Dêr*, 125.
[15] Ranke, *Personennamen* I, 405, 26.
[16] Ranke, *Personnenamen* I, 61, 4.
[17] Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammar*, § 85; Lefebvre, *Grammaire, § 59;* Allen, *Middle Egyptian*, § 4.15.
[18] Anthes, *Hatnub*, 14, 1.
[19] See e.g. Kanawati, *SAK* 4, 149-60; Simpson, *JEA* 60, 100-1; McCorquodale, in Piacentini, Castelli (eds), *Old Kingdom Art and Archaeology* 7, 274-83.
[20] Scheele-Schweitzer, *Personennamen*, 543 [2429-31, 2433], 544 [2435], 545 [2443], etc.
[21] Habachi, *MDAIK* 19, 16-32, fig. 7, pl. 8.
[22] Naville, *XI^th Dynasty Temple*, vol. II, pl. 20; Winlock, *Excavations at Deir el Bahri*, pl. 8.
[23] Arnold, *The Temple of Mentuhotep at Deir el-Bahari*, 42.
[24] Jaroš-Deckert, *Grab des Jnj-jtj.f*, 63, 117-119; Brovarski, *Naga ed-Dêr*, 488, n. 29, *pace* Willems, *BiOr* 4.5/6, 598-599.

159 [96], the stela of the Overseer of Priests Rudjahau from Abydos.[25]

Heneni holds a lotus flower on a tall, erect stem to her nose. She grasps the lotus flower low down on the stem while the blossom bends toward her nose. This manner of depicting and holding a lotus is characteristic of the Eleventh Dynasty. In several stelae dated stylistically to the earlier part of the reign of Mentuhotep II (Netjery-hedjet)), the wife of the owner holds the lotus flower in the same fashion. The stelas in question are Berlin 1197, Louvre C. 15, and Turin 1513.[26] Although damaged the same manner of holding a lotus evidently occurred in Pittsburgh CMNH z9-497.[27] The lotus is likewise held at the bottom of the stem in the shrines of Queens Aashyet and Zadeh at Deir el-Bahri, although in only one of two instances is Queen Zadeh seated, while Queen Aashayet is represented standing.[28] The same manner of holding the lotus appears in a stela of unconventional appearance from Tell Edfu.[29] A number of iconographic features assign the stela to this time.[30] One last occurence is in BM 1628, a stela dated by Henry Fischer to the Twelfth Dynasty without his explicitly stating his reasons for the date.[31] Elsewhere I have assigned the stela to the late Twelfth Dynasty.[32]

The second, standing figure in the middle register, Nakht, son of Heteput, holds horizontally a scepter with a slightly curled tip. Identical scepters appear in the hands of the deceased in representations of the Eleventh Dynasty and the early part of the Twelfth Dynasty. The examples cited by Henry Fischer include several stelas: Ashmolean A 149, Ashmolean 3928,[33] MMA 16.10.333,[34] BM 1201,[35] BM 1628,[36] Hearst Museum 93,[37] and another which derives from Deir el-Bahri and in 1965 formed part of the Egyptian collection at Clandeboye House.[38]

In addition to the examples cited by Henry Fischer, two stelas in the Pushkin Museum of Fine Arts in Moscow may be added. The first stela, Moscow I.1.a.5601 (4159), is dated by Hodjash and Berlev to the Eleventh Dynasty.[39] The other stela, Moscow I.1.a.5605 (4160), is dated by the same authors to the first two reigns of the Twelfth Dynasty without discussion.[40] Fischer dates MMA 16.10.333 to the late Eleventh Dynasty.[41] On the other hand, Rita Freed assigns the Metropolitan Museum stela to her Colorful Theban Group to which she gives a date range as early as the late Eleventh Dynasty, although most of the stelas are more likely to belong to the early reign of Amenemhat I.[42] Moscow I.1.a.1.5605 (4160) belongs to Freed's Few Standing Figures group. Freed supports Hodjash and Berlev's dating of the stela to the Eleventh Dynasty but is more specific and assigns it to the late Eleventh Dynasty.[43] Fischer dates the two Ashmolean stelas to the Eleventh Dynasty,[44] whereas Freed assigns Ashmolean A 149 and the Clandeboye Hall stela to her Few Standing Figures group.[45] According to Freed the stelas of the latter group were produced in the late Eleventh Dynasty to the early Twefth Dynasty. She does assign Ashmolean A 149 and Moscow 4159 to the Eleventh Dynasty.[46]

A precursor to the scepter with slightly turned-up end is held by a man driving oxen in the Fifth Dynasty tomb chapel of Hetep-her-akhti now in Leiden.[47] At a later date it is wielded by a herdsman in the Ninth Dy-

[25] Budge, Hall, *Hieroglyphic Texts from Egyptian Stelae*, vol. I, pls 46-47; Faulkner, *JEA* 37, 47-52, pl. 7; Brovarski, *Naga ed-Dêr*, 488 (u).

[26] Berlin 1197: Brunner, *Hieroglyphische Chrestomathie*, pl. 6; Louvre C. 15: Pierret, *Recueil d'inscriptions*, vol. II, 29-31; Drioton, *RdE* 1, 203-29, pl. 9; Schenkel, *Memphis, Herakleopolis, Theben*, no. 498; Turin 1513: Maspero, *RecTrav* 3, 117-18; Egyptian Museum of Turin, *Egyptian Civilization: Religious Beliefs*, 106-7, figs 139-40; Lichtheim, *Ancient Egyptian Autobiographies*, no. 23; Brovarski, *Naga ed-Dêr*, 487 (t); 490 (y), 491 (z).

[27] Patch, *Reflections of Greatness*, cat. no. 14; Brovarski, *Naga ed-Dêr*, 491 (z bis).

[28] Naville, *XIth Dynasty Temple*, vol. I, pl. 18; 2, pls 11 (two lotuses held), 14, 16.

[29] Alliot, *Tell Edfou*, pl. 14.

[30] For the footstool, *cf*. Brooklyn 54.66, Louvre C 15 (Brovarski, *Naga ed-Dêr*, 490 [y], 492 [z ter]). The mirror on a box under the chair of the wife also occurs in Berlin 1187, CMNH Z9-497, and Turin 1513, but see also Louvre C 32 from the time of Senusert I: Freed, in der Manuelian (ed.), *Simpson Studies*, vol. I, 317-20, fig. 7c.

[31] Budge, Hall, *Hieroglyphic Texts from Egyptian Stelae,* vol. V, pl. 1; Fischer, *Kush* 9, 54. Once the citations are given for a monument or stela, they are not repeated in the footnotes that follow.

[32] Brovarski, *Naga ed-Dêr*, 495 (nn).

[33] Both of the Ashmolean stelas are illustrated in Petrie, *Dendereh,* pl. 11 (bottom left).

[34] Hayes, *Scepter*, vol. I, 331 and fig. 219.

[35] Budge, Hall, *Hieroglyphic Texts* 2, pl. 13.

[36] Budge, Hall, *Hieroglyphic Texts* 5, pl. 2.

[37] Lutz, *Tomb Stelas and Offering Stones*, pl. 47.

[38] Edwards, *JEA* 51, 22 (1), pl. 10 (2).

[39] Hodjash, Berlev, *Egyptian Reliefs and Stelae in the Pushkin Museum of Fine Art, Moscow*, 73 with photograph on p. 74.

[40] Hodjash, Berlev, *Egyptian Reliefs and Stelae in the Pushkin Museum of Fine Art, Moscow*, 73 with photograph on p. 76.

[41] Fischer, *MMJ* 13, 10, n. 31, fig. 9.

[42] Freed, in der Manuelian (ed.), *Simpson Studies,* vol. I, 102-7.

[43] Freed, in der Manuelian (ed.), *Simpson Studies,* vol. I, 304.

[44] Fischer, *MMJ* 13, 10, n. 31.

[45] Freed, in der Manuelian (ed.), *Simpson Studies*, vol. I, 303.

[46] Freed, in der Manuelian (ed.), *Simpson Studies*, vol. I, 104.

[47] Mohr, *Hetep-her-Akhty*, 80, figs 45-45 bis, pl. 4. For the date (V.6-8E), see Harpur, *Decoration*, 275.

nasty tomb of General Iti.[48] Actual specimens of these curved sticks have been found in tombs of Eleventh Dynasty date at Thebes.[49]

It is highly unlikely, however, that the owners of the stelas just cited as well as Nakht's son Nakht, son of Heteput, would care to be represented throughout eternity carrying a shepherd's stick. The answer lies elsewhere. In fact two huntsmen carry curved sticks (their fellow bears a bow) in the tomb of the Chancellor Khety, who served Nebhepetre Mentuhotep II in that office.[50] Furthermore, as Henry Fischer points out, in the Eighteenth Dynasty tomb of Qenamen a similar stick (with a more gradual curve) appears among representations of military equipment.[51] This would be more readily in accord with the martial preoccupations of Nakht's times.[52] It is also in keeping with other elements of Nakht, son of Heteput's costume. Above we referred to his 'diagonal shoulder strap secured by a high waistband'. In his article on 'The Nubian Mercenaries of Gebelein in the First Intermediate Period',[53] Henry Fischer pointed out the single shoulder strap and high waistband which were worn by Nubian mercenary soldiers of Ninth Dynasty date at both Aswan and Gebelein, but also by Egyptian soldiers at Moalla.[54] He also thought a simple Old Kingdom farmer's garment reminiscent, but this garment covered the entire upper body, whereas in Nakht's stela his son's belly button reveals just the opposite. It also reminded Fischer of the double crossband and high waistband of the Middle Kingdom soldiers and hunters as depicted in the Deir el-Bahri temple of Mentuhotep II and in the tombs at Beni Hasan[55] and Deir el-Bersheh.[56] It would then likewise make sense if Nakht's curious pointed staff were instead an awkwardly rendered spear and that Nakht was depicted in the guise of a warrior.

Twice amongst the offerings in FM 31692 appear three tall pointed bread loaves on a trencher. The same form of bread occurs on or without a trencher in both royal and private contexts, although the number of loaves may vary. Set on a trencher they appear on the sarcophagus of Queen Aashayet (two loaves),[57] on Copenhagen AEIN 963 (four),[58] on MMA 14.2.7 (four loaves),[59] on Turin 1513 (four loaves). Lacking the trencher they appear on a groundline or amongst other offerings on the left hand wall of the Dendera chapel of Mentuhotep II (Netjery-hedjet),[60] in Berlin 1197 (three loaves), CG 20011 (four loaves),[61] CMNH Z9-497 (four loaves), MMA 14.2.6 (five loaves),[62] and on a stela in Clandeboye House, Devonshire. [63]

Two of these stelas, MMA 14.2.6 and MMA 14.2.7, belong to the reign of Nakht-neb-tep-nefer Intef III.[64] Four other stelas, Berlin 1197, the Chatsworth house stela, CMNH z9-497, and Turin 1513 date to the time of Netjery-hedjet Mentuhotep II.[65] Copenhagen AEIN 963 was likely made under Sematawy Mentuhotep II.[66]

Among the offerings on the Chicago stela there also appears a row of three round flatbreads in the two different arrays of offerings. Three round flatbreads grouped together like this appear in MMA 14.2.7, dating as we have just seen to Intef III, and again in two stelas belonging to the reign of Netjery-hedjet Mentuhotep II: CG 20007[67] and CMNH Z9-497. In a third stela of the same time, Cairo T. 3.6.25.2, the three loaves are arrayed on a service table.[68]

The round flatbreads are not always grouped by threes. In the Dendera chapel of Netjery-hedjet Mentuhotep II they are arranged in fours and are found amongst the other offerings.[69] The same is true of Cairo JE 45058[70]

[48] See Fischer, *MMJ* 13, 11, fig. 10; Brovarski, *Naga ed-Dêr*, Appendix B.
[49] Fischer, *MMJ* 13, 13 and fig. 14.
[50] Hayes, *Scepter*, vol. I, 165, fig. 101.
[51] Davies, *Tomb of Ken-Amun*, vol. I, pl. 18.
[52] E.g., Brovarski, *Naga ed-Dêr*, 456-9.
[53] Fischer, *Kush* 9, 66.
[54] Fischer, *Kush* 9, 66-8; Brovarski, *Naga ed-Dêr*, Appendix B.
[55] Newberry, *Beni Hasan*, vol. I, pls 14, 16 (Ameny, Tomb 2, Senusert I), 47 (Khnumhotep, Tomb 14); Newberry, *Beni Hasan*, vol. II, pls 15-16.
[56] Fischer, *Yale Art Gallery Bulletin* 24, no. 2, 33 and n. 19; Newberry, *Beni Hasan*, vol. I, pls 14, 16 (Ameny, Tomb 2, Senusert I), 47 (Khnumhotep, Tomb 14, Amenemhat I); *ibid*., 2, pls 4 (Baket, Tomb 15), 14, 15, 16 (Khety, Tomb 17); Newberry, *Bersheh*, vol. I, pls 12, 13, 29 (Tomb 2, Djehutyhotep, temp. Senusert III-Amenemhat III).
[57] Winlock, *Excavations at Deir el-Bahari*, pl. 8.
[58] Jørgensen, *Catalogue*, vol. I, no. 47; Brovarski, *Naga ed-Dêr*, 494 (jj).
[59] Winlock, *Rise and Fall*, pl. 2; Brovarski, *Naga ed-Dêr*, 485 (m).
[60] Habachi, *MDAIK* 19, fig. 8.
[61] Lange, Schäfer, *Grab- und Denksteine*, vol. I, pl. 11; Brovarski, *Naga ed-Dêr*, 134, n. 281.
[62] Winlock, *Rise and Fall*, pl. 2; Brovarski, *Naga ed-Dêr*, 485 (h).
[63] Müller, *MDAIK* 4, 187, fig. 11; Deakin, *Transactions of the Hunter Archaeological Society* 10, 63-5; Lichtheim, *Autobiographies*, no. 26; Brovarski, *Naga ed-Dêr*, 489 (x).
[64] Brovarski, *Naga-ed-Dêr*, 485 (h, m).
[65] Brovarski, *Naga ed-Dêr,* 489 (v), 491 (z bis).
[66] Jørgensen, *Catalogue*, vol. I, no, 47; Brovarski, *Naga ed-Dêr*, 494 (jj).
[67] Lange, Schäfer, *Grab- und Denksteine*, vol. I, pl. 1; Brovarski, *Naga ed-Dêr*, 489 (v).
[68] Clère, Vandier, *Texts de la premiere période intermédiaire*, § 25 (hereafter *TPPI*); Schenkel, *Memphis, Herakleopolis, Theben*, no. 397; Brovarski, *Naga ed-Dêr*, 487 (r) [unpublished].
[69] Habachi, *MDAIK* 19, fig. 7.
[70] Gardiner, *JEA* 4, 33-8; Brovarski, *Naga ed-Dêr*, 495 (ll).

and of Louvre C. 14[71] under Sematawy Mentuhotep II, while in Louvre C. 15 from the same time, there are four loaves arranged similarly but resting in pairs on two baskets. Although four loaves are also represented among the offerings in Brooklyn 54.66[72] and Copenhagen AEIN 963, these are all in a row. However, the round bread loaves are not always four in number; in Berlin 1197, Cairo 29543, and Turin 1513 under Netjery-hedjet Mentuhotep II and Turin 1447 under Sematawy Mentuhotep II,[73] there are two such loaves paired and set amongst the other offerings. In addition, in Cairo JE 36346 from the reign of Seankh-ib-tawy Mentuhotep II at least two round loaves were placed amongst the other offerings only part of which are preserved.[74] As for BM 1628 of the late Eleventh Dynasty, there are two such loaves, not grouped, but scattered amongst the other offerings.[75] This last arrangement continues to appear in stelas of Twelfth Dynasty date, when one to three round flatbreads, but of a larger size, are dispersed among the other offerings.[76]

Summary

(1) The lion-headed couch is depicted on stelas and other monuments of the reign of Netjery-hedjet Mentuhotep II.

(2) The lotus flower on a tall erect stem held low down on the stem, with the blossom bending toward the nose, is held by queens or other women mostly seen on stelas and other monuments from the reign of Netjery-hedjet Mentuhotep II, although a misunderstood representation of the flower in BM 1628 belongs to the late Eleventh Dynasty.

(3) Scepters with slightly curled tips appear in the hands of the deceased in representations of the Eleventh Dynasty and the early part of the Twelfth Dynasty.

(4) Two-four tall pointed loaves set on a trencher appear on stelas and other monuments from the reign of Nakht-neb-tep-nefer Intef III to the reign of Sematawy Mentuhotep II. Lacking the trencher they appear on a groundline or amongst other offerings in stelas or other monuments from the same time span.

(5) Three round flatbreads arranged in a row among the other offerings occur in stelas from the reign of Intef III to that of Netjery-hedjet Mentuhotep II. Four loaves grouped together and set among the other offerings are then depicted in monuments and stelas of the time of Netjery-hedjet and Sematawy Mentuhotep II, while two round loaves paired among the other offerings occur under Netjery-hedjet Mentuhotep II. In BM 1628 two round loaves are scattered among the other offerings. This last arrangement or lack thereof continues to appear in stelas of Twelfth Dynasty date, when 1-3 round bread loaves, but of a larger size, are dispersed among the other offerings.

The lion-headed couch in Field Museum 31692 is paralleled only in monuments from the reign of Netjery-hedjet Mentuhotep II. Again the lotus flower on a tall erect stem held low down on the stem by Nakht's wife Heneni, while the blossom bends toward the nose, as held by queens or other women, is mostly seen on stelas and other monuments from the reign of Netjery-hedjet Mentuhotep II. Two-four tall pointed loaves set on a trencher appear on stelas and other monuments from the reign of Nakht-neb-tep-nefer Intef III into the reign of Sematawy Mentuhotep II. Three round bread loaves arranged in a row among the other offerings occur in stelas from the reigns of Intef III and Netjery-hedjet Mentuhotep II. Criteria (1)-(2) and (4)-(5) would allow a date between the reign of Nakht-neb-tep-nefer Intef III and that of Sematawy Mentuhotep II. The lion-headed couch is the most precise indicator of date and argues that FM 31692 belongs to the time of Netjery-hedjet Mentuhotep II.

Parallels for many of the epigraphical and paleographic features in FM 31692 (see below) derive from Naga-ed-Deir and sites further south. This might be an indication that the provenance of the stela was similar.

Epigraphic and Paleographic Criteria

(6) The substitution of (M23) by (M22) is attested in the Eleventh Dynasty at Moalla, Thebes, Hû, and Abydos. It also occurs at Naga ed-Deir in the late Tenth/Eleventh Dynasties.[77]

(7) The group in *3bḏw* is commonly used as the determinative of place names in the Heqanakht papyri of the reign of Amenemhat I or Senusert I and in other early Middle Kingdom documents.[78] At present, there is no instance of this usage securely dated to the time of Mentuhotep II.[79] The group does determine both *šmʿw* and *tʿ-mḥw* in a graffito of Neb-tawy-re Mentuhotep IV

[71] Murray, *Ancient Egypt* 10, 33-5; Brovarski, *Naga ed-Dêr*, 493 (dd).

[72] Spanel, in der Manuelian (ed.), *Simpson Studies*, vol. II, 765-77, figs 2-3; Brovarski, *Naga ed-Dêr,* 492 (z ter).

[73] Klebs, *Reliefs und Malereien*, fig. 14; Brovarski, *Naga ed-Dêr*, 493 (hh).

[74] TPPI, § 24; Brovarski, *Naga ed-Dêr*, 495 (q).

[75] Budge, Hall, *Hieroglyphic Texts from Egyptian Stelae*, vol. V, pls 1-2; Brovarski, *Naga ed-Dêr*, 495 (nn).

[76] E.g., Simpson, *Terrace of the Great God*, pls 1 (ANOC 1.1), 3 (ANOC 1.5), 4 (ANOC 1-9-1.11), 5 (ANOC 1.7), 10 ANOC 4.1), 19 (ANOC 10.2) and passim.

[77] Brovarski, *Naga ed-Dêr*, 411, nn. 147, 148.

[78] James, *Hekanakhte*, 131. For the date of the papyri, see Allen, *Heqanakht Papyri*, 128-130.

[79] Brovarski, *Naga ed-Dêr*, 495.

in the Wadi Hammamat [80] This criterion could suggest that FM 31692 postdates the reign of Mentuhotep II. The same is true of another occurence in a late Eleventh Dynasty stela in the British Museum discussed above (BM 1628).[81]

(8) *Prt-ḫrw* in line 2 is a barely recognizable group with the house-sign (O 1), the oar (P 8), the *t*-bread (X 1), the *pzn*?-bread (X 5), the beer jar (W 22) and plural strokes (Z 3) disengaged and with the component elements arrayed in a straight line. In stelas groups of the early Tenth/Eleventh Dynasties at Naga ed-Deir hieroglyphs are not arranged as symmetrically as before and the signs are sometimes disposed in a linear fashion.[82]

It is difficult to find parallels for the particular arrangement of *prt-ḫrw* in FM 31692. A near analog occurs in a Ptah-Sokar stela, CG 1623.[83] The present writer has discussed the Ptah-Sokar stelas, which show the owner standing in a boat or otherwise incorporate a boat with a gazelle-headed prow into the design, at some length in a recent publication and concluded they date to the Eleventh Dynasty, possibly to the reign of Mentuhotep II.[84] In a much more inclusive article Gloria Rosati similarly dates them to the early Middle Kingdom.[85]

Prt-ḫrw ḫ3 m + offerings as in FM 31692 occurs quite regularly in the coffins of Mentuhotep II's wives Ashayet, Henhenet, and Kawit,[86] all of which, as we have seen, antedate the unification of Upper Egypt by *sm3-t3wy* Mentuhotep II.[87] The same construction appears in Louvre C 14, the well-known stela of the artist Irtysen, which probably likewise dates to the time of *sm3-t3wy* Mentuhotep.[88]

The Farshut coffin of Menqabu from the same reign and a BM 1628 (*supra*) of probable late Eleventh Dynasty date also utilize the construction *prt-ḫrw ḫ3 m* + offerings, but the alternating *ḫ3*-signs are omitted.

A variant *pr n.f ḫrw ḫ3 m* + offerings is attested in a stela of Djari, a henchman of Wahankh Intef II,[89] and in CG 20001, a stela which likely belongs to the reign of Mentuhotep II, but perhaps antedates the Unification of Egypt by a few years.[90]

Otherwise in the Eleventh Dynasty the letter *m* ('consisting of') is omitted and *prt-ḫrw* followed directly by *ḫ3*, 'a thousand', and by a fairly standard set of offerings, thus: *prt-ḫrw ḫ3 t ḥnḳt ḫ3 k3 3pd ḫ3 sšr mnḫt ḫ3 ḫt nb*(*t*) *nfr*(*t*) *wꜥb*(*t*).[91]

(9) Faulty writings of *im3ḫy* as in line 3 of the presumed lunette of the stela, are especially common in coffins of the late Tenth Dynasty/Eleventh Dynasty at Naga ed-Deir, but occur as well in texts at Thebes and Gebelein, Asyut and Saqqara of the same time period.[92]

Summary

At least three of the criteria cited above (3), (5, in part), (7) survive into the Twelfth Dynasty. Nevertheless, the majority of criteria argue for a date for FM 31692 in the Eleventh Dynasty, while the lion-headed couch argues for a date earlier in that dynasty. On the other hand, number (7) possibly points to a date late in that dynasty. It is difficult to reconcile the two points of view, although Henry Fischer argues for the preponderance of conspicuously late features.[93]

Addendum

In her catalogue of the University of Heidelberg Egyptian collection,[94] Erika Feucht thinks the stela of Sobekemhat, Inv. No. 1018, on account of its irregular shape, the arrangement of the representations, the somewhat clumsy style of execution and the combination of a deeply cut inscription, even the cutting away of the picture frame corresponds so closely to the corpus of stelas from Naga-ed-Deir that the stela of Sobekemhat can be classified with them. She thus assigns the stela to the First Intermediate Period.

However, a closer look (see Fig. 2) at the stela with its four round flatbreads arranged in a row and four tall pointed loaves set on a trencher among the other offerings, suggests that Sobekemhat's stela is contemporary with the other stelas from the reigns of Intef III and Mentuhotep II we have surveyed above. An iconographic feature independent of those we have already raised is the (crudely drawn) *ankh*-sign held in Sobekemhat's hanging right hand. As Henry Fischer has perceptively observed, considerable reticence was felt about placing the *ankh*-emblem in the hand of any but gods and kings or occasionally of queens prior to the end of the Old Kingdom.[95] The first non-royal examples of this kind

[80] Couyat, Montet, *Ouâdi Hammâmât,* no. 192, ll. 13, 20.
[81] Budge, Hall, *Hieroglyphic Texts from Egyptian Stelae*, vol. V, pls 1, 2; Brovarski, *Naga ed-Dêr,* 495.
[82] Brovarski, *Naga ed-Dêr*, 352.
[83] Borchardt, *Denkmäler des Alten Reiches*, vol. II; 94-5, pl. 84.
[84] Brovarski, *Naga ed-Dêr*, 130, n. 256.
[85] Rosati, *Aegyptus* 87, 33-44.
[86] TPPI, §§ 27 e 1, 6, 7; t 1; -- 3.
[87] Fischer, *BiOr* 23/1.2, 29-30.
[88] Murray, *Ancient Egypt* 10, 33-5, fig. 1; Barta, *Selbstzeugnis eines altägyptischen Künstlers*; Brovarski, *Naga ed-Dêr,* 493 (dd).
[89] TPPI, § 15 [Dog Stela].
[90] TPPI, §§ 4 (Henu), 19 (Djari).
[91] TPPI, §§ 20 (Tjetji), 22 (Megegi), 23 (Intef son of Kay).
[92] See Brovarski, *Naga ed-Dêr*, 135-6 and n. 295.
[93] Fischer, *Ancient Egyptian Epigraphy*, 39.
[94] Feucht, *Vom Nil zum Neckar*, cat. no. 155.
[95] Fischer, *ZÄS* 100, 23.

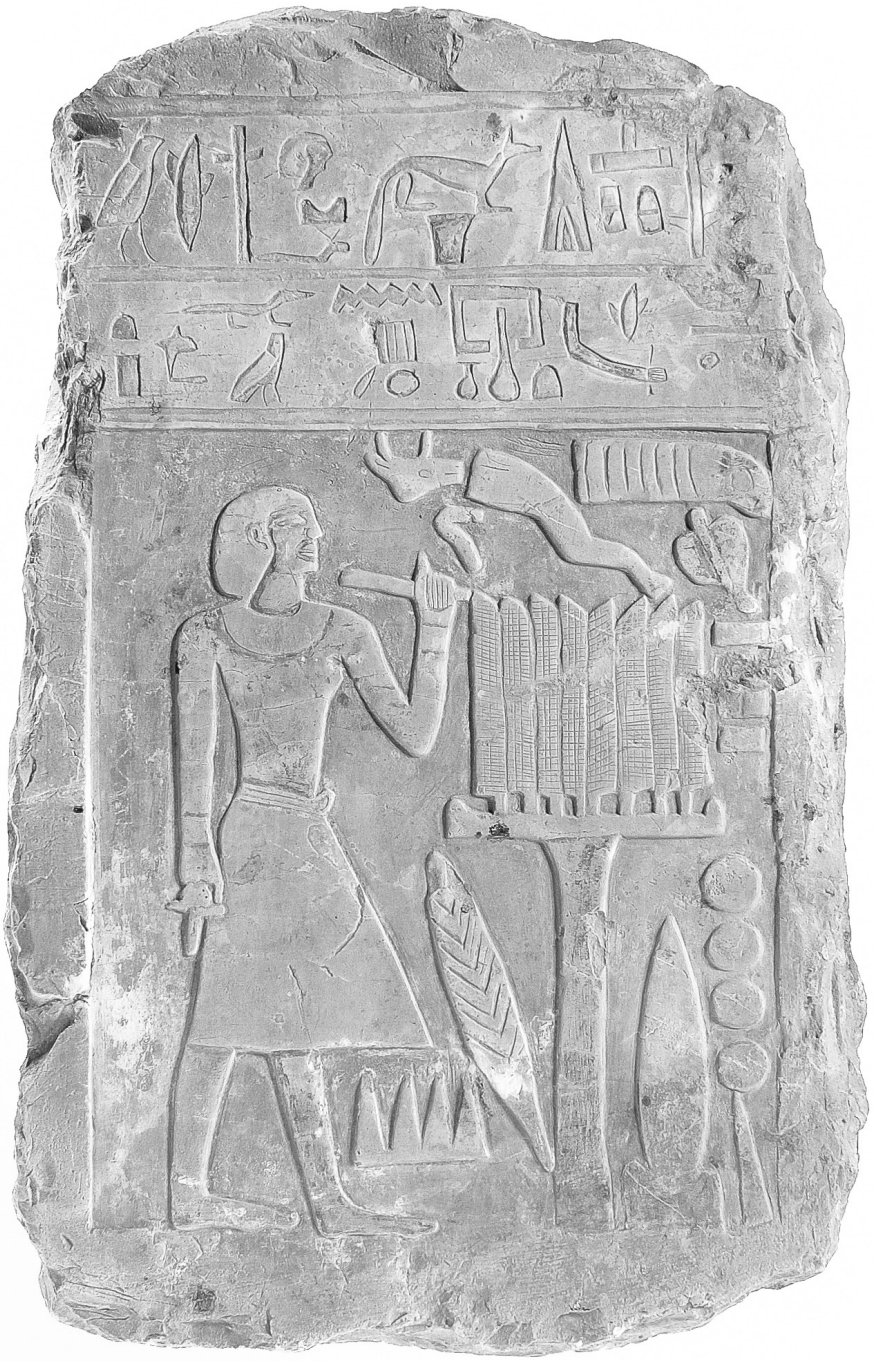

Fig. 2 – Stela of Sobekemhat, Heidelberg inv. no. 1018 © Ägyptologisches Institut der Universität Heidelberg. Photographer Robert Ajtai

belong to the late Heracleopolitan Period and late Eleventh Dynasty.[96] Queen Aashyt holds the sign at Deir el-Bahri.[97] Naga ed-Deir provides three more examples of the *ankh*-emblem held by private persons belonging to the late Tenth/Eleventh Dynasties.[98]

Sobekemhat's stela exhibits a number of paleographic and epigraphic features that point in the same direction. These include the presence of phonetic complements in the offering formula *ḥtp-di-nswt*; the component signs of *tp-ḏw.f* arranged vertically; and the interior lines in the stool of reed matting.[99]

[96] Fischer, *ZÄS* 100, 23-4, nn. 32, 33.
[97] Fischer, *ZÄS* 100, 24, n. 35 (= Naville, *XIth Dynasty Temple,* vol. I, pl. 18; 2, pls 14, 16).
[98] Brovarski, *Naga ed-Dêr*, 411 (Dunham, Stela no. 27); 429-30 (N 9291); 431-32 (Brussels E. 8244).
[99] Brovarski, *Naga ed-Dêr*, 126 (1), 130 (1); 403, nn. 94-5; 417, 429, n. 233.

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Some Remarks on Neha's Spell for gaining Power over his Servant Statuettes

Arkadiy E. Demidchik

Abstract

A few comments to the inscription in cols. 12-25 on the west wall of the burial chamber of Neha at el-Qatta, previously discussed by Schneider (1977) and Allen (2013). This spell was believed to provide Neha, after his burial, with magical power over representations (most probably statuettes) of his dependents designed to serve him in the Beyond. However, since an indispensable condition for the effectiveness of the spell was considered to be the faultlessness of the acquisition of the representations, this was asserted in passages resembling an ideal autobiography. The expression mr(y)t(=f) ḏs=f 'his own mr(y)t workers' in col. 22 is a colloquial equivalent of the designation mr(y)t(=f) n(y)t ḏt=f, which is written on the pedestal of a sculptural group of three (originally four) servant statuettes from the Dahshur tomb of Shepi (CG 512). This parallel may be of some significance, as in the selection and arrangement of the PT and CT spells Neha's tomb is comparable to that of Siese, which is also at Dahshur.

Published in 1906 and tentatively dated then to the late Eleventh or Twelfth Dynasty, the tomb of the *ḥ3ty-ʿ* Neha at el-Qatta is mainly noted for several 'Pyramid Texts' and 'Coffin Texts' spells on the walls of its burial chamber.[1] However, three unparalleled spells on the west wall, between PT 304 and PT 579, are also quite significant for the understanding of funeral practices and beliefs of Middle Kingdom Egypt. This paper is just a collection of comments to one of them – the short inscription in columns W 12-25, first translated by Schneider in 1977[2] and discussed as 'a neglected funerary text' by Allen in 2013.[3] The text is still available only in normalized hieroglyphs of the original publication.

An 'Ideal Autobiography' within the Spell

The very placement of this text in the burial chamber, its context consisting of PT and CT spells, its 'title' *ḏd mdw* (l. 12)[4] – all of these signal that the inscription under consideration is a funerary spell. Even though most of it (cols. 12-19, 21-23) is composed in the manner of ideal (auto)biographies.[5]

The logicality of including the 'ideal autobiography' into this spell becomes apparent once we acknowledge that its purpose was to guarantee the power of the de-

[1] Chassinat, Gauthier, Pieron, *Fouilles de Qattah*, 33-70, pls 4-8. On the architecture of Neha's tomb and the other texts therein now see Russo, *RdE* 55, 113-23; Morales, *The Transmission of the Pyramid Texts*, 158-65; Lange, in Miniaci, Grajetzki (eds), *The World of Middle Kingdom Egypt*, vol. II, 200-1; Abd El-Sattar, *Egyptian Journal of Archaeological and Restoration Studies* 10/1, 29-42. I have not consulted Russo Abd El Sami, in Bickel, Loprieno (eds), *Basel Egyptology prize1*, 361-9.

[2] Schneider, *Shabtis*, vol. I, 38-42; see also Janssen, *De traditionelle Egyptische Autobiographie*, vol. I, 176; Polotsky, *JEA* 16, 198, n. 24.

[3] Allen, *JEA* 99, 300-7. Now see also Demidchik, *Вестник НГУ* 19/10, 50-8.

[4] On the meaning of *ḏd mdw* see Berlev, *BiOr* 55, 774-5.

[5] *Cf.* Janssen, *De traditionelle Egyptische Autobiographie*, vol. I, 176; Russo, *RdE* 55, 113.

ceased Neha over his servant figurines who were meant to work for him in the Beyond. When reading the text literally, Neha seems to be relating about acquiring people bound to serve 'his house' and 'his place': he *db3* 'repayed' (col. 13),[6] *iri* 'aquired' (cols. 13-16, 21-23),[7] *ini* 'bought'[8] (col. 23) his workers. Berlev, however, convincingly showed that similar statements could be made when acquiring not people as such, but only their representations,[9] and the Old Kingdom custom of placing servant figurines in the *serdab* is known to have persisted into the first part of the Middle Kingdom; the only difference was that now they were mostly placed in the burial chamber.[10] *Shabti* figurines became a continuation of this custom.[11] In col. 16 of Neha's inscription, the acquisition of *twtw* 'statues' or 'statuettes' is stated directly; and even though the latter were not found in his tomb, the northern wall of the burial chamber has a niche where they could be placed.[12]

However, an indispensable condition to guarantee the right of the tomb owner to use the labour of the servant representations was the propriety of acquisition. With the exception when they were gifted to the tomb owner by the very people depicted, he had to pay for making them from his own means. In the Old Kingdom and First Intermediate Period, 'payment texts' in private tombs proclaimed that the craftsmen and artisans who had built and decorated them were generously rewarded,[13] and later, the *shabti* owners had to pay the craftsmen in full as well.[14] Similarly, Neha's spell also contains proclamations that his servant figurines have been purchased in advance and in accordance with all the legal and moral norms.

The 'Relocation Formula'

The spell begins with the tercet:

in nh3 m niwt=f
h3n nh3 m sp3t=f
pr=f grg(*w*) *st=f mnt*(*i*)

'Neha has come from his town,
Neha has descended from his nome,
his house (in the necropolis) being established and his place (in the West) being firm'

The last line regarding the 'house' and 'place' sounds like a loose allusion to the adage known to us from the 'Teaching of Hordedef': '*equip your house in the necropolis, make excellent your place in the West*'.[15] It occurs unchanged again in col. 17.

The first two lines of the tercet are the 'relocation formula'[16] typical for the beginning of 'ideal' autobiographies,[17] the meaning of which, despite its outward simplicity, remains a matter of debate.[18] No doubt, it is about a burial. But why is it so important to claim that the deceased has arrived to his tomb specifically from 'his town' and 'his nome?'

A new explanation of the emergence and structure of the ideal autobiography was suggested in the PhD dissertation of Shehab el-Din 'Autobiography in Ancient Egypt in the epoch of the Fourth to Eighth Dynasties', supervised by Berlev. According to these scholars, '*already the oldest ideal autobiography, the one of wr-ḫww, was structured in a way that connected the burial with following the laws while still living*'.[19] This and other examples[20] confirm an undisputable dependency between the burial and a life according to the law and the norms. The natural conclusion is that those who did not live the right way do not have the right to be buried. In other words, already under the Fifth Dynasty, ideal autobiographies

[6] Hannig, *Ägyptisches Wörterbuch*, vol. II, 2831-32.
[7] Schneider, *Shabtis*, vol. I, 39, 40, n. e; Hannig, *Ägyptisches Wörterbuch*, vol. II, 367 [3295].
[8] Berlev, *Общественные отношения*, 39-40; Hannig, *Ägyptisches Wörterbuch*, vol. II, 301 [2715].
[9] Berlev, *Общественные отношения*, 17-34; Bolshakov, *Man and His Double*, 139-42.
[10] There was no fundamental difference between acquisition of mural or relief representations of servants, as described by Berlev, and acquisition of servant statuettes, *cf*. Bolshakov, *Man and His Double*, 214-60; Eschenbrenner-Diemer, in Miniaci, Betrò, Quirke (eds), *Company of images*, 45-8. Like the mural or relief representations, such statuettes were sometimes inscribed with 'titles' and names of the depicted, see Schneider, *Shabtis*, vol. I, 21, 23.
[11] Schneider, *Shabtis*, vol. I, 19-31.
[12] Chassinat, Gauthier, Pieron, *Fouilles de Qattah*, 17, fig. 8, pl. 7.
[13] See Berlev, *Общественные отношения*, 19; Perepelkin, *Хозяйство*, 114-9; Strudwick, *Texts from the Pyramid Age*, 251-60.
[14] Schneider, *Shabtis*, vol. I, 240-2, 323-5, 329-30.
[15] *Cf*. Brunner in Hornung, Keel (eds), *Studien zu altägyptischen Lebenslehren,* 113-7, 121-2. The 'autobiographical' parallels suggested in Polotsky, *JEA* 16, 198, n. 24 tell only about establishing a 'house (*pr*)', but not of a 'place (*st*)'.
[16] It is called so in Shehab el-Din, *Автобиография в древнем Египте*, 76-8; see below.
[17] Janssen, *De traditionelle egyptische autobiographie*, vol. I, 38-9, vol. II, 58-60; Schneider, *Shabtis*, vol. I, 39-40, n. b; Stauder-Porchet, in Stauder-Porchet, Frood, Stauder (eds), *Ancient Egyptian Biographies*, 90-2
[18] See the survey in Kloth, *Die (auto-)biographischen Inschriften*, 54-60. Allen, in Bárta (ed.), *The Old Kingdom Art and Archaeology*, 9-18; Allen, *JEA* 99, 301-2, n. a.
[19] Shehab el-Din, *Автобиография в древнем Египте*, 76.
[20] E.g. Lichtheim, *Maat in Egyptian Autobiographies*, 9-12, nos. 1-6.

imply the existence of practice much later described by Diodorus of Sicily, I, 92: '*When the body is ready to be buried the family announces the day of interment to the judges and to the relatives and friends of the deceased, and, the law gives permission to anyone who wishes to arraign the dead person. Now if anyone presents himself and makes a charge, and shows that the dead man had led an evil life, ... the body is denied the customary burial… When no accuser appears, ... the relatives put their mourning aside and laud the deceased. And of his ancestry, indeed, they say nothing, ... since they hold that all Egyptians are equally well born, but after recounting his training and education from childhood, they describe his righteousness and justice after he attained to manhood, also his self-control and his other virtues, ... and the multitude shouts its assent and extorts the glory of the deceased, as of one who is about to spend eternity in Hades among the righteous*'.[21]

In Berlev and Shehab el-Din's opinion, the (auto)biographies starting with the 'relocation formula' and this Diodorus's narration '*obviously talk about the same thing: the right to a tomb as a means to achieving an eternal life and the status of blessed dead. What is described by Diodorus as relatives' speeches is in fact the biography of the deceased, that in the tomb is put into the mouth of his representation and turns into his autobiography. Thus, the purpose of this genre was not only to attract attention of the passers-by and to make them say the tomb owner's name out loud, but also to substantiate the owner's right to the burial and the tomb*'.[22]

While not insisting that 'the trial' described by Diodorus fully conforms to the reality of the time of the Fifth-Eighth Dynasties, Berlev and Shehab el-Din nevertheless believed such views to be the reason for the formation of the autobiography as a genre, and pointed at '*almost literal conformity of the structure of (auto) biography, especially the ideal one, to what Diodorus described as relatives' speeches prior to burying the deceased*'.[23] Recently, Oréal has corroborated Diodorus I, 92 by several New Kingdom tomb scenes,[24] and, according to Willems, the practice of the judgment of the dead being ritually enacted as part of the burial rites is alluded to in the Coffin Texts spell 40.[25]

If Berlev and Shehab el-Din's theory is correct, it becomes clear why it was so important to emphasize that the deceased arrived to his tomb from 'his town' and 'his nome'. The 'relocation formula' states that the 'acquittal' was pronounced by people well familiar with the deceased, his neighbours who had known him his entire life. Indeed, were he to be buried in a foreign location – being judged by people who did not know him – their acquittal would not be entirely reliable. By stating that he 'has come from his town', and 'has descended from his nome' the tomb or stela's owner was assuring passers-by that he had been acquitted by the people who knew practically everything about him, and therefore his righteousness is beyond reproach.

In Egyptian phraseology, the collocation *niwt + sp3t* means a man's '*entire world, absolutely everything. The world consists of towns and the spaces between them; consequently, "towns" and "nomes" comprise one's full and entire world*'.[26] Of course, in the 'relocation formula', the addition of the personal suffix pronouns *=f* / *=i* to these nouns narrows the meaning of the collocation to '*the tiniest living space of one person*'.[27] However, even with this, the sentences in question meant that the entire 'world' of those who knew the deceased, everyone from his 'living space' acknowledged his righteousness and his right to a decent burial.

Thus, Neha's spell first tercet states that he was given the post-mortem approval by his 'world' already after he had set up 'his house (in the necropolis)' and 'his place (in the West)' – that is his tomb. Therefore, the material preparations to the burial were done without violating the norms, and Neha's right to the tomb and to its contents is undisputed. The impeccability of Neha's life and his right to his tomb is once again clarified right after the abridged 'relocation formula' *i*(*y*)*.n hh3 ḥ3* in cols. 17-19:

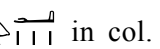
> 'Neha has come here,
> his house (in the necropolis) being established and his place (in the West) being firm.
> When Neha was on earth among the living,
> Neha did not hinder[28] a lad,[29]
> and he did not revile an old man.
> Neha did not do what the god hates,
> Neha did not acquire at the measuring more than what has been allotted (to him),[30]

[21] Shehab el-Din, *Автобиография в древнем Египте*, 77-8.
[22] Shehab el-Din, *Автобиография в древнем Египте*, 79.
[23] Shehab el-Din, *Автобиография в древнем Египте*, 79.
[24] Oréal, in Collombert *et al.* (eds), *Aere perennius*, 493-512.
[25] Willems, *Les textes des sarcophages*, 197; Willems, *Historical and archaeological aspects*, 187-8; *cf.* Assmann, *Altägyptische Totenliturgien*, vol. I, 164.

[26] Berlev, *Трудовое население*, 238. On the *sp3t* designating the agricultural land between settlements, see ibid. 234-42.
[27] Berlev, *Трудовое население*, 238.
[28] Schneider, *Shabtis*, vol. I, 40, n. o.
[29] *Cf.* '[I buried (?)] *its* (*i.e.* the town) *old men* (*i3ww*), *I circumcised its ndsw*…' (Petrie, *Dendereh*, pl. 8; Fischer, *Dendera*, 149-50). On the meaning of the much discussed noun *nḏs* see: Berlev, *Общественные отношения*, 73-125; Franke, *GM* 167, 65-78; Quirke, *Orientalia* 79, 404-5; Grajetzki, *The People of the Cobra Province,* 25, n. 92, 179-80.
[30] Schneider, *Shabtis*, vol. I, 30, 41, n. r. *Cf.* The Book of the Dead, Chapter 125: '*I have not added to nor have I subtracted*

Neha did entirely[31] what is true in his mind,
Neha loved what is good and great with god'

Neha's *k3wtyw* and *ʿš3t*

The word  in col. 13 and in cols.15, 16, 20, 21, 23, 24 was understood by Schneider as *k3wtyw* 'menial labourers',[32] whereas Allen reads it as noun *k3wt* 'works', which also occurs in cols. 19 and 21, being spelt as .[33] Although the inscription deliberately excludes the characters depicting humans (Neha believed that human representations can 'come alive'!), it is easy to see that Schneider is right.

The spelling of *k3wt* 'works' in cols. 19 and 21 has the papyrus scroll determinative, which is absent in the word under discussion in cols. 13, 15, 16, 20, 21, 23, 24.[34] The noun *k3wtyw* 'menial laborers' in Neha's inscription is each time accompanied by the suffix pronoun *=f* , both times absent in *k3wt* 'works'. In col. 24 *k3wtyw=f* is modified by the masculine participle *iabw*, which would be strange if it was the feminine noun 'works'.

The term *k3wtyw*, with the original meaning 'menial labourers', and later also 'porters', was discussed by Spiegelberg, Gardiner, Haring,[35] and Bogoslovsky in Russian. The latter proved that in the workmen's community of Deir el-Medina this job '*belonged to those of the people of smdt, and was not considered a "profession". These young men who were already put to work and mastered a profession, but not yet assigned to the craftsmen, were obviously in the position close to the people of smdt. Therefore, they could be charged with the work that did not demand professional skills*'.[36]

This conclusion is also important for the proper understanding of *ʿš3t=f* in col. 15, which was read by Schneider as 'his personnel', 'assembled attendants',[37] and by Allen as 'his mass (of possessions)'.[38] Schneider's reading is corroborated by both the similar meaning of *ʿs3t* in Coffin Texts spell 143 (II, 176f, k)[39] and by the fact that in the distich under consideration *ʿs3t* is in parallel with the *k3wtyw* 'menial labourers':

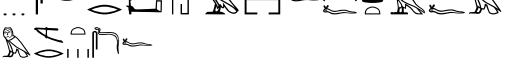
iw irn nh3 ʿš3t=f
iw irn nh3 k3wtyw=f m rwd ḥʿw=f

'Neha has acquired his *ʿš3t=f*,
Neha has acquired his menial labourers when his body was still strong'

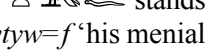
Since here the denotations of the *ʿš3t* and *k3wtyw* are likely to be the same, the translation of *ʿš3t* as 'personnel', 'assembled attendants' appears to be appropriate.

Moreover, based on the analysis of the inscriptions on a statue of the military officer Senbebu (*imy-r3 mšʿ sn-bbw*) from the sanctuary of Heqaib on Elepantine,[40] Berlev and Shehab el-Din conjectured that in a number of texts *ʿš3t* was used as a '*specific term of the ancient Egyptian social organization. It denotes people who have not been assigned to work yet but are eligible for employment. Usually these are young people who have not received their first assignment yet*'.[41] This meaning of *ʿš3t* is quite close to that of *k3wtyw* discovered by Bogoslovsky (see above), and the 'parallel' use of these terms in the distich under consideration corroborates Berlev and Shehab el-Din's suggestion.

Neha's *mr*(*y*)*t* Workers

(21) … 
(22)

Allen's reading: *sk ḫrp.n nh3 nst=f /ir.n.f k3wt mm mrwt ḏs.f*, '*When Neha managed his seat, / he made his works among the dependents himself*'. However, such an understanding of the second clause seems odd to me: why, although being among his *mr*(*y*)*t* workers, would Neha do the work himself?[42]

As shown above, in this inscription stands not for *k3wt=f* 'his works', but for *k3wtyw=f* 'his menial labourers'. And the following word can hardly be the preposition *mm* 'among', since in Neha's spell it is invariably written with the sign ( ; cols. 14-17, 23-24), which lacks here. Probably column 21 should have ended with the preposition *m*. But since the scribe's

from the offering measure. I have not subtracted from the aroura measure. I have not encroached upon fields. I have not added to the weight of the balance. I have not tampered with the plummet of the scales' (the translation by Ritner, in Simpson (ed.), *The Literature of Ancient Egypt*, 270).

[31] Schneider, *Shabtis*, vol. I, 30, 41, n. s.

[32] Schneider, *Shabtis*, vol. I, 38-9.

[33] Allen, *JEA* 99.

[34] On the spelling *k3wtyw* 'menial labourers' without the scroll determinative in the Middle Kingdom see Wb. V, 102.4-10; Hannig, *Ägyptisches Wörterbuch* II, 2561.

[35] Gardiner, *Onomastica*, vol. I, 59*-60*; Haring, *Divine Households*, 238-9.

[36] Bogoslovsky, *Древнеегипетские мастера*, 228-9.

[37] Schneider, *Shabtis*, vol. I, 39, 40, n. i.

[38] Allen, *JEA* 99, 302.

[39] Schneider, *Shabtis*, vol. I, 40, n. i, 44.

[40] Habachi, *The Sanctuary of Heqaib*, 75-6, no. 49, pl. 126.

[41] Shehab el-Din, *Автобиография в древнем Египте*, 215, 283-6.

[42] Such a 'justification' for one's 'release from labour obligations in the next life' (Allen, *JEA* 99, 307) would have been quite unique in extensive Egyptian mortuary literature.

attention was already consumed by the transition to the next column, he mistakenly repeated the preposition *m* there, which is even more understandable because the first word in col 22 was also supposed to start with *m* – *mr*(*y*)*t*. More plausible is, therefore, the translation by Schneider: 'he (*i.e.* Neha) acquired his menial labourers from his own personnel'.[43] The preposition can also be '*m* of equivalence or predication' – 'as': '*he acquired his menial labourers as his own mr*(*y*)*t workers, which Neha had acquired on earth, when his body was still strong*'.

Schneider is also right that *mr*(*y*)*t*(=*f*) *ḏs*=*f* means 'his own personnel',[44] literally 'his own *mr*(*y*)*t* workers',[45] which is the only known occurrence of the social term *mr*(*y*)*t* with the modifier *ḏs* meaning '(one's) own'. It is clear, however, that *ḏs* in the meaning of 'own' is just a Middle Egyptian colloquial equivalent of the Old Kingdom term of ownership (*ny*) *ḏt*.[46] The designation *mr*(*y*)*t*(=*f*) *n*(*y*)*t ḏt*=*f* 'his own *mr*(*y*)*t* workers' is attested in the Middle Kingdom twice,[47] both times in the captions to representations:

– in the Bersheh tomb of the nomarch Neheri, the latter is shown seeing '[the cultivation of fields] by his own *mr*(*y*)*t* workers (*in mr*(*y*)*t*=*f n*(*y*)*t ḏt*=*f*)';[48]
– on the pedestal of a wooden sculptural group of three (originally four) walking servant statuettes from the Dahshur tomb of the ruler of domain (*ḥḳ3 ḥwt*) Shepi, it is written: […] *špi mr*(*y*)*t n*(*y*)*t ḏt*=*f* '[…] Shepi, his own *mr*(*y*)*t* workers' (CG 512, see Fig. 1; see also CG 511).[49]

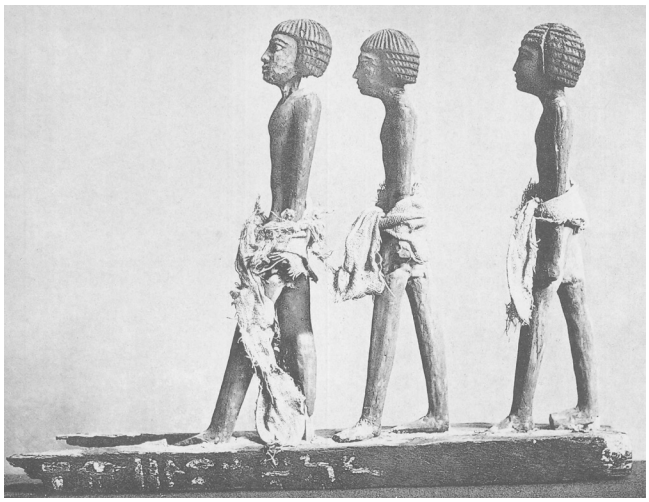


Fig. 1 – The wooden sculptural group of three (originally four) walking servant statuettes from the Dahshur tomb of the ruler of domain Shepi (CG 512; Borschardt, *Statuen und Statuetten*, vol. II, 77, 88)

The parallel with the statuettes of Shepi's 'own *mr*(*y*)*t* workers' from Dahshur is of special interest, since in the selection and arrangement of its PT and CT spells the tomb of Neha is comparable to that of Siese, also at Dahshur, and to the tombs of Senwosretankh and Imhotep at Lisht.[50] While equipping his 'house in the West,' Neha, the provincial official, likely copied some religious-magical texts from the areas of Lisht and Dahshur, which at the time were a kind of metropolitan suburbs. Therefore, the representations of Neha's 'own *mr*(*y*)*t* workers' could be made in about the same manner as the ones of Shepi.

On the Date of the Composition

In its architecture, in the selection and arrangement of the PT and CT spells, Neha's 'house in the West' is comparable to a few tombs from the reigns of Senusret I and Amenemhat II,[51] that is also *terminus ante quem* for the spell under consideration. The noun *nḏs* 'lad', in col.17, does not occur in Middle Kingdom writing after the Senusret I.[52] The avoidance of the human figures, the archaic form in col. 18,[53] as well as the 'Old

[43] Schneider, *Shabtis*, vol. I, 39. On such dittographie, *cf*. Brose, *Grammatik der dokumentarischen Texte*, 44, nos. 154-7.
[44] Schneider, *Shabtis*, vol. I, 41, n. z.
[45] On the reading and meaning of the social term *mr*(*y*)*t* see Berlev, *Трудовое население*, 96-146, and now Di Teodoro, *Labour organization*, 39-40; Grajetzki, *The People of the Cobra Province*, 205-6.
[46] Berlev, in Powell (ed.), *Labor in the Ancient Near East*, 156, n. 71. On (*ny*) *ḏt* meaning '(one's) own' see: Perepelkin, *Privateigentum*; Berlev, *Трудовое население*, 172-262; Bolshakov, *GM* 141, 39-42. On *ḏs* in the meaning '(one's) own' used as equivalent of (*ny*) *ḏt* see Berlev, *Трудовое население*, 173-75; Demidchik, *VDI*, 125-37.
[47] On the designation *mr*(*y*)*t n*(*y*)*t pr n*(*y*) *ḏt* (CG 1571; Firth, Gunn, *Teti Pyramid Cemeteries*, vol. I, 208-9; Borchardt, *Denkmäler des Alten Reiches*, vol. II, 43, pl. 71) see Berlev, *Трудовое население*, 121-3,196, no. 42a.
[48] Griffith, Newberry, *El Bersheh*, vol. II, pl. XI.3-4; Berlev, *Трудовое население*, 119-20, 189.
[49] De Morgan, *Foullies à Dahchour en 1894−1895*, 18-21, pl. 3; Borchardt, *Statuen und Statuetten*, vol. II, 76-7, pls 87-8; Berlev, *Трудовое население*, 103-4, 189.
[50] Russo, *RdE* 55. 113, n. 4, 5; Allen, *JEA* 99, 300; Morales, *The Transmission of the Pyramid Texts*, 158-65; on *mr*(*y*)*t* workers serving their master in the Beyond now see Rosell, *Trabajos de Egiptología* 9, 176-82.
[51] Allen, *JEA* 99, 300; see above, n. 1.
[52] Berlev, *Общественные отношения*, 73-125; Franke, *GM* 167, 65-78; see, however, Ilin-Tomich, in Miniaci, Grajetzki (eds), *The World of Middle Kingdom Egypt (2000–1550 BC)*, vol. I, 155, 5A.
[53] See Allen, *JEA* 99, 303, n j.

Egyptian' independent pronoun *ṯwt* in lines 20 and 21 signal a relatively early dating of the spell, and – to the best of my knowledge – *ḏs* in the meaning 'one's own' is only attested in relation to one's servants or workers in two Denderite autobiographies from the First Intermediate Period.[54]

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[54] Cairo Museum JE 46048; Abdalla, *JEA* 79, pl. XXIV.1; Franke, *SAK* 34, 167-72, pl. 4; Musacchio, *AntOr* 4, 77-9, fig. 2. On the inscription of the steward *bbi* see Daressy, *ASAE* 15, 207; Fischer, *GM* 210, 28-33; Berlev, *Трудовое население*, 160-1, 173; Franke, *JEA* 93, 162.

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The Preservation of Monuments in the Written Sources of Dynastic Egypt between 2000 and 1550 BC

Micòl Di Teodoro

Abstract

This paper introduces the concept(s) of preservation of monuments during the Middle Kingdom and the Second Intermediate Period, part of a larger diachronic project I am working on. The media for the preservation of monuments in Ancient Egypt encompassed the realm of the supernatural, going beyond the limits of the physical world. Rituals and magic combined with restoration works, renewals, and embellishments guaranteed the preservation of public and private buildings, assuring the eternal remembrance of the benefactor and the beneficiary. Written sources ranging from literary compositions, administrative documents, and funerary inscriptions attest to explicit and implicit wishes to preserve monuments, which gives different nuances to the concept of preservation itself. Various reasons can be identified behind the intent to preserve monuments, mainly of ideological and political character. These may also reveal an awareness of the monumental past that nowadays can be included in the so-called cultural heritage of a country.

> «A man acts for the one who was his predecessor, from the wish that what he has made may be restored by another who comes after him»*

Introduction

As Alöis Riegl states, '*a monument in its oldest and most original sense is a human creation, erected for the specific purpose of keeping single human deeds or vents (or a combination thereof) alive in the minds of future generations*'.[1] As such, the concept of monument is tied to the memory of people and events, and the monument itself can be intended as a materialisation of our – as human beings – natural inclination to continuity. The acts of making, transforming, and destroying monuments, and generally speaking art, is a 'mode of memory'.[2]

Nowadays the monumental past of a given country is part of its 'cultural heritage', when it is imbued with historical, artistic, or commemorative values.[3] Architectural monuments are considered worthy of preservation as the 'cultural memory'[4] of a social group, for the benefit of the individual, the collectivity, and future generations. Under the rubric 'monuments' figure architectural structures of public and private characters, religious and profane. We need to bear in mind that since Antiquity the attitude towards preservation or non-preservation of monuments has always gone hand in hand with indigenous values and beliefs, and the needs of the present times.[5] The values assigned to a monument can change over time, and even from group to group at the same time. The awareness of the 'historical past' and its positive or negative evaluation play an active and basic role in the tendency towards preservation or non-pres-

*Extract from the Teaching for Merikara: P. Hermitage 1116A*vs*, chapter 23, column 10, lines 12-13.

[1] Rigel, *The Modern Cult of Monuments,* 1.

[2] Elsner, in Nelson, Olin (eds), *Monuments and memory,* 209.

[3] Barassi, *Tate Papers* 8, 1-2.

[4] Assmann, *Cultural Memory*.

[5] Layton, in Layton (ed.), *Who needs the Past?*, 10; van Dycke, Alcock † (eds), *Archaeologies of Memory*, 3.

ervation[6] (see Fig. 1). A positive evaluation of the past and historical consciousness[7] result in the preservation of memory, and in all those actions aiming at restoring and keeping monuments in their pristine state. They also fuel the cultural phenomena of archaism and antiquarianism. The former is the revival of the past, so the creation of a new monument embedding elements of the past which are considered as permeated with artistic values, or of ideological importance in the present times. In archaism, new and old coexist.[8] Antiquarianism is the devotion to and interest in antiquities for their age, and the cultural, artistic or aesthetic values, which results in the collection of past objects.[9] On the other hand, a negative evaluation of the past results in oblivion, destruction, and major transformations. Those are due to the loss of the original significance and value of the monument, the loss of memory, and reinterpretation. The reuse of the material with different values and functions is the most common transformation. The destruction, total or partial of the monument is also due to the intent to obliterate the memory of individuals (*damnatio memoriae*), and to annul the power of the monument. For example, Christians of the Late Antique period (third-eighth century AD) damaged the statues of ancient Egyptian and Greek gods because they were symbols of polytheism. This damage stemmed from a negative evaluation of the past and the commitment to establishing the hegemony of the Christian cult. Damaging the statues made the polytheistic religions powerless in front of Christianity.[10]

The concept of 'preservation' was deeply rooted in the culture of dynastic Egypt (2700-332 BC). The main recipient of acts of preservation was the human body. For ancient Egyptians life was everlasting, death being just the transition into another phase of existence.[11] The preservation of the body, through the practice of embalming and magical rituals, guaranteed the survival of the individual in the afterlife. To that end, the preservation of the tomb – the place where the individual remains present in the realm of the living after death – was equally important as it ensured protection to the body of the deceased, and guaranteed the remembrance of their name, thus the preservation of their memory.[12] For the same purpose, the statues of kings, officials, and common people were 'activated' through the 'opening of the mouth and the eyes' ritual,[13] which turned the monuments into the living materialisations of the deceased. Damaging the statue or erasing the name of an individual from his monument (statue, stela, tomb etc.) was like deleting his existence, killing his essence. The mutilation of statues, especially royal statues and coffins was very common throughout dynastic times. Many statues were broken at knee height in order to paralyse them forever. Others had their eyes, nose, and mouth damaged to avert the revenge of the deceased (see below).[14]

Preservation of Monuments in Dynastic Egypt

The Ancient Egyptian word for 'monument' was *mnw*, variously written , , , . It identifies public, domestic, and funerary buildings, along with portable objects such as stelae, statues, and pieces of furniture. The noun *mnw* derives from the verb *mn* that means '*to be stable, firm, established', 'to endure*'. These meanings embody the concepts of continuity and permanence and are linked to linear time. The Egyptian words *nḥḥ* and *ḏt* indicated two different types of temporal dimensions: cyclical and linear, dynamic timeflow and static timeflow, eternal recurrence and eternal sameness, future eternity and past eternity, infinity

[6] Baines, *Visual and Written Culture,* 183ff.

[7] For a recent discussion on the terms *history* and *historical consciousness* see Baines *et al.*, in Baines *et al.* (eds), *Historical Consciousness*, 1-6.

[8] This phenomenon is typical for the Late Period, from the Twenty-fifth Dynasty onwards, but it appeared already during the Middle Kingdom with the revival of forms of Old Kingdom dynasties. See for example: Assmann, *Cultural Memory*, 19; Baines, *Visual and Written Culture*, 197; Morkot, in Tait (ed.), *Never had the like*, 99; Wildung, in Tait (ed.), *Never had the like*, 65.

[9] Antiquarian interests have been recognised during the New Kingdom: Morkot, in Tait (ed.), *Never had the like*, 97. Moreover, collections of statues of deities, royal ancestors, and private persons were stored and preserved inside temples since the Middle Kingdom, even if the evidence of this practice dates mostly from the New Kingdom onwards: Díaz-Hernández, *JEA* 103/1. For Antiquarianism in Ancient Egypt see also Wendrich, in Schnapp *et al.* (eds), *World Antiquarianism*; for the cultural phenomenon in general see Momigliano, in Momigliano (ed.), *Sui fondamenti*.

[10] Bleiberg, in Bleiberg, Weissberg (eds), *Striking Power*, 60.

[11] Assmann, *Death and Salvation*, 141-63.

[12] The *name* was one of the main constituent physical and spiritual elements of the person, along with *ka* (vital force), *ba* (double of the person, 'soul'), *akh* (transfigured spirit), heart, and shadow (Assmann, *Death and Salvation*, 87-8; Bongioanni, Tosi, *La spiritualità,* 107-16). By speaking his name, the deceased kept living in the realm of the dead, and in the living memory of his descendants.

[13] On the ritual see for example: Fàbiàn, in Sazabó, Vargyas (eds), *Cultus Deorum*; Goyon, *Rituels funéraires*; Otto, *Das Ägyptische Mundöffnungsritual*; Pahl, in David (ed.), *Science in Egyptology*; Schiaparelli, *Il libro dei funerali*; Smith, *The Liturgy*.

[14] See more recently: Bleiberg, in Bleiberg, Weissberg (eds), *Striking Power*, 48-55; Del Vesco, in Anonymous (ed.), *Anche le Statue Muoiono*, 44-5.

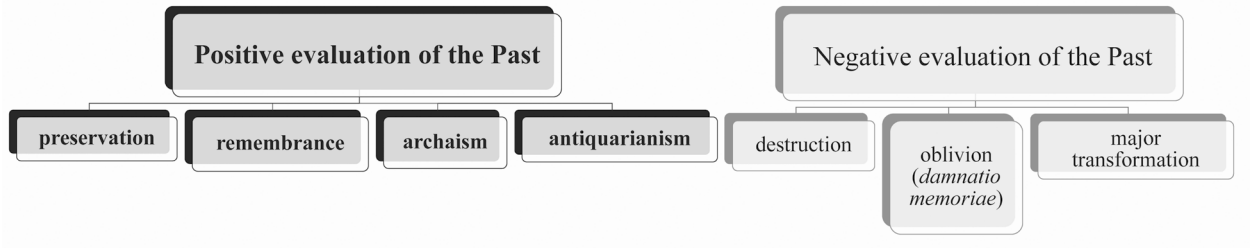

Fig. 1 – Graph showing the effects of positive and negative values assigned to the past © author

and everlastingness, Ra and Osiris.[15] The cyclical timeflow (*nḥḥ*) is superimposed on the linear timeflow (*ḏt*) and unifies the past, present, and future. For example, time in kinship has both a cyclical and linear dimension. The former is expressed by the cycle of social roles and the cycle father > son > father > son, what Marcelo Campagno defines as the 'circuit of kin-defined roles', while the latter is expressed by the linear sequence of generations, so the continual line of descent from ancestors.[16] Linear timeflow means continuity since the mythical primeval time (*pꜣwt*), the time of the gods and the primordial order. Kingship itself has a double temporal dimension. The cycle begins from the accession to the throne which marks the repetition of the creation, and continues with the Sed festival which means regeneration, to end with death which is a new birth.[17] At the same time every new king re-establishes the continuity since the primeval time. Monuments have also a close connection with cyclical time. The restoration formula of the so-called 'restoration inscriptions' (see below), that celebrated restoration works undertaken on the monument, is *smꜣwy mnw* 'renewal of the monument'. The concept of 'renewal' itself expresses a cyclical return and re-establishment of that primeval order which, in the context of monument's restorations, is performed by the current king. So the preservation of monuments involves both repetition and continuity. Moreover, often new monuments were built in a place already considered of special importance because of past events, past traditions, or the presence of relevant older structures.[18] They were places of memory already.[19] Hence, the preservation of such monuments meant also the renewal of historical continuity, and preservation and transmission of those past values and traditions linked to those specific places.

There were two methods to protect monuments in Ancient Egypt. First, construction activities and maintenance operations to improve, consolidate, and protect the building from damages, or to restore the building's pristine state. Examples are restorations, repairs, the construction of barriers, and removal of sand. The second method involved the use of magical spells and rituals. The main aim of both modes was to guarantee the integrity, stability, and eternal existence of monuments. Incantations and rituals provided additional protection of a magical and supernatural type to both sacred and profane monuments – from temples to houses, tombs, and even rooms – and could also be used to encourage their damage or destruction (see Table 1). Restoration acts and incantations or rituals often coexisted on the same monument, combining different types of protection from a wide range of damages.

We do not have any law codices regulating the preservation of monuments in Ancient Egypt. However, inscriptions on religious and profane monuments bear evidence of restorations and embellishments. Moreover, along with literary compositions on papyri and *ostraca*, these inscriptions reveal explicit or implicit allusions to the intent whether to preserve monuments. Also metaphors are often used to express the wish to protect or destroy. The written evidence covers a large time span from the Old Kingdom to the Greco-Roman times and can be organised into six groups according to context and purpose: inscriptions from funerary context, administrative texts, restoration inscriptions, visitors' graffiti,[20] incantantions, and literary compositions. The inscriptions from funerary context include the so-called 'warnings to rob-

[15] On these concepts see: Bakir, *JEA* 60; Bochi, *JARCE* 31; Maravelia, in Chantrain, Winand (eds), *Time and Space*; Roeten, *GM* 201; Servajean, *ENIM* 1; Uphill, in Tait (ed.), *Never had the like*. The sun god Ra, the symbol of regeneration and cycle (rise-set-rise-set) is the exponent of *nḥḥ*, while Osiris, in his form as 'unchangeable continuation as mummy' was the exponent of *ḏt*: Assmann, *Death and Salvation*, 372.

[16] See Campagno, in Baines *et al.* (eds), *Historical Consciousness*, 98-9; the quotation is on page 99.

[17] Björkman, *Kings at Karnak*, 20.

[18] For example, the construction of the step pyramid of king Djoser in a place which had been seat of the mortuary cult of previous kings, whose tombs were still there: Baines, in Baines *et al.* (eds), *Historical Consciousness*, 114-5.

[19] For the concept of *places of memory* see Nora, *Representations* 26.

[20] The visitors' graffiti were secondary inscriptions left on public monuments by ancient visitors. They date to the New Kingdom, especially to the Eighteenth Dynasty. Many of them were written by scribes, often by experienced scribes who visited the monument with their apprentices. For key publications on the topic see: Kahl, *GM* 211; Navrátilová, *The Visitors' Graffiti*; Navrátilová, in Ragazzoli *et al.* (eds), *Scribbling through History*; Ragazzoli, *NeHet* 4; Ragazzoli, *La Grotte des Scribes*; van Pelt, *RIME* 3.

MONUMENT	PRESERVATION MEDIA	
	Construction activities/Actions to improve, consolidate, restore pristine state	Incantations and Rituals
PUBLIC: temples, palaces, quarries, canals etc	*	*
DOMESTIC: houses	?	*
FUNERARY: tombs	*	*
PORTABLE OBJECTS: stelae, statues, pieces of furniture	*	*

Table 1 – The media for the protection of monuments and the contexts of their application © author

bers and the impure', and the 'letters to the dead'. The administrative texts comprise decrees and treaties. The group of incantations consists of medico-magical texts and rituals for the protection of the house. During the Old Kingdom, most of the evidence is from elite tombs in the form of 'warnings to robbers and the impure'. These inscriptions contain threats to whoever would have damaged the tomb or entered the tomb in an impure state.[21] Any damage to the tomb would have negatively interfered with the protection of the deceased and his memory (see above). To avoid the punishments mentioned in the warnings, the robbers used to damage specific parts of the face of the statues or the coffins of the tomb owners. The nose was damaged as '*incense placed at the nose allowed the breath of life to enter the soul of the deceased*'.[22] Then the stony materialisation of the deceased was blinded by damaging his eyes, so that he could not see what criminals were doing inside his tomb. Finally, a vandalised mouth could not speak the warning formulae. An important administrative text of the Old Kingdom is the royal decree of Pepi II (Sixth Dynasty).[23] The text forbids the removal of property of the pyramid town of Menkaura:

> 'You do not have the authority to permit men of this troop … to go forth to remove property from the aforementioned pyramid town. My majesty has ordered the exemption and protection of this pyramid town so that the property thereof should not be taken by any man'[24]

Then during the First Intermediate Period (FIP) we keep finding 'warnings to robbers and the impure', and royal decrees like the exemption decree of Demedjibtawy (Eighth Dynasty) from Coptos.[25] This decree protects monuments through warning:

> 'As for any man of this entire land who will do a destructive, evil thing to any of your statues…to any of your offering stones…to any of your ka chapels…to any of your furniture…to any of your monuments which are in any of the chapels or any of the divine temples…as for any man of this entire land who will disturb or damage a thing from your offerings which are taken under the authority and made for your statues…they be restrained and tied as prisoners of the king, of Osiris, and of their local gods'[26]

During the First Intermediate Period we have the first 'restoration inscriptions', which will be widespread during the New Kingdom. Such inscriptions, carved on facades and walls of sacred and profane buildings, celebrated the restoration, repair, or embellishments of architectural structures. Archaeological traces of these actions are still visible.[27]

Famous examples of the First Intermediate Period are the inscriptions of the nomarch Djehutinakht at Sheikh Said and Deir al-Bersha, where he claims he restored

[21] See Strudwick, *Texts from the Pyramid Age,* 40-1, and 217-37.
[22] Bleiberg, in Bleiberg, Weissberg (eds), *Striking Power*, 48.
[23] The decree was engraved on a limestone slab from the Valley Temple of Menkaura in Giza, and is currently stored in the Museum of Fine Arts of Boston (inv. no. MFA 47.1654).
[24] The translation is from Strudwick, *Texts from the Pyramid Age,* 107.
[25] The text, engraved on a limestone slab, is now in the Cairo Museum (inv. no. JdE 41894).
[26] The translation is from Colledge, *The Process of Cursing,* 243-4.
[27] For the restoration inscriptions of the New Kingdom in their relationship with the visible traces of the restoration works see Björkman, *Kings at Karnak*. For a more comprehensive study of restoration inscriptions from the earliest dynasties to Ptolemaic Egypt see McClain, *Restoration Inscriptions*.

Fig. 2 – The Stela of Montuhotep son of Ipwy: UC14333. The text mentioned in the paper is the last horizontal line © courtesy of the Petrie Museum of Egyptian Archaeology

the tombs of his ancestors which were falling into ruins, an act nobody had done before.[28]

The Sources of the Middle Kingdom and the Second Intermediate Period (SIP)

To the Middle Kingdom date a few warnings from funerary context, some restoration inscriptions, and various literary works (see Table 2). The surviving Middle Kingdom literary compositions are mostly Middle Egyptian copies written during the New Kingdom, especially in the Ramesside period, on diverse material supports, mainly papyri and *ostraca*, but also wooden tablets and leather. To the Second Intermediate Period date a few restoration inscriptions.

Written evidence from funerary context

Four documents are typical 'warnings to robbers and the impure': the stela of Khenty, probably coming from Hatnub,[29] another stela from the Hatnub quarries,[30] an offering table now at the British Museum,[31] and the inscription from the tomb of Djefayhapy in Assiut.[32] The first three warnings start with the common formula '*as for he/those who*',[33] while the inscription from Assiut specifies who are the recipients: 'as for' *rmṯ nb* '*any person*', *sš nb* '*any scribe*', *rḫ ḫt nb* '*any wise man*', *nḏs nb* '*any commoner*', or *tw3 nb* '*any inferior*' […]. Then the texts proceed with the threat as follows: '*who will damage this image of mine, who will erase this injunction of mine*' (stela of Khenty), '*who will damage this image*' (stela from the Hatnub quarries), '*who will harm this offering*' (offering table), and '*who will do evil things in this tomb, who will damage its inscription, who will destroy its images*' (tomb of Djefayhapy). Then the punishments follow. In all cases, except for the stela from the Hatnub quarries, the culprit is subjected to divine punishment. The curse of the stela from the quarries will instead prevent the return of the culprit to his house and his family. All these inscriptions attest to acts of preservation through magical spells. As previously mentioned, the safety and integrity of the manifestations of the deceased, of his tomb, of his offerings, and consequently of his memory, were the main reasons and aims of such

[28] De Meyer, in Fitzenreiter (ed.) *Genealogie - Realität und Fiktion sozialer und kultureller Identität*, 125-35.

[29] The provenance from the Hatnub area has been proposed by William K. Simpson on the basis of similarities of this text and the Hatnub graffiti, and the presence of the gods Thot and Nemty: Simpson, *JNES* 20, 30.

[30] Posener, *JEA* 54.

[31] Sethe, *Ägyptische Lesestücke.*

[32] Griffith, *The Inscriptions of Siût.*

[33] In the stela from the Hatnub quarries and the offering table the formula has *ir grt,* while the variant *ir swt* is in the stela of Khenty.

warnings. The eternal remembrance of the name is the focus of the inscription on the stela of Montuhotep son of Ipwy (see Fig. 2):[34]

mnw pw n s nfrw=f smḫ pw bin biȝ(t) ir wn ḫpr(w) mi ḏd(w) wnn rn(=i) nfr mn m niwt(=i) n wȝsi mnw(=i) n ḏt

'The monument of a man is his goodness. Forgotten is the one who is evil of character.[35] If it happens as has been said, my name will (constantly) be good and enduring in my town, and my monument of eternity will not fall into ruins'

The imperfective (or circumstantial) *sḏm.f* form of the verb *wn* 'to be' used with the noun *rn* 'name' stresses the continuative aspect of the action, which may correspond to the concept of *nḥḥ*. The idea of continuity is also expressed by the word *ḏt* (see above), but in this case indicates a linear continuity corresponding to a resultative action: the monument will continue to exist unchanged for posterity. In this inscription the word *mnw* is used as a metaphor for 'virtue'. The real memorial of a man is not an architectural structure but a life of good conduct. Quoting Jan Assmann, the building was just the '*external sign of the remembrance that was attached to a life spent in virtue and righteousness*'.[36] An exemplary behaviour will assure the eternal memory of the name and eternal life in the memory of the descendants. The verb *wȝsi* '*to fall into ruins/to ruin*' used in connection with the figurative *mnw* is the same verb used in reference to buildings in many '*restoration inscriptions*' (see Table 3). An inscription in Beni Hassan from the tomb of Khnumhotep II, who was nomarch under Amenemhat I and Senwosret I, praises Amenemhat I saying:[37]

smnḫ=f gmt.n=f wsṯw

'He restores what he found dilapidated'

The description of the state of ruins contrasts with the renewals of the king who brings back to life what he had found in ruins, restoring its memory. Self-promotion is here the primary reason at the basis of the works of restoration. Then Khnumhotep talks about his achievements:[38]

sᶜnḫ.n=i rn n it=i gm.n=i wš ḫr sbȝw rḫ m tit mty šdt nn dit ky m-ᶜb ky isṯ sȝ pw srwd rn n tpy-ᶜ

'I made the names of my fathers live, which I found destroyed on the doorways and recognizable in signs, exact as that which is read, and I did not place one together with another.[39] It is an efficent son who restores the names of his ancestors'

There recurs the importance of the name. Khnumhotep feels the need to renew the damaged inscriptions in order to make the names of his ancestors legible again. An erased name meant the obliteration of the memory and existence of the individual.

The destruction of a monument is instead mentioned as a warning in a 'letter to the dead' inscribed on a bowl from Saqqara (see Fig. 3).[40] Here a widow asks the *akh*-spirit[41] of the deceased to fight the hostile influence of malevolent people who are making her maidservant ill. A lack of help would result in the destruction of her house, as the maidservant is the one who is keeping the house and makes it last. So the bad behaviour of the spirit of the deceased would be the cause of the destruction of the house. This recalls the proverb on the stela of Montuhotep where a life of bad conduct would result in oblivion.

Dedicatory and restoration inscriptions

The earlier 'restoration inscriptions' were prompted by the social and economic disorders and political chaos that followed the fall of the Old Kingdom. Thus, the re-establishment of order after disorder and destructions is the main theme of Middle Kingdom restoration inscriptions. There were royal and non-royal inscriptions. The latter were found in the tombs of members of the elite and priests. Restoration texts and dedicatory inscriptions could have the form of short formulaic texts, or prose-type texts. The latter, also known as *Königsnovellen*, are royal novels made for public display, where the king is glorified as the hero of significant events.[42] He overcomes

[34] He was governor of Armant under the reign of Montuhotep II (Eleventh Dynasty). The stela, now in London at the Petrie Museum of Egyptian Archaeology (inv. no. UC14333), has been dated to reign of Senwosret I (Twelfth Dynasty) on the basis of stylistic features on figures. See Goedicke, *JEA* 48.
[35] This is an Ancient Egyptian proverb: see Gunn, *JEA* 12, 282.
[36] Assmann, *Death and Salvation*, 55.
[37] See Urk. VII, 27, line 11.
[38] See Urk. VII, 32, lines 20-1 and 33 lines 1-3.
[39] This sentence means that he did not confuse the name of one person with the name of another.
[40] The 'letters to the dead' were petitions to dead relatives in the form of letters. Usually prompted by misfortunes, these letters aimed at receiving help about specific matters. These texts were commonly inscribed on pottery elements like bowls filled with offerings and placed inside the tomb of the recipient. They date from the end of the Old Kingdom to the early Twelfth Dynasty. The inscription discussed in this paper was written on a bowl from Saqqara currently stored in the Cairo museum (inv. no. 25375): Bresciani, *Letteratura*, 68-9; Donnat, in Storch (ed.), *Perception of the Invisible*, 53-5; Miniaci, *Lettere ai morti*, 65-6; Wente, *Letters*, 215, no. 350.
[41] See note 12.
[42] See for example Björkman, *Kings at Karnak*, 48-52; Bro-

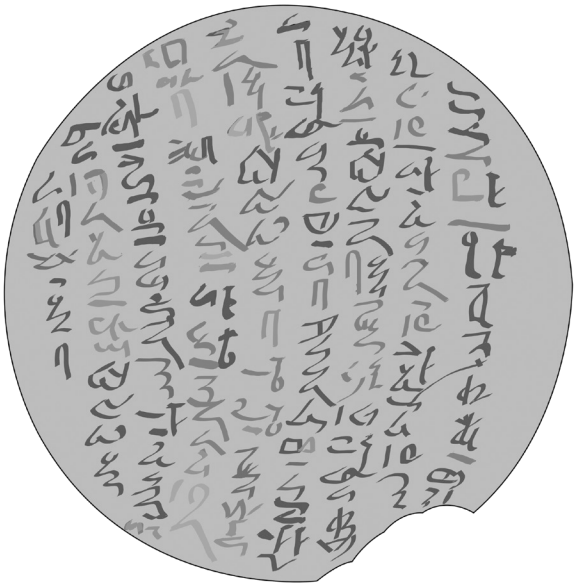

Fig. 3 – Facsimile of the Cairo bowl no. 25375 from Saqqara © author

disasters restoring *maat* in the country.[43] The constant realisation of *maat* by the king guaranteed social stability. The main function of such novels is royal propaganda, and a way to justify the accession to the throne. The formulaic texts are shorter commemorative inscriptions built around the verb *sm3* 'to renew' or the noun *sm3wy* 'renewal' (Table 3).[44] The earliest Middle Kingdom inscription was left under the reign of Montuhotep II, sixth ruler of the Eleventh Dynasty and first king of the Middle Kingdom. The object of the restorations is the temple of Montu in Tod (Table 2).[45] The inscription focuses on the king as the one who:

> *sm3w(y) pr=f n ḏt=f ḥwt-nṯr=f nt p3(w)t tpyt*[46]
>
> 'Carried out the renewal of his house of his estate, and his temple of the first primeval time'

This inscription bears evidence of restoration works undertaken under Montuhotep who is praised as the one who renewed the monuments of the god Montu,[47] restoring them to their pristine state: a return to the original divine state of perfect order. The purpose of the re-establishment of the primeval order and the pristine state was to enable a continuous, unbroken, and permanent link with the mythical past, namely a link between the realm of humans and that of the gods. Thanks to the restoration works of Montuhotep the continuity with the primeval time of earth and its cyclical return is guaranteed. Moreover, *maat* is established anew after the disorders of the FIP. The temple of Tod was rebuilt again under Senwosret I (Twelfth Dynasty). A long *Königsnovelle* describes the horrible condition in which the king himself had found the temple:

> '(...) I myself saw this place, this temple...the shrine of the god and the lord of gods, fallen so that a mound was in the water, all its rooms filled with debris, mounds of dirt in its secret chambers because of the destructions of what had been made therein... there was a bog at the entrance to its pool, reaching its middle and its edges; this temple being overgrown with weeds, and nobody knew about the sacred place. What I saw in it was decay (...)'[48]

Then a part dedicated to the reconstruction of the monument follows. The verb *w3* 'to fall' is very common in restoration inscriptions and is usually followed by other words to form the expressions: *w3w r w3s/3ḳw* '*fallen into ruins*',[49] *w3w r fḫ/mrḥ* '*fallen into decay*', and *w3w r stp* '*fallen into disarray*' (see Table 3). The temple was facing a state of devastation, abandonment, and oblivion. Here recurs the same contrast between the state of ruins and the regeneration of the building by the current ruler, which I already pointed out concerning the inscription of Khnumhotep II (see above). Dedications are inscribed also on the architrave of the White Chapel of Senwosret I at Karnak:

phy, *BACE* 2; Jansen-Winkeln, *WZKM* 83; Hsu, *JEA* 98; Loprieno, in Loprieno (ed.) *Ancient Egyptian Literature*, 277ff.

[43] *Maat* was the Egyptian goddess of truth, order, justice, and balance. The concept of *maat* was the core of Ancient Egyptian society. Behaving according to *maat*, so in a virtuous and righteous way, assured remembrance and salvation in the final judgement of the deceased: the heart of the deceased was placed on a plate of the scale and weighted against Maat's feather. If the heart was lighter than the feather the deceased was assured eternal life in the Underworld. Maat was the cosmological divinely-ordained order. The opposite of *maat* was *isefet,* which embodied chaos and disorder. The anthagonism *maat – isefet* was also spatially applied. According to Egyptian ideology, the territory within the Egyptian frontiers was ruled by *maat*, while foreign countries were the dominion of *isefet*. See for example Assmann, *Death and Salvation*, 55-69, 174-6, 380-4; Langer, in Chantrain, Winand (eds), *Time and Space*; O' Connor, in Tait (ed.) *Never had the like*; Parys, *BABELAO* 7.

[44] The specific restoration formula *sm3wy mnw* '*renewal of the monument*' and its variants start to be used in the post-Amarna period. Since that time the short formulaic text type outnumbered the *Königsnovellen.* See McClain, *Restoration Inscriptions*, 3-5, and 74ff.

[45] See McClain, *Restoration Inscriptions*, 36.

[46] This inscription is carved on a lintel now preserved in the Louvre (inv. no. E15105). For the image and the hieroglyphic transcription see Bisson de la Roque, *Tôd*, 69.

[47] The *3ms* suffix pronouns *f* refer to the god.

[48] For the entire inscription see Barbotin, Clère, *BIFAO* 91.

[49] This expression is used, for example, in the Admonitions of Ipuwer (see the section on literary evidence in this paper).

> 'He made (it) as his monument for his father Amun-Re, erecting for him a (chapel called) "The One who raises the Double Crowns of Horus" of white good stone... never did His Majesty find that something similar had been done in this temple previously'[50]

The achievements of the current king are emphasized in comparison with what had been done before. The concept of 'going beyond his predecessors'[51] will be a common motif in New Kingdom restoration inscriptions.[52] A red granite doorway at Tell Qirqafa (Lower Egypt, Delta) commemorates restoration works of a monument of Amenemhat I – founder of the Twelfth Dynasty – undertaken by Senwosret III:

> *sm3w ir.t.n it=f nswt bity sḥtp-ib-Rᶜ*
>
> 'A renewal of what his father, the king of Upper and Lower Egypt Sehetep-ib-re had done'[53]

A similar inscription was carved on a monumental gate of the temple of Montu in Medamud during the reign of Sobekemsaef (Seventeenth Dynasty, end of the SIP):

> *ir.n=f m mnw=f n it=f mnṯw m sm3wy irt.n it=f nswt bity ḫᶜ-k3w-rᶜ mȝᶜ-ḫrw*[54]
>
> 'As regards his monument for his father Montu, he renewed what his father the king of Upper and Lower Egypt Ka-kau-re true of voice had done'

Here the king commemorates renewals of a gate originally build by Senwosret III. The intervention consists in the decoration, with ritual scenes, of the previously undecorated surface. The reference to previous kings is also present in the Late Middle Kingdom inscription of the statue of Montuhotep II in Karnak:

> 'The king of Upper and Lower Egypt, Kha-nefer-re, given life: as regards his monument for the king of Upper and Lower Egypt, Neb-hepet-re, the justified, he renewed what the king of Upper and Lower Egypt Kha-kau-re, the justified, and the king of Upper and Lower Egypt Kha-kheper-re, the justified, his fathers, given life like Re forever, had done'[55]

In this inscription Sobekhotep IV (Thirteenth Dynasty) commemorates renewal works of the statue of Montuhotep II, which had been previously repaired under the reigns of Senwosret II and Senwosret III. All these renewals of what had been done in the past can be interpreted as pious acts towards the royal ancestors. To the reign of Sobekhotep IV dates another inscription left on a stela at Karnak,[56] commemorating renewal works, mostly in the form of what we could define as 'embellishments', of the temple of Amon. A gate of Lebanese cedar wood is made anew and adorned with precious metals like gold, silver, copper, and bronze, and the perishable parts of another door undergo renewals because:

> *gm.n ḫm=i ꜥ3 n sb3 pn isw wrt*
>
> 'My majesty found the doors of this gate very old'

Then the king instituted new offerings to the god Amon. This act, along with the embellishments with precious materials, can be seen as self-celebration and display of piety towards the god. Moreover, by restoring the house of the god and renewing his cult, the king restores *maat*.

Evidence from literature

In the Loyalist Teaching[57] and the Discourse of Sasobek[58] (see Table 2), the use of *mnw* as a metaphor is in the context of life conduct, like in the stela of Montuhotep (above):

> *in ḏw ḫb3 i3t=f grg niwt n mryty mnw pw n s w3ḥ-ib 3ḫ gr* [...][59]
>
> 'It is the evil man who destroys his home ground, while a city is founded for the loved man. The monument of a man is benevolence; silence is good for [...]'
>
> *mnw pw ḳd*[60]
>
> 'A good character is the monument'

[50] Translation from Björkman, *Kings at Karnak*, 23.
[51] On this concept see Vernus, *Essai sur la conscience*, 76-121.
[52] See for example Björkman, *Kings at Karnak*, 29ff.
[53] See Habachi, *ASAE* 52, 451-58.
[54] For the entire text see Bisson de la Roque, *Rapport*, pl. XI.
[55] The entire text is in Legrain, *ASAE* 7, 33-4.
[56] See McClain, *Restoration Inscriptions*, 40-1.
[57] This teaching is mostly known from New Kingdom papyri and *ostraca*. The only Middle Kingdom source is a stela from Abydos (Cairo CG 20538). The first part of the document is a praise to the king, while the second part is a eulogy of workers, the stratum of society essential for the life of the elite. For the entire text see Dessoudeix, *Lettres égyptiennes*, 576-601; Posener, *L'enseignement loyaliste*; Quirke, *Egyptian Literature*, 108-11.
[58] This composition is preserved on one source only, Papyrus Ramesseum I, now stored in London at the British Museum (inv. no. EA 10754).
[59] The Loyalist Teaching, chapter 13.
[60] This is an extract of the Discourse of Sasobek. The transliteration follows the hieroglyphic transcription of Papyrus Ramesseum I by Barns, *Five Ramesseum Papyri*, pl. 2, lines 21-2.

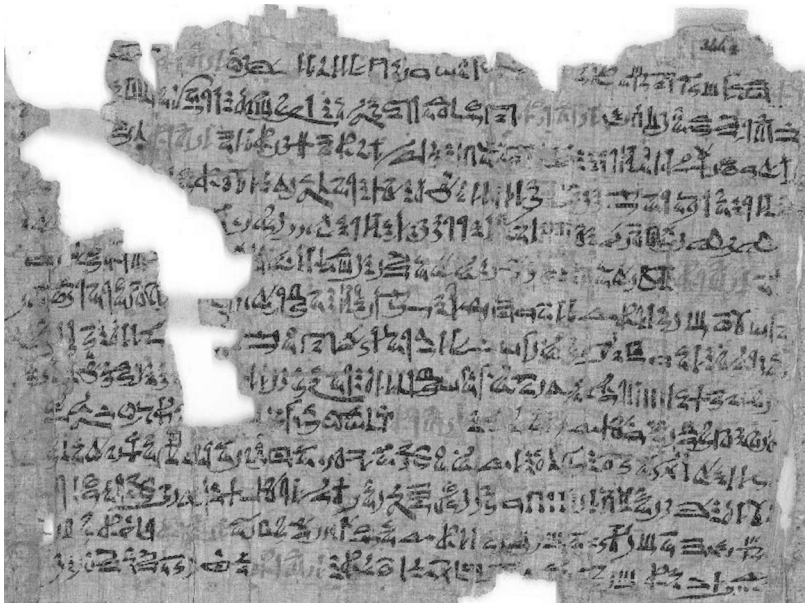

Fig. 4 - P. Leiden I 344*rt*. The Admonitions of Ipuwer, column 3 © National Museum of Antiquities, Leiden

The correlations of evilness-destruction and goodness-construction (foundation) of the Loyalist Teaching can be compared with the correlations of evilness-oblivion and goodness-remembrance of the stela of Montuhotep. Like in the latter, destruction causes oblivion while foundation results in remembrance. In those correlations is implicit the wish to maintain a virtuous life. The composed adjective *w3ḥ-ib* means '*patience*' or '*kindness/benevolence*'. Given the comparable expression from the stela of Montuhotep, where the monument of a man is his goodness, I prefer the translation '*benevolence*'.[61] Silence is often referred to as a good quality in wisdom literature, and the silent man is always exalted.[62]

The Admonitions of Ipuwer focus instead on the contrast between chaos and order (see Fig. 4).[63] Ipuwer complains about social disorders, negligence towards monuments, and generally about a wide range of deplorable behaviours, all seen in their opposition to an ideal concept of ordered world:

nwy m ḥ3t ḫpr is wʿbt m nwy[64]

'The floodwater is the tomb, while the chapel has become a flood'

iw ms sbḫt w3ḫw ḏriwt 3mm[65]

'Gates, columns, walls are set on fire'

ḥḏ wḥʿt ḏʿbt irtyw m3ʿw nwt šd3w... ptr ir.tn r=s w3w r 3ḳw[66]

'Destroyed are carob, charcoal, paint, posts, poles, firewood!...What are you all to do about it, fallen into ruin?'

Richer of interesting passages is the Teaching for Merikara.[67] In this treatise on kingship, the king intends to teach his son how to be a good king.[68] Like in the Admo-

[61] See instead Posener (*ibid*.) and Quirke (*ibid*.) who prefer 'patience'.

[62] Praises to the silent man are for instance in the Kemit, in the Instruction to Kagemni, the Teaching of Ptahhotep, and the Instruction of Amenemope. In the latter is the expression *grw m3ʿ* 'the truly silent', who is the man who behaves according to *maat*. See Shupak, in Galil *et al.* (eds), *Homeland and Exile*, 246-50.

[63] The composition is preserved in a single copy on papyrus, P. Leiden I 344*rt*, dated to the Nineteenth Dynasty. The Admonitions can be dated to the Late Middle Kingdom by references to titles and institutions of that specific time, like the *ḫnrt* and the *ḫnrt wr* (for a recent study on these institutions see Di Teodoro, *Labour Organisation*, 62-81). For the entire text see Dessoudeix, *Lettres égyptiennes*, 604-71; Gardiner, *The Admonitions*; Quirke, *Egyptian Literature*, 140-50.

[64] The Admonitions of Ipuwer, chapter 3, column 2, lines 6-7. The translations of this and the following chapters of the Admonitions of Ipuwer are from Quirke, *Egyptian Literature*, 141-50.

[65] The Admonitions of Ipuwer, chapter 4, column 2, line 11.

[66] The Admonitions of Ipuwer, chapter 7, column 3, lines 11, 13.

[67] The author of this teaching is the king and the recipient his son, the future king of the Ninth or Tenth Dynasties Merikara. The composition has been variously dated to the First Intermediate Period and the Twelfth Dynasty. See Assmann, *SAK* 8; Björkman, *Orientalia Suecana* 13; Demidchick, *Cultural heritage of Egypt and Christian Orient* 6; Quack, *Studien zur Lehre*; Schenckel, *Reperes chronologiques*. The teaching is preserved on the Eighteenth Dynasty papyri Hermitage 1116A*vs*, Moscow 4658 and Carlsberg 6, and on one Ramesside *ostracon*: *cf*. Quack, *Acta Antiq Hung* 46.

[68] For a discussion on the political realism of the teaching see

nitions of Ipuwer bad and good behaviours are compared but in the sphere of government and military practice. The king shows a deep reverence for the knowledge and the traditions transmitted from Antiquity, which need to be kept alive. The wisdom of the ancestors should be emulated. The matter of construction/destruction of monuments is discussed, too. A passage of chapter 7 of the Teaching for Merikara[69] states that continuing something done by predecessors is good, but surpassing them is even better, which recalls the dedication inscription of Senwosret I in Karnak (see above). Thus, the past is exalted and at the same time used as a measure of the current ruler's performance. Chapter 7 further states:

sw3ḥ mnw=k m mrwt=k[70]

'Make your monument endure out of love of you'

This sentence recalls the quotations from the Loyalist Teaching and the stela of Montuhotep where the word monument is used as a metaphor (above). A good behavior assures eternal existence and memory. Other passages focus on the eternal memory of the name:

ir mnw=k [...] *n nṯr sᶜnḫ rn pw n ir sy ir s 3ḫt n b3=f*[71]

'Make your monuments...for the god. That makes the name live, for the one who does it. A man should do what is good for his *ba*'

ir n nṯr ir=f n=k mitt m ᶜ3bt nt sw3ḏ ᶜb3 m ḫtt sšmt pw rn=k sšs3 nṯr m irr n=f[72]

'Act for the god, so that he may do the same for you, with offerings which will make the offering-stone flourish, with carvings that proclaim your name. The god becomes aware of the one who acts for him'

In the last two passages the construction of monuments is a pious act towards the gods who in turn will reward the king with eternal life and remembrance of the name. The gods and the king are bound by a relationship of reciprocity.[73] Again:

srwḏ mnw=k ḫft wsr=k iw hrw wᶜ di=f n nḥḥ wnwt smnḫ=s n m-ḫt[74]

'Consolidate your monuments, as far as is within your power. Even one day contributes to eternity, an hour embellishes posterity'

Steady monuments will assure eternal memory. Even one more day or hour spent to strengthen them will promote the cyclical and eternal recurrence of the remembrance of the self among the future generations. Then the king advises his son not to harm antiquities, as he had done, as the gods will not be benevolent; they will disapprove and stand against the perpetrator of such an offense. Again the stress is on the relation of reciprocity between humans and gods:

ᶜḥ3 r kmt m ḫrt-nṯr mᶜḏ iswt m ᶜḏ spw iw ir.n=i mitt ḫpr mitt mi irt.n n tht n mitt m-ᶜ nṯr[75]

'The battle for Egypt was in the necropolis, by destroying tombs and offensive actions. I did just that and the same happened, as is done to one who similarly transgresses in the eyes of the gods'[76]

Moreover, the king advises his son not to destroy monuments built by his predecessors, or reuse material from destroyed monuments to build his own buildings. Destruction of older monuments should be avoided.

m ḥḏ mnw n ky wḥ3=k inr m r-3w m ḳd isy=k m sḫnyt iryt r irt sy[77]

'Do not destroy the monument of another, but quarry stone from Tura. Do not build your chapel out of ruins of what was (already) made (to use it) for that which is to be made'

Langer, *JEH* 8.

[69] P. Hermitage 1116A*vs*, column 3, line 11.

[70] P. Hermitage 1116A*vs*, chapter 7, column 4, line 2.

[71] P. Hermitage 1116A*vs*, chapter 13, column 6, lines 6-7.

[72] P. Hermitage 1116A*vs*, chapter 24, column 11, lines 9-10.

[73] This mutual relation between gods and humans is typical of Mesopotamia too, from the late Fourth millennium BC onwards. See Collins, in Baines *et al.* (eds), *Historical Consciousness*, 41ff.

[74] P. Hermitage 1116A*vs*, chapter 13, column 6, lines 9-10.

[75] P. Hermitage 1116A*vs*, chapter 14, column 6, line 12 and column 7, line 1.

[76] For the translation of *tht n mitt m-ᶜ nṯr* I follow Dessoudeix, *Lettres égyptiennes*, 485.

[77] P. Hermitage 1116A*vs*, chapter 15, column 7, lines 9-10. For the translation of the sentence *m sḫnyt iryt r irt sy* I follow Björkman, *Kings at Karnak*, 17. Similar interpretations are in Bresciani, *Letteratura e poesia*, 96; Dessoudeix, *Lettres égyptiennes*, 487; Lichtheim, *Ancient Egyptian Literature*, 103; Posener, *ACF* 64, 305ff; Quack, *Studien zur Lehre*, 47. Stephen Quirke and Alessandro Roccati interpret the preposition *r* differently: the former with the meaning 'against': '*that is done against the doing of it*': Quirke, *Egyptian Literature*, 116. Roccati interprets *r* as the preposition that renders the meaning of the comparative: '*una cosa fatta (conta) più di una cosa da fare*', namely '*what has been done matters more than what still needs to be done*': Roccati, *Sapienza egizia*, 65.

ḫsy pw grt <ḥḏt>[78] *nn ỉḫ n=f srwḏ swsṯ.n=f sḫn ḳḏ=f smnḫ sᶜsᶜṯ*[79]*.n=f sỉỉ.ti r=s ḏbỉ.tw sḫ m mity=f mḏd pw ỉrt nbt*[80]

'It is vile to destroy. It is not useful for him to restore what he dilapidated or to buildup what he has demolished, embellish what he has defaced. Be on guard against it! A blow is repaid with its own like; that is the response to every action'

Here it is stressed that every action corresponds with an analogous consequence, which may allude to divine justice. The king proceeds stating that the monuments of predecessors should be consolidated and embellished by the current ruler in the hope that future rulers will restore, in turn, what he has made, what Gun Björkman defines as '*solidarity inter pares*'.[81] This will make monuments endure and, as a result, the memory of the king to be cyclically renewed among posterity. The respect for the achievements of the past kings and the preservation of their monuments – and so doing of their memory – will guarantee a similar behaviour by future rulers towards one's own achievements and monuments:

ỉỉt pw nfrt nsyt nn sỉ=s nn sn=s swỉḫ mnw=s ỉn wᶜ smnḫ ky ỉr s n nty ḫr-ḫỉt=f m mryt smnḫ ỉrt.n=f ỉn ky ỉy ḫr sỉ=f[82]

'Kingship is the good office. Even if it has no son, it has no brother to make its monuments to endure, one (king) embellishes another. A man acts for the one who was his predecessor, from the wish that what he has made may be restored by another who comes after him'

By embellishing his tomb in the cemetery, the king acts for the gods and behaves according to *maat*:

sikr ḥwt=k nt ỉmnt smnḫ st=k nt ḫrt-nṯr m ᶜkỉ m ỉrt mỉᶜṯ[83]

'Make excellent your chapel in the West, embellish your place of the necropolis, in being upright and acting according to *maat*'

Another teaching of the king to his son is the Teaching of Amenemhat I (see Fig. 5), one of the Middle Kingdom's most copied literary works.[84] The teaching – composed for Senwosret I – was prompted by the attempt on the king's life, which is the focus of the first part of the composition. Humanity is portrayed as unreliable and ungrateful, ready to betray the one who made its life better, the one whom it was supposed to protect. That is why a king cannot have any friend and cannot trust no one. The second part of the teaching is a celebration of Amenemhat's administration and of the great actions he did for the country, a way to exalt the contrast with the ungratefulness of people.[85]

ỉw ỉr.n=ỉ n=ỉ pr sḫkrw m nbw hỉwt=f m ḫsbd sỉrwt m ḥḏ sỉtw m nhỉt ᶜỉw m ḥmt ḳỉryt m ḥsmn ỉr n ḏt ḥryt r nḥḥ ḥr=s[86]

'I made for me a house adorned with gold, its ceilings in lapis-lazuli, its walls in silver, its floors in sycamore, its doors in copper, its bolts of bronze, made for eternity, prepared for everlasting life'

The king's monument was of exquisite craftmanship and embellished with precious minerals, built to renew the eternal continuity since the primeval time, and ready for the cyclical recurrence. The use of precious materials is here believed to facilitate even more the immortality of memory. So the king advises his son:

sᶜḥᶜ mnw=k smnḫ rwḏ=k[87]

'Raise your monuments, embellish your tomb-shaft(?)'

The Teaching of Amenemhat I was probably composed at the behest of Senwosret I to legitimate his accession to the throne.[88]

[78] This verb, omitted in P. Hermitage 1116A*vs*, is here integrated according to P. Moscow 4658 and P. Carlsberg 6. See Quack, *Studien zur Lehre*, 72-3 and 192.
[79] The reading of the verb follows P. Moscow 4658 and P. Carlsberg 6. P. Hermitage 1116A*vs* has the corrupted form *sʿnt*. See Quack, *Studien zur Lehre*, 74-5 and 192.
[80] P. Hermitage 1116A*vs*, chapter 23, column 11, lines 1-3.
[81] Björkman, *Kings at Karnak*, 17.
[82] P. Hermitage 1116A*vs*, chapter 23, column 10, lines 11-13. The translation follows Quirke, *Egyptian Literature*, 118.
[83] P. Hermitage 1116A*vs*, chapter 24, column 11, lines 7-8.
[84] The Teaching of Amenemhat I is preserved on heterogeneous materials: more than 200 New Kingdom and Ramesside *ostraca*, at least five papyrus manuscripts of the New Kingdom – P. Millingen, P. Sallier I (BM EA 10185), P. Sallier II (BM EA 10182), P. Berlin 3019, and a fragment from Theban tomb TT48 – the Late Period P. Berlin 23045, a leather roll and a few writing boards: Mathieu, in Andreu (ed.), *Deir el-Medineh*; Quirke, in Loprieno (ed.), *Ancient Egyptian Literature*, 387ff; Quirke, *Egyptian Literature*, 129; Roccati, *Sapienza Egizia*, 73-4.
[85] The extracts are from P. Millingen and P. Sallier II, the transcription of which are in Dessoudeix, *Lettres égyptiennes*, 503-8. The manuscript P. Millingen – main source of the teaching – was copied by A. Peyron in 1843 before being lost.
[86] P. Millingen, chapter 13, column 3, lines 3-5.
[87] P. Millingen, chapter 15, column 3, line 7.
[88] Schaefer, *ZÄS* 113. On the possibility that the Teaching of Amenemhat I is an apocrypha of the Eighteenth Dynasty see Grimal, *BIFAO* 95 (1995).

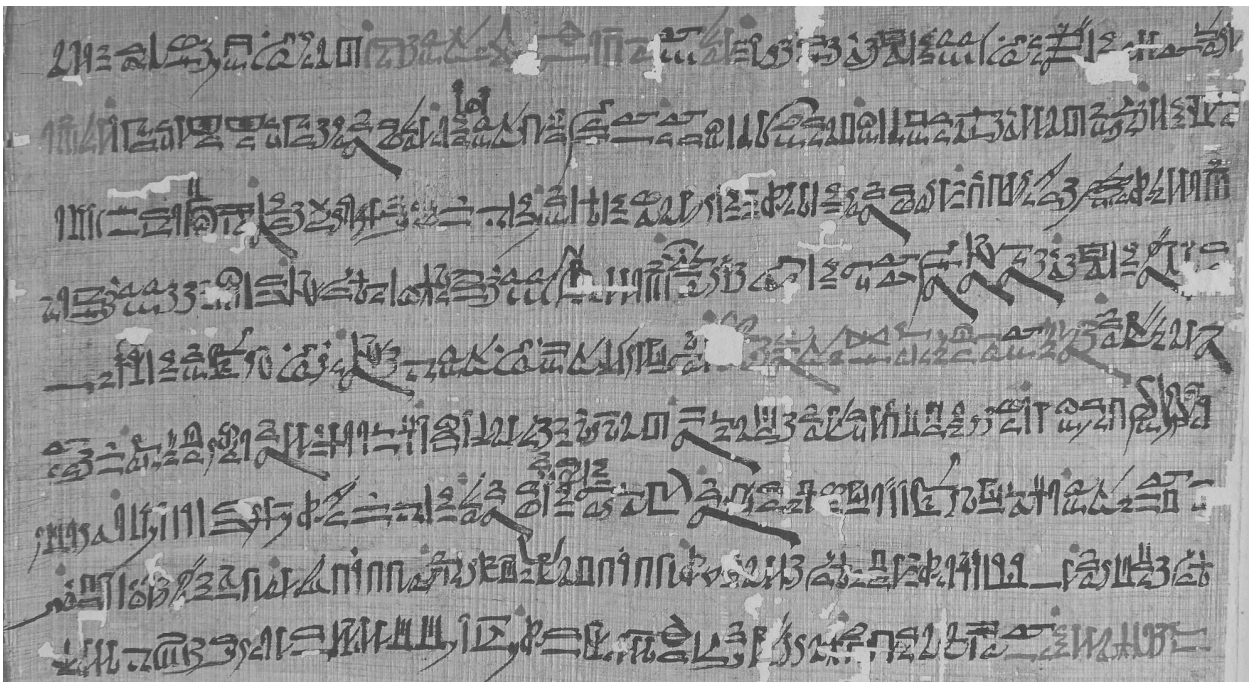

Fig. 5 – P. Sallier II (BM EA 10182*rt*): the Teaching of Amenemhat I, col. 3 © The Trustees of the British Museum

Discussion

From an *etic* point of view,[89] the information from the sources presented in this paper can be defined forms of preservation of the monumental past and cultural heritage. This can be affirmed despite the ideological and political reasons that prompted the restoration or embellishment works, and regardless of whether the performers of such acts were aware or not of the cultural, historical, or aesthetic significance of their monumental past. The statements of the Teaching for Merikara have indeed the stature of laws: do not destroy the monument of another, quarry new material, do not build out of ruins. In modern terms we could already define the content of some Old Kingdom exemption decrees, a form of preservation of 'portable artefacts', despite the reason behind such acts.[90] After all, even nowadays behind the protection of cultural heritage are reasons which go beyond the genuine intent to preserve the cultures inherited from the past due to their historical or artistic significance. Various opportunistic gains can be recognised behind heritage preservation. They span from the use of heritage to promote political agendas or establish authorised governamental discourses,[91] to economic exploitations like long-term tourism, to commercial interests, to the shaping of group identity at local and national levels,[92] to the oppression of communities. Moreover, as mentioned in the introduction, the choice itself of what to consider 'heritage' is often driven by a wide range of immediate circumstances of the present times. Sometimes heritage is exploited to support the rise of a regime. Other times the choice of what can be considered heritage is the result of the shift in the politics of a country. So, the recognition itself of cultural heritage is a very selective process and time-specific.[93] Mem-

[89] *Etic* and *emic* are two opposite approaches to data interpretation. *Etic* refers to the point of view of an outsider, of someone (researcher, archaeologist, scientist etc.) who is interpreting processes of social, political, economic life of a community from an external perspective. *Emic* instead refers to the insider's viewpoint, the one who tries to understand how the members of that community thought and behave from an internal perspective. *Cf.* for example Harris, *Ann. Rev. Anthropol*. 5; Miniaci, *ZÄS* 143/1.

[90] See especially the exemption decree of Demedjibtawy from Coptos.

[91] Meskell, in Meskell, Pels (eds) *Embedding Ethics*, 127; for the use of cultural heritage to advance soft power strategies in Asia see Winter, *JSA* 14/3.

[92] See for example the use of the remains of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania of Vilnius, a World Heritage Site, to create national identity and achieve economic growth: Munasinghe, *IJHS* 11. See also the use of the idealised and romanticised ruins of Angkor as marker of identity for the Cambodian population worn out by decades of turmoil. The preservation of this World Heritage Site contributes to the creation of a homogeneous ethnic-national identity stemming from vestigial glories of a past civilisation, which actually traps the country in a '*static, mono-cultural, mono-ethnic national identity*': Winter, *Post-Conflict Heritage*, 145ff; the quotation is on page 146.

[93] Graham, *Urban Studies* 39, 1007; Bell recalls the example of the destruction of the vernacular villages of Gurna, Egypt, to preserve the pharaonic heritage. The inhabitants of Gurna

ory too is selective. Drawing from the *ḏt-nḥḥ* relation (above), we could state that a dynamic 'memory' is superimposed on a linear 'history', history resembling a one direction arrow and memory a bidirectional arrow. History is the reconstruction and representation of a past that no longer exists.[94] Memory is the renewal of the past, an action that may involve evolution, deformation, reorganisation, and manipulation of the past itself by the living societies. Memory and heritage are not just linked to the past, but also to the present where they are both shaped, what hence defines the future directions.[95] Both processes are active and undergo constant development and adaptation.

As the sources presented in this paper show, the preservation of memory and the guarantee of its cyclical renewal and eternal existence is at the center of all the actions done on monuments during the Middle Kingdom and the SIP. Especially important is the memory of the name and the memory of the self. The latter is shaped and manipulated by the current rulers. The *topos* of the contrast between the state of ruins and their renewal by the current ruler is a means to present himself and be remembered by posterity as a savior and a good king who restored the primeval order and acted according to *maat*. The gods, in turn, will bless him. The *topos* of exceeding what had been done in the past works the same way, despite the arguable authenticity of that declaration. The reorganisation of memory is part of the royal propaganda, as is the selection of monuments worthy of being preserved. When Senwosret I sees the state of decay faced by the temple of Montu in Tod, he stresses that '*nobody knew about this sacred place*' anymore. The temple had been forgotten and so had been the cult and the rites of the god. So, the king punishes those who had desecrated the place, rebuilds the temple, and restores all the sacred rites. Of course, the king expected to be rewarded by the god for his pious actions. As far as the figurative use of *mnw* '*monument*' as virtue is concerned, the 'preservation' of good behaviours assures the eternal memory of the self. Shaping one's own character towards an ideal goodness, improving it, and refining it is comparable with the embellishment of buildings. The exceptional behaviour of the current king, already realised or just envisaged, is often inflated in the sources, especially in the literary compositions. This is another way to manipulate memory.

The question whether behind the royal propaganda, self-promotion, and pious deeds of pharaonic acts of preservation, it is possible or not to discern an active awareness of the monumental past is a different matter. This has to do with an *emic* perspective (see n. 89) which is hard to decipher, also considering that the Middle Kingdom and SIP written evidence on the topic is scarce if compared to that of the New Kingdom and later times. The audience of the monuments and their inscriptions was small and exclusive. That was the same audience whom the messages behind the acts of restoration and renewal were directed to. The past was turned to the advantage of a single individual (the king) or the ruling class. However, that does not automatically exclude an understanding of what was exploited. This can be surely recognised later, during the Ramesside times and especially from the end of the Third Intermediate Period (with the restorations of Taharqa), during the Late Period, and the Greco-Roman times.[96] The appreciation of past monuments is evident already in some visitors' graffiti of the New Kingdom (see n. 20). But can we recognise evidence of an understanding of the cultural value of relics, or proofs that in Middle Kingdom and SIP Egypt people[97] had a notion close to the modern 'preservation of cultural heritage' as the intent to preserve monuments for their recognised artistic, historic, or commemorative significance for the benefit of the individual, the collectivity, and future generations? Ancient Egyptians certainly had historical consciousness and engaged with the past actively in many different ways and circumstances since the earliest dynasties.[98] Values were assigned to past events, periods, and artistic and cultural productions. The classification and selection itself of literary compositions considered exemplary works of the past, worthy of been copied and transmitted to the future, attest to an active awareness, interpretation, and treatment of the past. Moreover, as mentioned previously, since the beginning of the dynastic era, new monuments were sometimes built over the ruins of previous monuments, or in places already imbued with history and memory, in order to continue and transmit the traditions of the past. This can be defined 'cultural continuity'. There-

lived in houses that incorporated pharaonic tombs. After failed attempts to peacefully relocate the villagers, the resolution of the authorities was the demolition of the villages and the forced relocation of their inhabitants: Bell, *IJCP* 20/4.

[94] This definition of *history* is from Nora, *Representations* 26, 8.

[95] Apaydin, in Apaydin (ed.) *Critical Perspectives*, 16.

[96] See McClain, *Restoration Inscriptions*, especially chapters 4 and 5.

[97] Of course I intend the ruling groups and the elite who were the agents or the beneficiaries of the works of restoration and embellishment, and whose monuments are referred to in the literary compositions.

[98] Baines, in Baines *et al.* (eds) *Historical consciousness*, 111ff; Björkman, *Kings at Karnak*, 89; Wildung, in Tait (ed.), *Never had the like*, 65. For the reverence to the past involved in the creation of the first king-lists see Redford, *Pharaonic King-lists*, in particular 130ff and 156-7.

SOURCE	DATE	GENRE	KEYWORDS	PRESERVATION	NON PRESERVATION
Stela of Khenty, Hatnub	12 dyn	funerary context *warning*	curse, warning, damage, iconoclasm	X through warning	
Hatnub stela, Hatnub quarries	early 12 dyn	funerary context *warning*	curse, warning, damage, iconoclasm	X through warning	
Offering table, British Museum, no invent. no.	MK	funerary context *warning*	curse, warning, damage	X through warning	
Tomb of Djefayhapy, Assiut	12 dyn	funerary context *warning*	curse, warning, damage, iconoclasm	X through warning	
Stela of Montuhotep (UC14333)	Senwosret I	funerary context	memory, metaphor	X	
Cairo bowl 25375, Saqqara	early 12 dyn	funerary context *letter to the dead*	threat, destruction, bad behaviour, illness		X
Tomb of Khnumhotep II, Beni Hassan	Amenemh.I - Senwosret I	funerary context	restoration, ruins	X	
Tod temple	Montuhotep II	restoration inscription	renewal, primeval time, decay, repair, social disorders	X	
Tod temple	Senwosret I	restoration inscription	decay, ruins, desolation	X	
White Chapel, Karnak	Senwosret I	restoration inscription	predecessors	X	
Tell Qirqafa temple	Senwosret III	restoration inscription	renewal	X	
Medamud temple	17 dyn Sobekemsaef	restoration inscription	renewal	X	
Statue of Montuhotep	13 dyn Sobekhotep IV	restoration inscription	renewal	X	
Stela, Karnak	13 dyn Sobekhotep IV	restoration inscription	old age	X	
Loyalist teaching	early 12 dyn	literary text	metaphor	X	
Lament of Sasobek (P. Ramesseum 1)	late MK	literary text	metaphor	X	
Admonitions of Ipuwer (P. Leiden I 344*rt*)	late MK	literary text	social and political chaos, destructions, ruins		X
Teaching for Merikara, 7 (P. Hermitage 1116A*vs*)	MK	literary text	good behaviour, memory	X	
Teaching for Merikara, 13 (P. Hermitage 1116A*vs*)	MK	literary text	memory, posterity, eternity, name	X	
Teaching for Merikara, 14 (P. Hermitage 1116A*vs*)	MK	literary text	destruction, antiquity, traditions		X
Teaching for Merikara, 15 (P. Hermitage 1116A*vs*)	MK	literary text	destruction, ruins, reuse	X	
Teaching for Merikara, 23 (P. Hermitage 1116A*vs*)	MK	literary text	embellishment, predecessors, posterity, destruction	X	
Teaching for Merikara, 24 (P. Hermitage 1116A*vs*)	MK	literary text	memory, embellishment, Maat	X	
Teaching of Amenemhat I	12 dyn	literary text	everlastingness, eternity, raise, embellish	X	

Table 2 – List of the written sources discussed in the present paper © author

fore, a historical sense of the past was present, to some extent, throughout the pharaonic times. The example of the 'antiquarian' Senwosret III may be also considered linked to the same discourse.[99] The decision to unearth two sarcophagi of the Third Dynasty and bury them as foundation deposit within the mortuary complex of the ruler of the Twelfth Dynasty had the purpose to fix the connection with Djoser, the admired precursor of whom Senwosret wants to present himself as a linear descendant. This connection was already made by reproducing Djoser's temenos in the mortuary complex of Senwosret III: a link that was made visible to everyone[100], complementing the exclusive message to the gods what the

[99] Dodson, *Antiquity* 62.

[100] The word *everyone* has a limited range though, meaning just the elite, so a small part of the Egyptian population.

WORDS IN ENGLISH TRANSLATION	ANCIENT EGYPTIAN TERMINOLOGY
consolidate, strengthen, repair, restore (v)	***srwd*** (Teach. for Merikara, Khnumhotep tomb)
decay, abandonment (n)	***tp šw*** (Tod temple)
deface (v)	***s ʿs ʿ*** (Teach. for Merikara)
destroy/demolish/damage (v)	***nss*** (Djefayhapy tomb) ***ḫbȝ*** (Cairo bowl 25375, Loyalist Teach.) ***sḫn*** (Tod temple, Teach. for Merikara) ***ḥḏ*** (Djefayhapy tomb, Khenty stela, Hatnub quarries stela, Admonitions of Ipuwer, Teach. for Merikara) ***ʿd*** (Teach. for Merikara) ***wš*** (Khnumhotep tomb)
destruction (n)	***sḫnw*** (Tod temple)
dilapidate (v)	***wst*** (Teach. for Merikara, inscr. of Khnumhotep)
disaster, desolation (n)	***m tp šw*** (Tod temple)
embellish, restore (v)	***smnḫ*** (inscr. of Khnumhotep, Teach. for Merikara, Teach. of Amenemhat I)
erase (v)	***wḏ*** (Khenty stela)
fall (v)	***wȝ(i)*** (Tod temple)
make endure (v)	***swȝḥ*** (Teach. for Merikara)
primeval time (n)	***pȝwt*** (Tod temple)
raise (v)	***s ʿḥ ʿ*** (Teach. of Amenemhat I)
renew (v)	***smȝ*** (Tod temple, statue of Montuhotep II)
renewal (n)	***smȝwy*** (Tell Qirqafa, Medamud temple)
ruin/fall into ruins (v)	***wȝsi*** (stela of Montuhotep) ***wȝw r ȝḳw*** (Admonitions of Ipuwer)
ruin (n)	***sḫnyt*** (Teach. for Merikara)

Table 3 – Terminology used in the written evidence discussed in this paper. In brackets are the sources where the specific terms are used © author

foundation deposit buried under the ground represented. The reproduction of Djoser's temenos may be compared to the modern replication of past works of art in order to combine their 'historical value' and a 'newness value'. The latter is the recreation of the historical object bringing it back to its pristine state, so without the damages of time. In both the modern example and that of Senwosret III, what prompts the act of replication is the perception of a 'historical value': the object/monument of the past is considered important as '*representative of a particular aspect of a precise moment in history*'.[101] The recognised historical importance of a monument – for the benefit of the individual, the collectivity, and future generations – is among those core values which nowadays lead to the inclusion of that specific monument in the cultural heritage of a country, encouraging its preservation. In the case of Senwosret III the historical value is used as a means to establish his legitimacy and a sense of continuity with the glorious past, and to construct his identity through the link with the great sovereign Djoser. So, the acknowledged historical importance of the monument is beneficial to the individual only (Senwosret III). Nevertheless, we can identify some sense of awareness of a monumental past. Moreover, the works of renewal of what previous kings had built are indeed pious acts towards the ancestors and expedients for the king to present himself as their legitimate successor, but they may also be seen as attestation of the recognition of the historical value of the monuments of the past. The monuments built by selected kings are singled out from within the historical past and are considered more important than others for the place in history held by their benefactors.[102] However, in those cases too, it

[101] Barassi, *Tate Papers* 8, 1.

[102] Montuhotep II and Amenemhat I, whose monuments are restored by the kings of the Middle Kingdom, have been chosen among the kings of the past probably principally for their role as founders of new epochs: Montuhotep II had reunified the country after the disorders of the First Intermediate Period, and Amenemhat I founded the new ruling house of the Twelfth Dynasty. This concept had been expressed already by Dietrich Wildung who, however, excludes that those kings were chosen also for their historical achievements as this '*would be to over-estimate the historical consciousness of the Egyptians*': Wildung, *Die Rolle ägyptischer Könige*, 229ff. Of different opinion are Serge Sauneron and Gun Björkman: see Björkman, *Kings at Karnak*, 44.

is very hard to see the intention to preserve monuments for the collectivity and future generations. In the eyes of the benefactor the single stands out as the main and likely the only beneficiary. Also a commemorative value may be present in the intention to preserve monuments of the royal ancestors. The statue memorialising king Montuhotep II (Eleventh Dynasty) is restored first by Senwosret II and Senwosret III (Twelfth Dynasty) and finally during the Thirteenth Dynasty by Sobekhotep IV. The statue is restored to adequately honour that king of the past (see n. 102). In this case, too, it is clear that the works are done to the benefit of an individual only (the current ruler). Additionally, the acknowledgement of those historical and commemorative values that we may recognise in those preservation acts certainly took a back seat. As far as artistic and aesthetic values are concerned, these are not manifest in the Middle Kingdom and SIP written sources. It is not possible to detect any appreciation of the monuments mentioned in the texts. The only stated personal opinion on the physical aspect of a monument is in the inscription of Sobekhotep IV on the Karnak stela. The king renews the perishable parts of a gate of the temple of Amon because he had found them *ỉsw wrt* 'very old/ancient'. This expression is there used with a negative connotation.

Final Remarks

The written sources presented in this paper reveal that there was no disinterested approach to the preservation of Antiquity, at least between the end of the Eleventh Dynasty and the Second Intermediate Period. Opportunistic and utilitarian purposes played the main role. Also, references to the preservation of monuments due to their aesthetic value are absent. However, we can perceive the presence, to some extent, of an awareness of the monumental past, as well as an understanding of the historical importance of what was exploited. Though the final beneficiary of these acts of preservation is an individual (the current ruler), and to a limited extent a very selected collectivity (the elite). What the benefactors want to preserve for the future generations is the memory of the name and the self. Monuments seem to be just a means to achieve that goal.

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Paddle Dolls from the Spanish Mission to Dra Abu el-Naga: Images and Contexts

Gudelia García Fernández, Angela M.J. Tooley

Abstract

Between 2017 and 2019 several partial and almost complete paddle dolls were excavated from tomb 1018 and its vicinity at Dra Abu el-Naga in the Theban necropolis. Analysed and discussed in detail, the decoration of these figurines exhibits a number of remarkable features, such as images of giraffes and a seated man, as well as curiously shaped tattoos. These features set the new figurines apart from other paddle dolls and are an important addition to the corpus.

Introduction – Spanish Mission, Sector 10 and Paddle Dolls

Since January 2002, the Spanish Mission to Dra Abu el-Naga[1] has been working in the vicinity of Theban Tomb 11 (TT11) belonging to an early Eighteenth Dynasty official by the name of Djehuty.[2] Initially, the Project focussed on the interior of TT11 and its immediate neighbouring tomb chapels including TT12 of Hery as well as the causeways in front of these tombs. In the winter of 2006/2007 the modern settlement of Dra Abu el-Naga was demolished and the inhabitants relocated to New Qurna. Between 2008 and 2010 the Mission applied for and was granted an extension to the concession[3] towards the southwest of TT11 taking in an area of land freshly cleared of dwellings upon an undertaking to clear away the modern demolition debris during 2010. In January 2011, the 10th season of excavation in the central region of Dra Abu el-Naga, saw the opening of Sector 10 southwest of the open courtyard of TT11 (see Fig. 1). This area, previously under the modern village, proved to contain a rich assemblage of burials, structures and artefacts, many of Seventeenth Dynasty date and indicative of an elite and possibly royal cemetery.[4]

Abbreviations used in this paper: SMDAN – Spanish Mission to Dra Abu el-Naga; SU – Stratigraphic Unit.

[1] For an overview of the excavations, the current and past seasons see: Proyecto Djehuty, http://www.excavacionegipto.com/index.php; Galán, in di Cerbo, Jasnow (eds), *On the Path*, 1-15. On the geography of Dra Abu el-Naga within the Theban necropolis and the history of its exploration see: Betrò, Miniaci, Del Vesco, *Seven Seasons*, 14-79.

[2] Djehuty was overseer of the treasury in the time of Hatshepsut: Galán, in Goyon, Cardin (eds), *Proceedings*, 777-87; Galán, in Magee, Bourriau, Quirke (eds), *Sitting beside Lepsius*, 155-81; Galán, in Galán, Bryan, Dorman (eds), *Creativity and Innovation*, 247-72.

[3] Galán, Jiménez-Higueras, in Miniaci, Grajetzki (eds), *The World of Middle Kingdom*, vol. I, 101-5.

[4] See for instance: Galán, in Rosati, Guidotti (eds), *Proceedings of the XI International Congress of Egyptologists*, 215-21; Galán, *JEA* 103/2, 179-201.

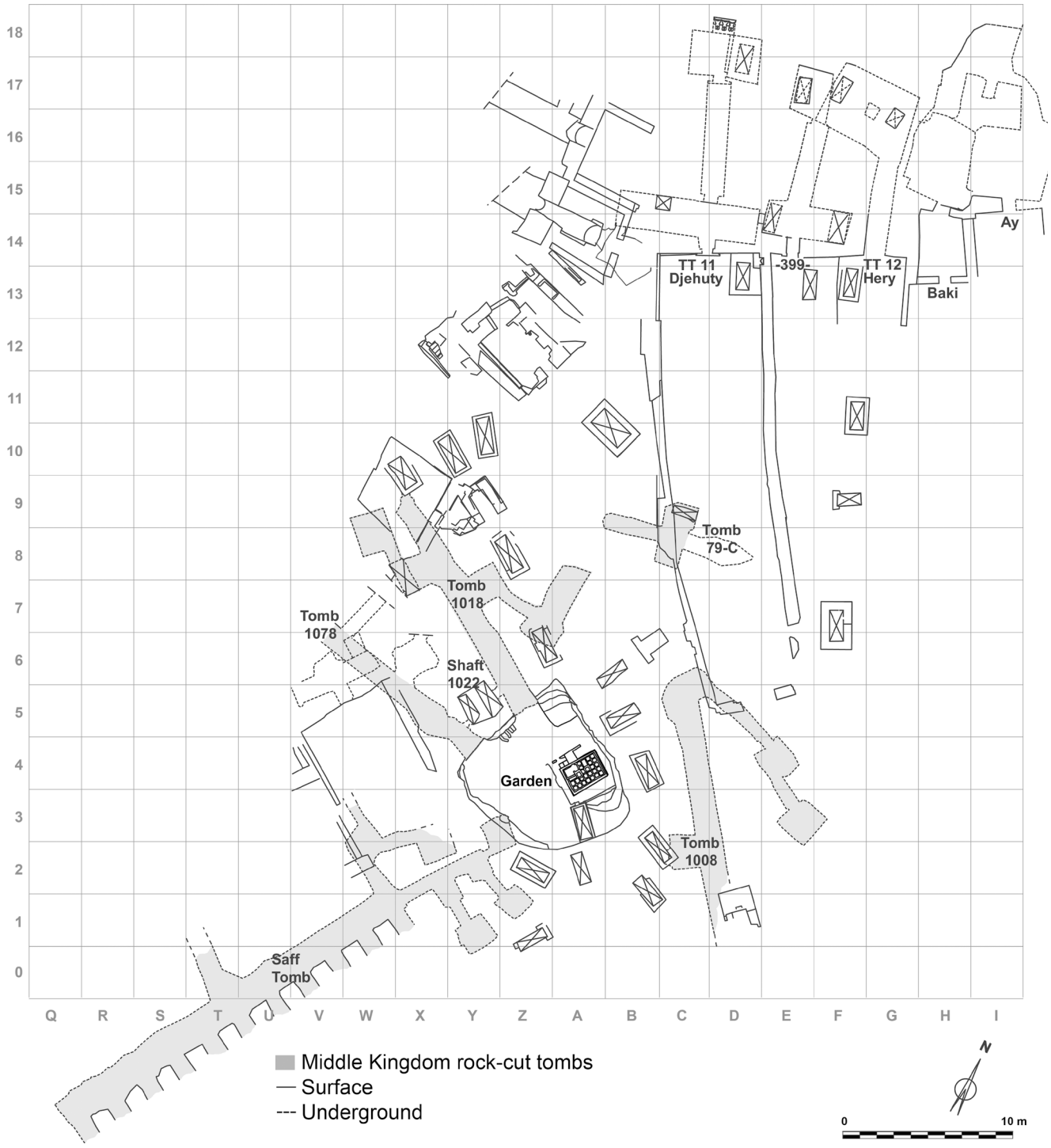


Fig. 1 – General plan of sector 10, the Middle Kingdom rock-cut tombs, garden courtyard, and later tombs and shafts including TT11. Map: © Proyecto Djehuty/David García/Gudelia García Fernández

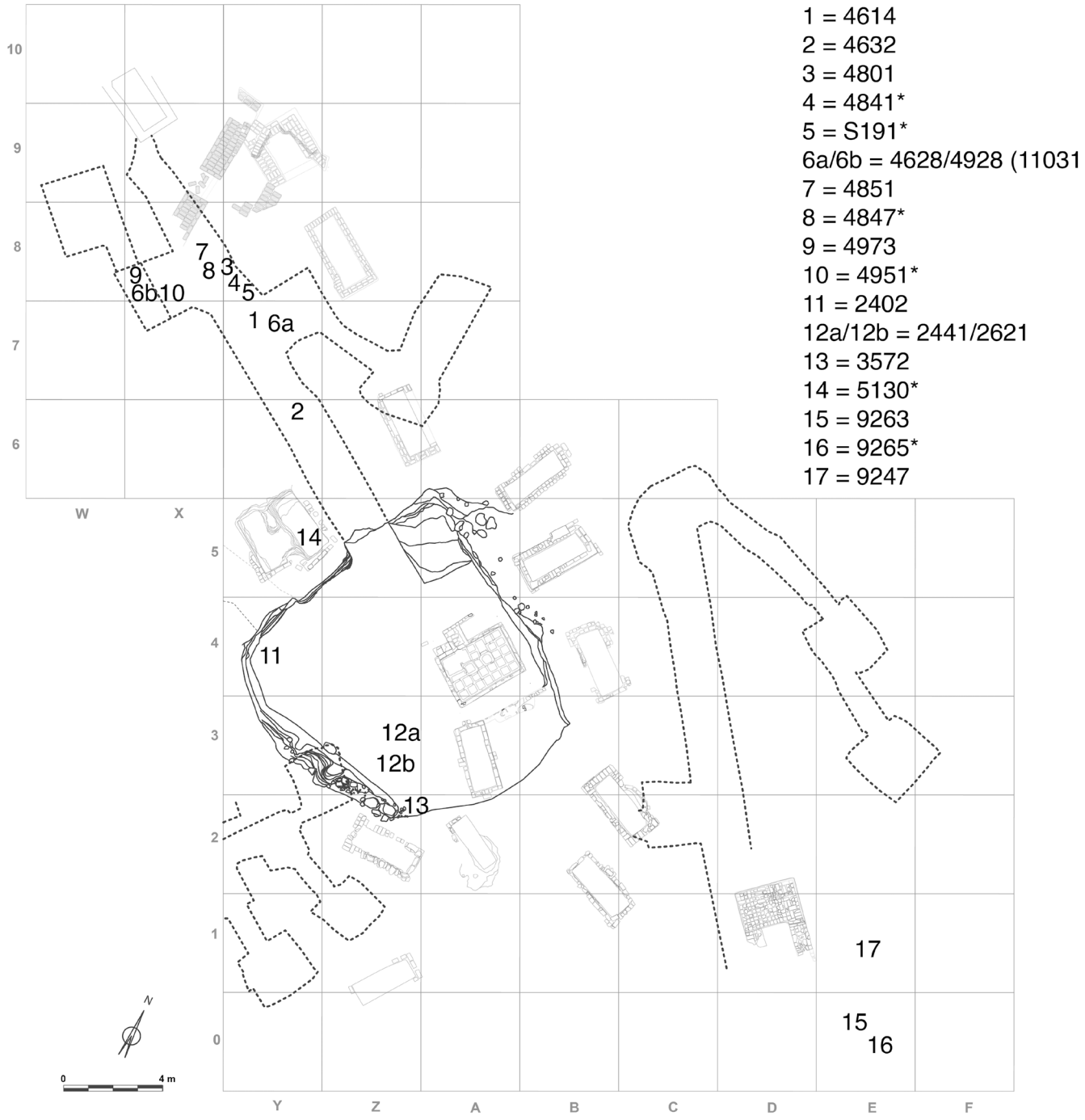


Fig. 2 – Distribution of paddle doll fragments inside the Middle Kingdom tomb 1018 and in the garden courtyard complex, as well as those at the foot of the TT11 causeway. Numbers with an asterisk (*) denote strands of mud bead hair. Map: © Proyecto Djehuty/David García/Gudelia García Fernández

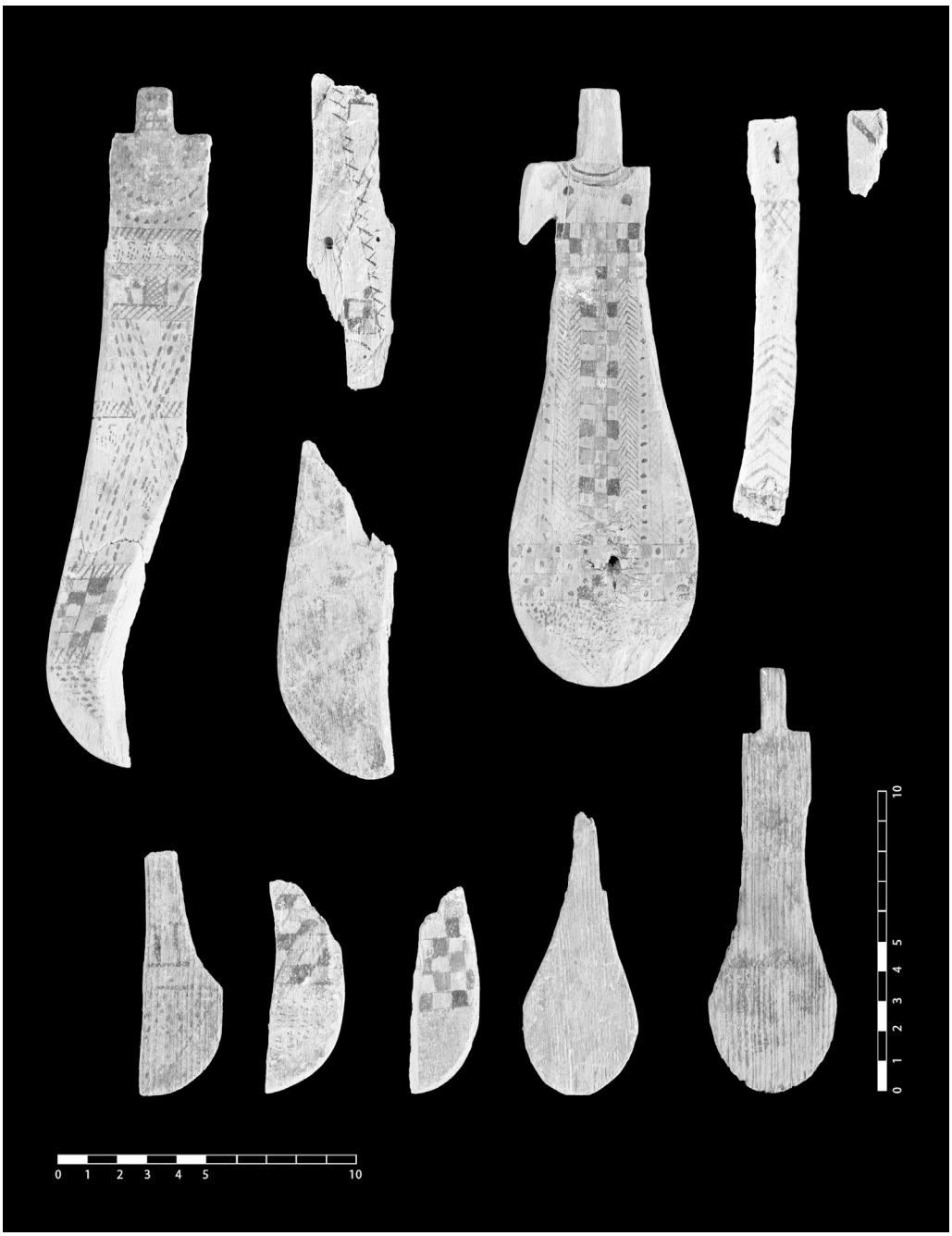


Fig. 3 – The Dra Abu el-Naga paddle dolls. Top row: SMDAN 11301, (upper) 9263, (lower) 4632, 2441/2621, 4801, 9247. Bottom row: SMDAN 4614, 3572, 4851, 4973, 2402. Photo: © Proyecto Djehuty/Carmen Ruiz

Middle Kingdom Archaeological Contexts: Of Tombs and Courtyards

In Sector 10, below the Seventeenth Dynasty activity, the necropolis proved to contain two roughly parallel rock-cut tombs of the Middle Kingdom, 1018 and 1078, which share a courtyard in which was found a beautifully preserved funerary garden and mud-brick chapel (see Fig. 2).[5]

Although little remains of the original occupants of the Middle Kingdom tombs, a series of wooden paddle doll fragments were recovered between 2017 and 2019.[6] In total, thirteen fragments of paddle doll were recovered from these contexts, of which two groups of fragments

[5] The tomb is currently unpublished. Information relating to its features, dating and history can be found in the excavation seasons 2015 (when the tomb was first noted), 2017 to 2019: Proyecto Djehuty, http://www.excavacionegipto.com/index.php. Outline details pertaining to excavation, structure and history of other tombs mentioned in this paper can be found in the 'campaigns' (in English) and 'diario de excavación' (in Spanish) sections of the Project's website. See Galán, in Di Cerbo, Jasnow (eds), *On the Path*, 1-15. For a preliminary overview of the paddle dolls up to 2018, see: García Fernández, *TdE* 10, 93-103. Tomb 1078 remains unexcavated.

[6] None of the paddle dolls recovered are complete. Most are small sections as well as strings of mud bead hair.

were found to have joins, thus eleven fragmentary paddle doll figurines are represented (see Fig. 3). In addition to figurine fragments, several strands or clusters of mud bead hair have been discovered forming six groups. It is entirely possible that in future seasons as the excavations work further south into Sector 10 and east into Sector 11 that other examples of paddle dolls will be recovered from this part of the Theban necropolis.

Fragments of six paddle dolls and four clusters of mud bead hair were recovered from within the Middle Kingdom rock-cut tomb 1018. This large tomb (see Fig. 2) was probably cut in the early Twelfth Dynasty, reused in the late Twelfth and Thirteenth Dynasties, and subsequently further reused between the Twenty-first and Twenty-third Dynasties, in particular in the Twenty-second Dynasty for the burials of high ranking priests of Amun. The tomb was robbed on numerous occasions in antiquity as well as in modern times: one of the three openings in the roof of the long corridor was located below the main living room of a modern dwelling. A newspaper dated 2004 in the upper debris of the tomb attests to recent incursion, however this did not reach the floor level of the corridor but did penetrate the tomb shaft which was found with modern debris within the shaft refill. Deposits within the tomb are therefore highly disturbed with nothing of the Middle Kingdom use left *in situ*.

The tomb structure comprises a long corridor running east-west (w. 2 m x h. 3 m x l. 18 m), left unfinished at the end.[7] Opening to the north about halfway along the central corridor is a side room with a sloping passage opening in its east wall just big enough to slide a coffin through, giving access to a chamber on the north side, possibly a burial chamber. Approximately 10 m along the central corridor is a side room in the south wall. In the floor of this space is a shaft (w. 1.20 m x l. 2.70 m x d. 3.70 m). Opening to the northwest at the base of the shaft is an undecorated burial chamber with well-prepared walls and ceiling (l. 2.70 m x w. 2.20 m x h. 3.20 m) which had been reused by Twenty-second Dynasty priests of Amun.

The fragments of paddle doll and mud bead hair were concentrated along the corridor near the northern side room (six items: SMDAN 4801, 4614, 4628, 4632, 4841, S191) and in the southern side room within and in the vicinity of the tomb shaft (five items: SMDAN 4847, 4851, 4928, 4973, 4951), both locations well inside the tomb structure. Fragments SMDAN 4628 and 4928 were found to join. The strata in which the fragments were located relate to episodes of robbery and reuse; the spread of the paddle doll fragments both vertically and horizontally within the tomb fill makes it impossible to now state where the figurines were originally deposited. The date of original deposition is difficult to ascertain due to the level of disturbance within the tomb. However, the construction and use of the associated funerary garden,[8] as well as the intact chapel containing three *in situ* inscribed stelae, may offer possible dating clues. The garden is constructed on a pavement associated with the blocking of the entrance to tomb 1018 set 40 cm above the original ground level. Pottery, in particular *hes*-vases, distributed around the periphery of the garden is of Twelfth Dynasty types.[9] The mudbrick chapel, 1079 (h. 46 x w. 70 x d. 68 cm), located against the wall between the entrances to tombs 1018 and 1078,[10] is also at a higher level again than the garden, having been constructed at a time when the garden had largely fallen into disuse. Undisturbed pottery associated with this shrine emplacement is of Thirteenth Dynasty date. The stelae[11] from within this shrine probably also date to the Thirteenth Dynasty[12] and are inscribed for the *ʿnḫ n niwt* Khememi, son of lady of the house Satidenu (SMDAN 2453) and for Renefseneb (SMDAN 2454),[13] both perhaps occupants of the tombs 1018 and 1078. Within tomb 1018 itself the central corridor was found filled with debris. That overlying the floor contained material from the original Middle Kingdom period(s) of use attesting to the earliest of the robberies. This layer was found to contain fragments of coffin and boxes, as well as examples of complete pottery vessels of the same types as those found around the funerary garden sharing a common chronology, that of the late Middle Kingdom.[14] The paddle dolls themselves sit comfortably within the timespan of Twelfth to Thirteenth Dynasty.[15]

Four fragments of paddle dolls were recovered from the vicinity of the courtyard in front of the Middle Kingdom tomb 1018 (see Fig. 2). Three fragments were located in the southernmost extent of the excavated area of the courtyard (SMDAN 3572, 2441, 2621). The final

[7] Galán, in di Cerbo, Jasnow (eds), *On the Path,* 1-15.

[8] Galán, García, *EA* 54, 4-8.

[9] Ceramics analysis is being undertaken by Bettina Bader and Zulema Barahona Mendieta.

[10] Tomb 1078, which runs parallel with tomb 1018, is another Middle Kingdom rock-cut tomb as yet uncleared.

[11] Season 2017: Proyecto Djehuty, http://www.excavacionegipto.com/index.php.

[12] The stelae will be studied and published by José Galán, Ángeles Jiménez-Higueras and Leire Olabarria.

[13] The third stela (SMDAN 2455) is poorly preserved and illegible.

[14] Also supporting this date and from the original burial is a linen wrapped bronze mirror (SMDAN 4963) from the tomb shaft.

[15] For the dating of paddle dolls see: Morris, *JARCE* 47, 72; Tooley, in Miniaci, Betrò, Quirke (eds), *Company of Images*, 449-50.

courtyard paddle doll (SMDAN 2402) was located on the northwestern side in front of the unexcavated Middle Kingdom tomb 1078. Two of the fragments, SMDAN 2441 and 2621 were found to join. The stratigraphic layer in which three of the courtyard paddle doll fragments were found contained a concentration of Thirteenth Dynasty pottery as well as funerary objects from disturbed Thirteenth and Seventeenth Dynasty burials suggesting that the figurines were deposited between these periods.

Since no joins have been found between fragments from within tomb 1018 and the courtyard paddle doll fragments there is no reason to assume that these originated from this tomb rather than from elsewhere within the complex as a whole.[16] Other Middle Kingdom tombs in the immediate vicinity are known and include a large rock-cut tomb, described as an elite Eleventh Dynasty tomb,[17] 1008 to the east of the courtyard and a large saff-tomb discovered in 2019[18] to the southwest of the courtyard. However, it remains a possibility that the courtyard paddle doll fragments are associated with ritual activity centred around the funerary garden and not directly with any of the tombs around the courtyard.

Shaft 1022 excavated in 2015, lies between the two Middle Kingdom tombs 1018 and 1078 (see Fig. 2). It produced several strings of mud beads from the burial chamber which were originally assumed to be a set of poor quality beads (SMDAN 5130). The discovery of paddle doll fragments including mud bead hair in subsequent seasons signalled a re-assessment of the bead strings as paddle doll hair rather than substandard jewellery items. The shaft was extensively robbed but preserved fragments of original burial including an *in situ* set of two bows and twenty arrows, and a set of arrows and a calcite kohl vessel wrapped in a section of napped towelling linen with a zigzag design. The shaft is dated to the late Seventeenth Dynasty on the basis of archaeological context by the excavator.[19] Since paddle dolls do not extend into the late Seventeenth Dynasty, the presence in this locus must be either intrusive[20] or the original burial is earlier than assumed.

Three fragments of paddle doll and mud bead hair were recovered in the 2019 season in a locus now known as Sector 11 (see Fig. 2) which is located in front of the entrance to the causeway of TT11 (SMDAN 9247, 9263, 9265). It should be noted that early Middle Kingdom burials have been located below the floor and enclosure wall of the TT11 causeway,[21] but the paddle doll fragments have originated from surface debris without specific context.

The following catalogue is arranged by find location.

Catalogue

I: Paddle Dolls from within the Middle Kingdom Tomb 1018

1. *Paddle doll fragment SMDAN 4614* (see Figs 4-5)
Dimensions: h. 8.3 cm, w. 2.7 cm, d. 0.4-0.5 cm
Weight: 2 g
Material: coniferous wood, probably *Abies*[22]
Find location: SU 1201, grid ref. 7Y, sector 10 – corridor, tomb 1018
Description: The fragment,[23] 0.4-0.5 cm thick, represents the real left lower section of a paddle doll, broken off-centre vertically to mid-way up the torso. Although the outer edge is not preserved, the curve of the hips indicates that this paddle doll had sharply angled hips. The state of preservation is generally good with the grain of the wood running vertically clearly visible. Decoration in black and red is visible on the front of the figurine with traces preserved on the back.

The front of the figurine has traces of unidentified decoration to the torso below which is a horizontal band within black lines of alternating vertical black and red stripes. Below this, at hip-level, is a girdle composed of alternating black and red dots. The pubic triangle is defined in black outline and filled with more or less regular black dots. The black and red dot girdle continues on the back of the figurine, but further decorative features are uncertain.
Comments: The fragment was found in a level of uneven sediment in the area of the corridor which expands to the north in the vicinity of the northern side room. The majority of the associated material is dated to the Middle Kingdom, with some other artefacts of Eighteenth Dynasty and Late Period date.

[16] See however, catalogue entries for SMDAN 11031 and 3572.
[17] Season 2014: http://www.excavacionegipto.com/index.php.
[18] Season 2019: *ibid*.
[19] García, Galán, *EA* 49, 24-8.
[20] The wall between shaft 1022 and the central corridor of tomb 1018 has been breached by robbers making the proposition of intrusion a possibility. In addition, the unexcavated tomb 1078 may also be the origin of this material.
[21] Including tomb 79-C. See Galán, in Oppenheim, Goelet (eds), *Studies in Honor of Dorothea Arnold*, 331-46; Galán, in Kousoulis, Lazaridis (eds), *Proceedings*, vol. I, 215-20; Galán, *EA* 35, 32-5; Barahona Mendieta, *BCE* 28, 171-81. It should also be noted that the large Middle Kingdom tomb 1008 is situated in front of the entrance to the open courtyard of TT11.
[22] Wood analysis undertaken by Mónica Ruiz-Alonso (Spanish National Research Council, CSIC). See further below.
[23] García Fernández, *TdE* 10, 98-9, fig. 5.

SMDAN object #	SU	Grid reference	Sector	Location
4632	1201	6Y	10	Tomb 1018
4614	1201	7Y	10	Tomb 1018
4628/11031	1201	7Y	10	Tomb 1018
4928/11031	1218	8X	10	Tomb 1018
4851	1203	8X	10	Tomb 1018
4847*	1203	8X	10	Tomb 1018
4973	1220	8X	10	Tomb 1018
4951*	1218	8X	10	Tomb 1018
4841*	1202	8Y	10	Tomb 1018
S191*	1200	8Y	10	Tomb 1018
4801	1200	8Y	10	Tomb 1018
3572	1001	2Z	10	Courtyard
2441/2621	1054	3Z	10	Courtyard
2402	1054	4Y	10	Courtyard
5130*	1022A	5Y	10	Shaft 1022
9263	1001	0E	11	Surface find
9265*	1001	0E	11	Surface find
9247	1001	1E	11	Surface find

Table 1 – Paddle doll locations. Numbers with an asterisk (*) denote strands of mud bead hair

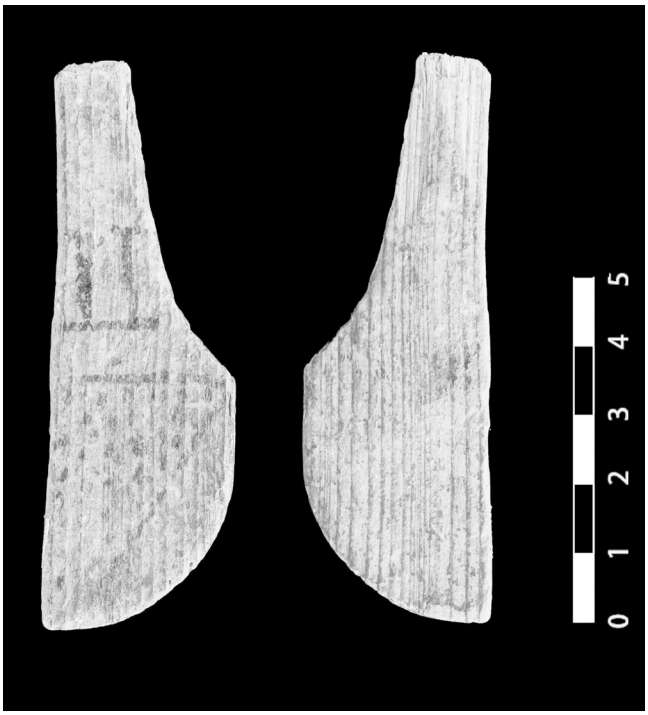


Fig. 4 – SMDAN 4614 paddle doll fragment. Photo: © Proyecto Djehuty/Carmen Ruiz

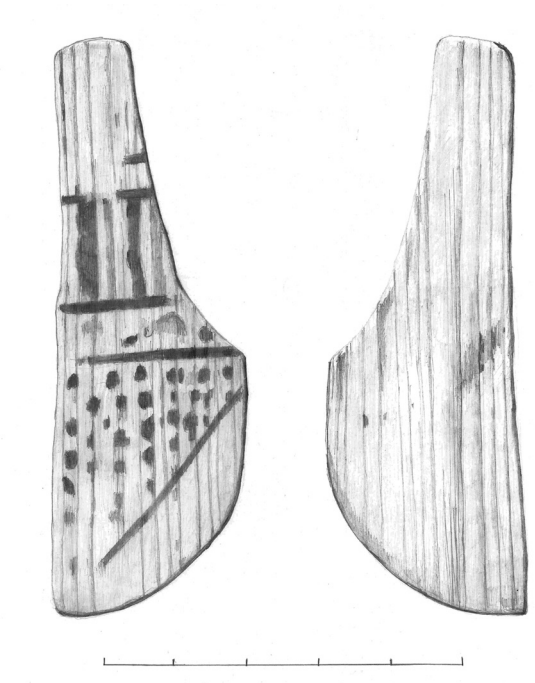


Fig. 5 – SMDAN 4614 paddle doll fragment. Drawing: © Proyecto Djehuty/Pía Rodríguez Frade

The fragment SMDAN 4614 has affinities with the paddle doll SMDAN 2402. Both are of coniferous wood, both are decorated with black and red dot girdles and both have angled hips, suggesting that these two examples may originally have belonged together in a set. The combination of angled hips (see below) and the black and red dot girdle is not uncommon,[24] while the motif of alternating black and red vertical stripes combined with angled hips is less common.[25] Since most of the comparative material is unprovenanced, without further research it is not possible to state whether these features are Theban in origin.

2. *Paddle doll fragment SMDAN 4632* (see Fig. 6)
Dimensions: h. 11.4 cm, w. 3.8 cm, d. 0.7 cm
Weight: 6.2 g
Material: wood – *Ziziphus* sp.
Find location: SU 1201, grid ref. 6Y, sector 10 – corridor, tomb 1018
Description: The fragment preserves the hip section of a paddle doll, possibly the real right hip. The 0.7 cm thick board is broken vertically through what would have been the pubis and diagonally from an area roughly equivalent to just below the waist. The preserved hip has shallow rounding.

Traces of decoration remain on both faces and examination under DStretch suggests one face may be decorated with a checkered band at hip level and the other face preserves traces of a girdle and what may have been figural images. In both cases, the decoration remains unidentified.
Comments: Grid 6Y, part way along the central corridor, also produced within this level two fragments of pottery offering tray, an intrusive fragment of Seventeenth Dynasty relief inscription along with a large quantity of Third Intermediate Period shabtis, mostly dated to the Twenty-first and Twenty-second Dynasties.[26]

3. *Paddle doll fragment SMDAN 4801* (see Figs 7-8A-B)
Dimensions: h. 13.2 cm, w. 1.6 cm, d. 0.6 cm
Weight: 2.4 g
Material: wood – *Ziziphus* sp.
Find location: SU 1200, grid ref. 8Y, sector 10 – corridor, tomb 1018

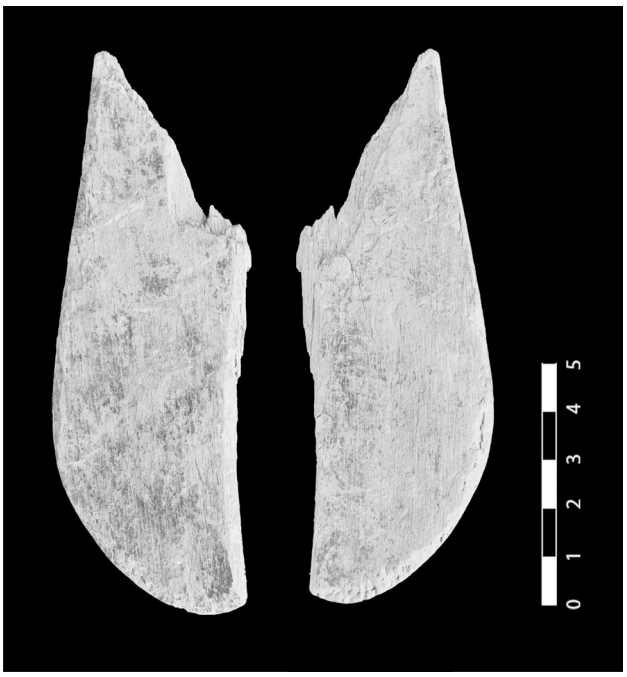


Fig. 6 – SMDAN 4632 paddle doll fragment. Photo: © Proyecto Djehuty/Carmen Ruiz

Description: The fragment,[27] 0.6 cm thick, comprises the real right torso from the shoulder to the waist and from the junction of the shoulder and neck towards the upper arm, but the arm is missing. The preservation of the wood is otherwise good with decoration in red on both faces visible.

The front of the fragment preserves a single strand necklace and a nipple as red dots, below which are two bands of horizontal hatching above a section of vertical herringbone which would have covered most of the upper torso of the figurine. The vertical herringbone motif is one which features widely on Theban paddle dolls, particularly those from the Asasif region of the necropolis,[28] where it is often combined with (as here) horizontal bands of hatching above and checkers below. The back of the fragment preserves an arc of red dots running down the torso to the remains of a girdle with a red linear design probably similar to that seen in SMDAN 4614 found nearby.
Comments: The fragment was found in a layer of considerable disturbance containing mixed material datable to the Middle Kingdom, New Kingdom, Late and Third Intermediate Periods. Contemporary material includes fragments of a bow (SMDAN 4809), four arrows (SMDAN 4810) and pieces of three pottery offering trays (SMDAN 4786, 4793-4).

[24] For instance: Boston MFA 13.3567, from Sheikh Farag tomb SF8; London UC 59279, unprovenanced; Southport Goodison 249, unprovenanced; Cambridge Fitz. E.50.1946, unprovenanced.
[25] Cambridge Fitz. E.49.1946, unprovenanced; Boston MFA 72.4287, unprovenanced. The motif of alternating black and red vertical stripes is also found on Brooklyn 37.101e as a horizontal band and as an all-over design on Basel LgAe WR 60 (private loan, Coll. Kurt Kramer, Karlsruhe), unprovenanced.
[26] Initial analysis by Francisco L. Borrego Gallardo.
[27] García Fernández, *TdE* 10, 100-1, fig. 8.
[28] For example New York, MMA 31.3.35 from Asasif tomb MMA 816. Oppenheim *et al*. (eds), *Ancient Egypt Transformed*, 106-7, cat. no. 47.

Fig. 7 – SMDAN 4801 paddle doll fragment. Photo: © Proyecto Djehuty/Carmen Ruiz

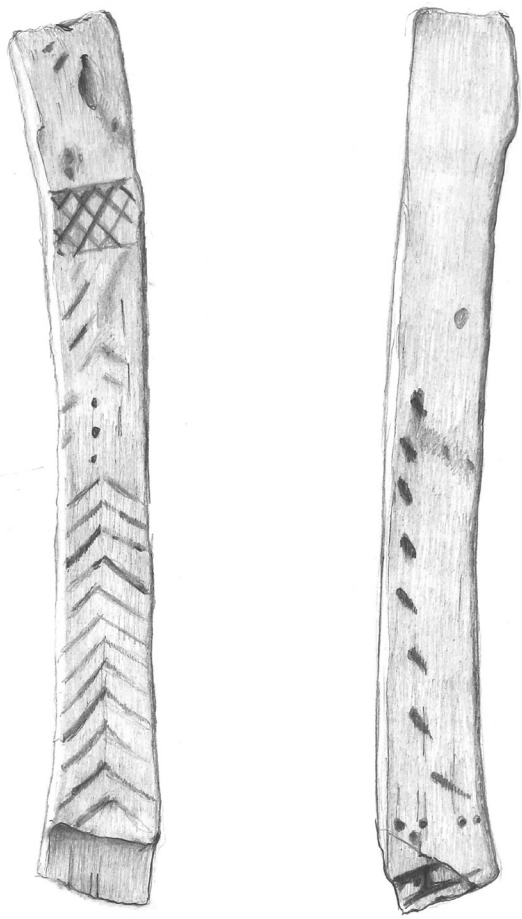


Fig. 8A – SMDAN 4801 paddle doll fragment. Drawing: © Proyecto Djehuty/Pía Rodríguez Frade

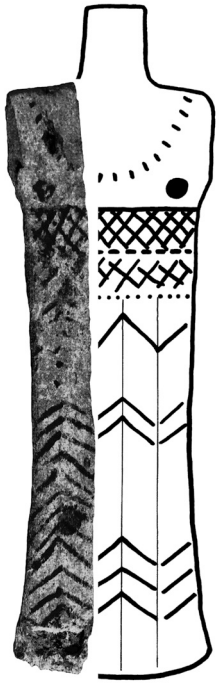


Fig. 8B – SMDAN 4801 paddle doll fragment. Reconstruction. Drawing: Angela Tooley

4. *Paddle doll hair SMDAN 4841*
Dimensions: l. 13.2 cm strand
Weight: 0.5 g
Material: clay/mud, unfired; linen(?) thread
Find location: SU 1202, grid ref. 8Y, sector 10 – corridor, tomb 1018
Description: Twenty hand-formed roughly spherical pellets[29] are pressed onto a thread which is possibly linen.[30] The mud balls contain iron compounds and a vegetable degreasing agent.[31]
Comments: Some of the mud balls preserved fingerprints which are currently being studied. The strand of mud beads was recovered from a superficial layer along with a fragment of pottery offering tray (SMDAN 4840).

[29] García Fernández, *TdE* 10, 100, fig. 7.
[30] The materials of the paddle doll hair strands have yet to be fully scientifically analysed.
[31] Bettina Bader, initial inspection.

5. *Paddle doll hair SMDAN S191*
Dimensions: l. 2.5 cm strand
Weight: not weighed
Material: clay/mud, unfired; linen(?) thread
Find location: SU 1200, grid ref. 8Y, sector 10 – corridor, tomb 1018
Description: Six roughly spherical mud beads are formed around a linen(?) thread. The end bead appears to have a more or less conical shape. The mud balls contain iron compounds and a vegetable degreasing agent.
Comments: From the same context as SMDAN 4801.

6. *Paddle doll SMDAN 11031 (4628/4928)* (see Figs 9-10, 23; Pls XV-XVI)
Dimensions: h. 22.3 cm, w. 3 cm, d. 0.9-1 cm
Weight: 12 g
Material: wood – *Acacia* sp.
Find location: 4628 – SU 1201, grid ref. 7Y, sector 10 / 4928 – SU 1218, grid. ref. 8X, sector 10 – corridor / tomb shaft, tomb 1018
Description: Despite its incomplete state, the conservation of the figurine is good with particularly well preserved painted decoration to both faces and on both fragments.[32] SMDAN 11031 is the number assigned to two fragments of paddle doll from different but adjacent findspots which join. The figurine is carved from a flattened piece of wood varying in thickness from 0.8 cm to 1 cm. The paddle doll is remarkable for its complex and unparalleled decoration.

The paddle doll has a rectangular projection, h. 2.8 cm x w 2.7 cm, forming the head and neck of the figurine. The shoulders are horizontal and the torso elongated, with a gentle swell to a lower section with a rounded hip preserved almost to its full length on the real right side; the left lower section and the arms are missing.

The decoration on the paddle doll is executed in red and black in a complex design on both faces. On the front, the figurine is provided with two painted eyes at the top of the head projection. Below is a double banded horizontal choker in red and black diagonal lines. The chest is adorned with a broad collar of five bands of alternating black and red dots (black/red/black/red/black). The torso, which is the most complex section, is divided horizontally into five zones between horizontal bands of red and black hatching. The uppermost zone preserves a row of six lozenges each composed of six dots. Unlike the lozenges seen on SMDAN 2441/2621 (see below) and on other paddle doll figurines found elsewhere,[33] an additional dot surmounts each lozenge above which is a hooked shape resembling a snake's head. The second zone is divided vertically into two equal parts by a band of red and black cross-hatching either side of which is a nipple formed from a black dot surrounded by red. Below each nipple is a diagonal black line which joins with the design in the zone below. The two largest zones are united by the cross-over bands formed from five strands of alternating black and red dots like the broad collar (black/red/black/red/black). In the lower zone two snake-headed lozenges sit at waist level on the real right while only one is seen on the left due to loss of wood at this side. In the centre of the figurine below the cross-over of the bands are two further lozenges below which is the navel rendered as a black dot surrounded by red, with a further lozenge preserved below this at which point the wood is destroyed. The lozenges above and below the navel do not have the hook or snake head. The lowest zone comprises a wide horizontal band of diagonal checkers in an alternating plain (no colour), red and black design. Visible on the real right side, the remains of the pubis is represented by elongated horizontal dots.

The back of the paddle doll is divided into three broad zones by horizontal bands of red and black cross-hatching, as on the front. The upper section contains cross-over bands composed of five strands of alternating black and red dots. Together these cross-over bands on front and back are the equivalent of body chains[34] and solid straps which are seen on other paddle dolls. The middle section contains a line drawing in red and black of the forepart of a giraffe with a long neck and erect ears which appear somewhat out of proportion to the head. The giraffe hide is indicated by a black outline and spots in red on the body and red and black on the neck. The forelegs are in a walking pose depicting an active animal. The lowest section depicts in the upper area another giraffe, this time prone on the ground, its foreleg drawn up beneath it and its long neck dangling downwards. Below the giraffe is a drawing of a man seated on a stool, stretching out his arm in front of him and holding a long staff in his clenched fist. The man is outlined in black, his features, including a defined eye, and hair are rendered in black, the skin in red. He wears a short colourless kilt. The stool has a straight front leg and a curved, possibly animal-shaped back leg in black. Unfortunately, due to loss, these unique scenes of giraffes are incomplete making their interpretation problematical (see discussion below).
Comments: SMDAN 4928 was recovered from the upper level within the plundered and refilled tomb shaft (65 cm down), while SMDAN 4628 was recovered from a

[32] SMDAN 4628: García Fernández, *TdE* 10, 99-100, fig. 6.
[33] For lozenge-shaped body markings, often interpreted as tattooing, see most recently: Friedman, in Krutak, Deter-Wolf (eds), *Ancient Ink*, 22-6. See also Roehrig, in Oppenheim, Goelet (eds), *Studies in Honor of Dorothea Arnold*, 527-36; Morris, *JARCE* 47, 79-83.
[34] On body chains see: Grajetzki, *GM* 237, 21-4.

Fig. 9 – SMDAN 11031 paddle doll. Photo: © Proyecto Djehuty/Carmen Ruiz

level of uneven sediment inside the tomb exactly in the corridor. Objects within these disturbed levels covered the Middle Kingdom, New Kingdom and Late Period. While modern incursion into the tomb corridor did not reach the floor level, the tomb shaft was entered and back-filled.[35] SMDAN 4928 did not therefore originate from the tomb shaft or burial chamber but was transported here from elsewhere within the tomb.

It is noteworthy that the decoration of the front of SMDAN 3572 (see below) resembles closely SMDAN 11031 (five horizontal rows of checkers instead of six) and the back bearing an animal motif. The location of SMDAN 11031 within tomb 1018 suggests that fragment SMDAN 3572 may have originated from here and formed a 'set', or that the figurines were produced at the same time or in the same workshop.

[35] Beside newspaper fragments, a modern filter mask and a pair of rubberised shoes within the shaft fill attest to the recent activity within the tomb.

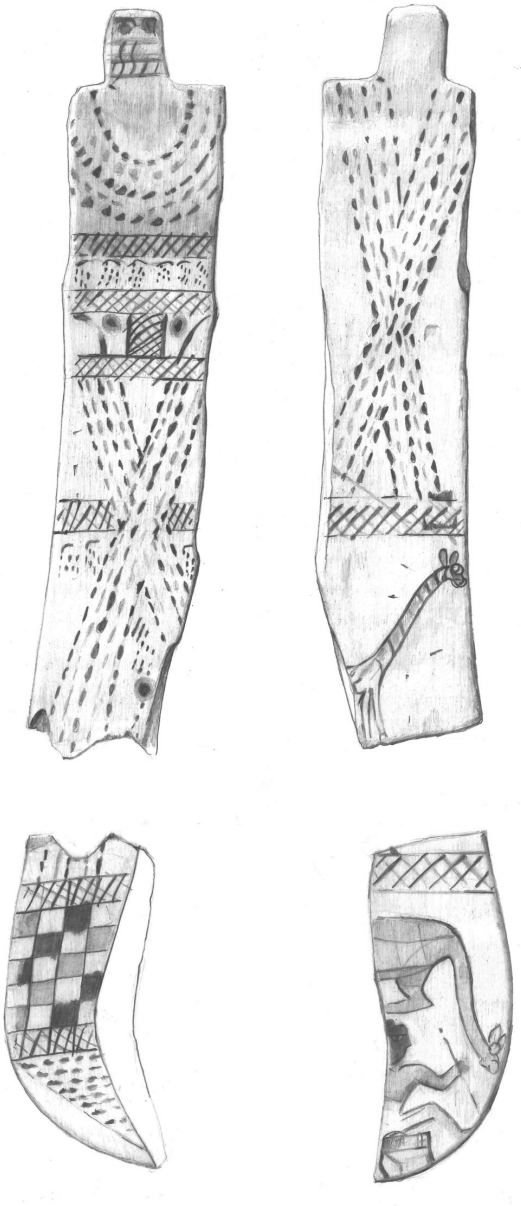


Fig. 10 – SMDAN 11031 paddle doll. Drawing: © Proyecto Djehuty/Pía Rodríguez Frade

7. *Paddle doll fragment SMDAN 4851* (see Figs 11-12)
Dimensions: h. 7.1 cm, w. 2.3 cm, d. 0.6 cm
Weight: 1.6 g
Material: wood – *Acacia* sp. or *Ziziphus* sp.
Find location: SU 1203, grid ref. 8X, sector 10 – corridor, tomb 1018
Description: The fragment, 0.6 cm thick, represents the real left lower section of a paddle doll broken off below the waist and off-centre to the left. The curve of the hip is smooth and shallow. The preservation of the wood is good, with decoration on both faces in red and black visible.

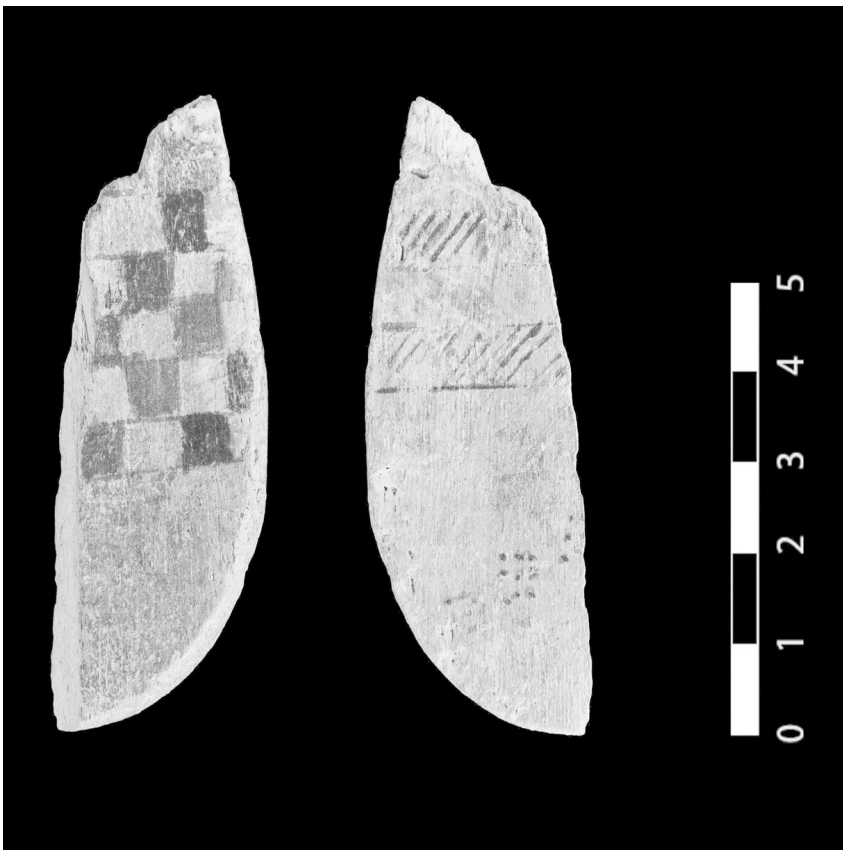


Fig. 11 – SMDAN 4851 paddle doll fragment. Photo: © Proyecto Djehuty/ Carmen Ruiz

The front is decorated with six rows of alternating red, plain (no colour) and black square checkers. Visible to the naked eye below this is an area of black dots. Under DStretch filter the pubis is clearly visible, outlined by a fine black diagonal line and filled with well-ordered rows of black dots. The back of the fragment preserves at least three horizontal bands of alternating, black, red, black diagonal lines forming a herringbone effect. Below this band is at least one diagonal line of lozenges formed from black dots in groups of nine. Traces of a second row above the first also has what appears to be a lozenge formed of red dots.[36]

Comments: The fragment was recovered from a plundered level in the vicinity of the tomb shaft. Found in close association was a strand of paddle doll mud bead hair (SMDAN 4847) and a fragment of pottery offering tray (SMDAN 4849) from the Middle Kingdom.

Fragments of a coffin (an ear) and an amulet (*tyet*-knot) attest to later use of the tomb.

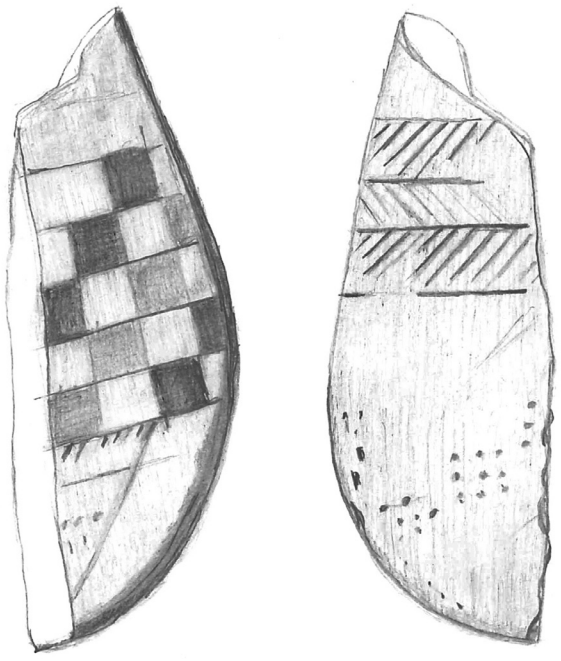


Fig. 12 – SMDAN 4851 paddle doll fragment. Drawing: © Proyecto Djehuty/Pía Rodríguez Frade

8. *Paddle doll hair SMDAN 4847*

Dimensions: l. 5.5 cm strand; l. 1.4 cm cone bead

Weight: not weighed

Material: clay/mud, unfired; linen(?) thread

Find location: SU 1203, grid ref. 8X, sector 10 – corridor, tomb 1018

Description: Two fragments of paddle doll hair, both about 5.5 cm in length comprising hand-shaped roughly spherical to ring-shaped mud beads pressed onto thread. One strand is composed of twenty beads, the other of thirteen beads. One of these beads is a truncated cone c. 1.4 cm long which forms the terminal or bottom end of the strand.

Comments: Truncated and elongated cone-shaped beads are a common feature of paddle doll hair manufactured from mud beads.[37] Intact paddle dolls with mud bead

[36] Lozenge markings in diagonal lines across the lower back section of paddle dolls, corresponding with the buttock region, are known from other Theban figurines. See for instance: New York, MMA 31.3.35, Winlock, *Excavations,* pl. 38 – from Asasif MMA 816; Berlin, ÄS 20203, Kaiser, *Ägyptisches Museum*, 45, Kat. 453.

[37] Winlock, *Excavations*, pl. 38, in which all three examples have such hair.

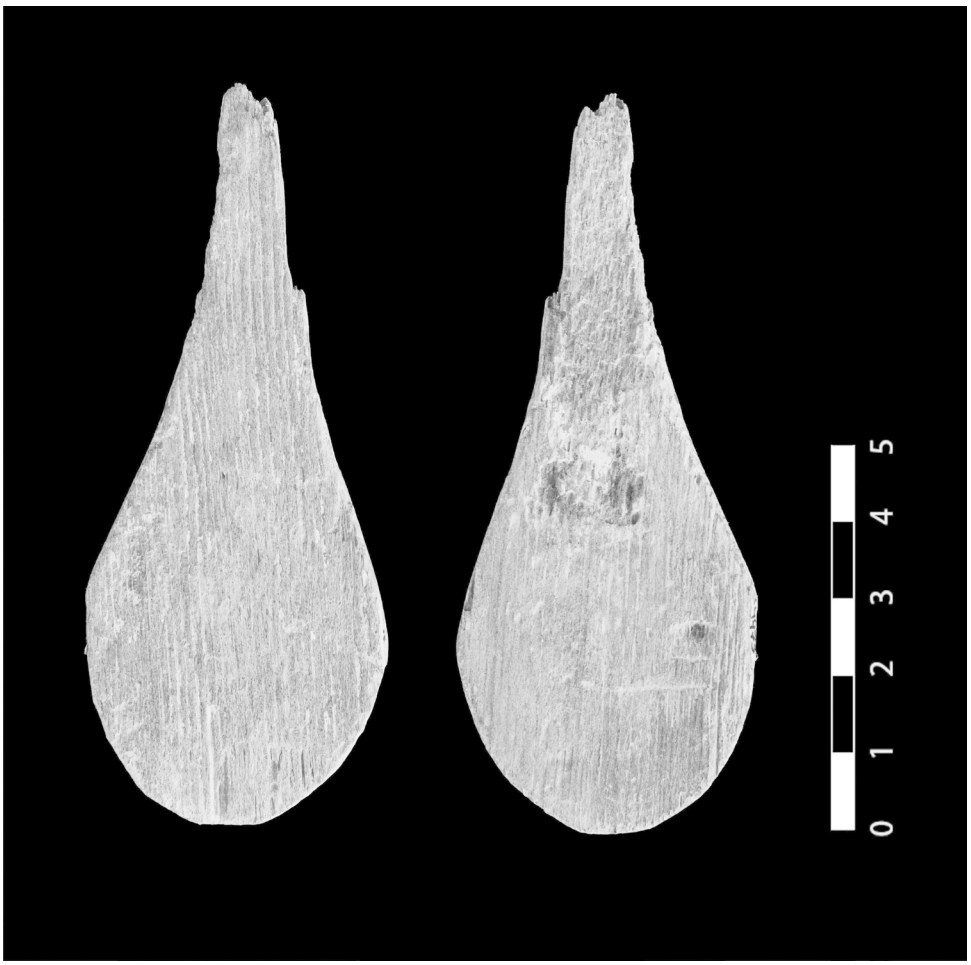


Fig. 13 – SMDAN 4973 paddle doll fragment. Photo: © Proyecto Djehuty/ Carmen Ruiz

hair indicate that these truncated and elongated beads formed the ends of the hair strands.

The fragments of mud bead hair were found in association with the wooden fragment of paddle doll SMDAN 4851 in a plundered level in the vicinity of the tomb shaft.

9. *Paddle doll fragment SMDAN 4973* (see Fig. 13)
Dimensions: h. 9.4 cm, w. 3.6 cm, d. 0.5 cm
Weight: 4.6 g
Material: coniferous wood, probably *Abies*
Find location: SU 1220, grid ref. 8X, sector 10 – burial chamber, tomb 1018
Description: The fragment, carved from a 0.5 cm thick plank of wood, is well preserved despite losses to the real left upper edge, the upper torso, head and arms. The grain of the wood is clearly visible running vertically through the figurine. No decoration is visible to the naked eye and under DStretch filters the random nature of the surface markings suggest that this paddle doll was deliberately left undecorated. A single shallow round drill hole that does not penetrate the figurine is situated towards the real left hip edge on one face. A vertical off-centre groove in the rounded lower section may possibly mark the vulval cleft.
Comments: Despite the loss of the head and upper section of this figurine, this example remains the smallest of those recovered from the Spanish Mission excavations. Its comparatively small size and apparent deliberate lack of decoration recalls other similar figurines which have been found among groups of larger paddle dolls.[38]

The paddle doll was recovered from the burial chamber along with fragments of pottery offering trays (SMDAN 4972, 4975-7, 4979) of Middle Kingdom date and material of later date including fragments of canopic jar, coffin board and coffin hand. It is probable that the material, including the paddle doll, was introduced into the burial chamber during an episode of modern robbery during which the tomb shaft was entered and refilled.

10. *Paddle doll hair SMDAN 4951*
Dimensions: l. 7.5 / 2.8 cm strands
Weight: not weighed
Material: clay/mud, unfired; linen(?) thread
Find location: SU 1218, grid ref. 8X, sector 10 – tomb shaft, tomb 1018
Description: Two fragments of hand-shaped roughly spherical mud beads pressed onto linen(?) thread. The

[38] For example, Cairo, JE 56276 from Asasif tomb MMA 816. See, Morris, *JARCE* 49, 91, n. 98, fig. 9 for a discussion.

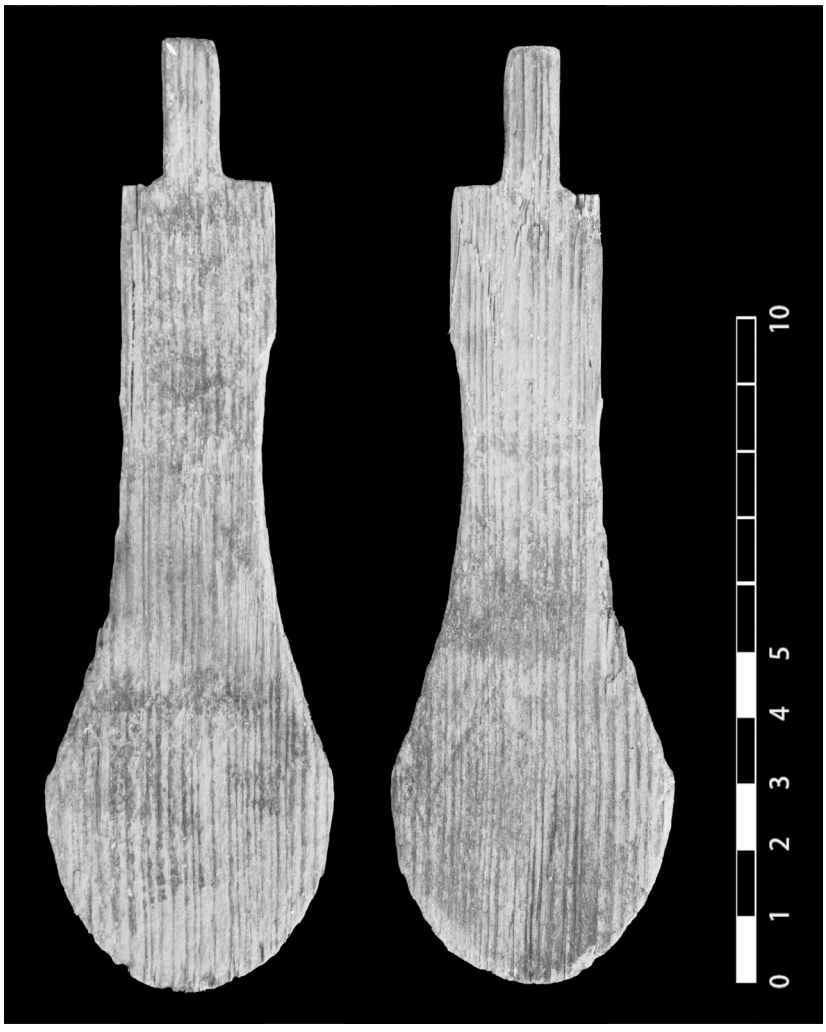
beads vary in size; one of the end beads appears larger than the others. The mud balls contain iron compounds and a vegetable degreasing agent.
Comments: The fragments were recovered from the shaft fill along with material of mixed date including the base of a Cypriot vessel (SMDAN 4944) and a fragment of painted carved relief (SMDAN 4952).

II: Paddle Dolls recovered from the Garden Courtyard

11. *Paddle doll SMDAN 2402* (see Figs 14-15, Pl. XIV)
Dimensions: h. 14 cm, w. 4.5 cm, d. 0.5 cm
Weight: 6.7 g
Material: coniferous wood, probably *Abies*
Find location: SU 1054, grid ref. 4Y, sector 10 – garden courtyard

Description: The paddle doll[39] is in a fair state of preservation and lacks both arms, as well as much of the surface decoration which is observable on both faces only as traces to the naked eye. The grain of the wood, identified as coniferous, is clearly visible and open running vertically through the length of the figurine. Carved from a 0.5 cm thick flat board, the head is formed from a rectangular tab (h. 2 x w. 0.9 cm) surmounting an elongated body widening to subtly angular hips and a curved lower section.

Traces of a black and red pigment are visible on both faces. Examined using DStretch, the programme of decoration is revealed. The front of the figurine is decorated with a choker or short necklace above nipples formed of dots. Strings of multiple long necklaces sit above a horizontal band of cross-hatching forming the top of the decoration in the mid-section. Below this is a wide



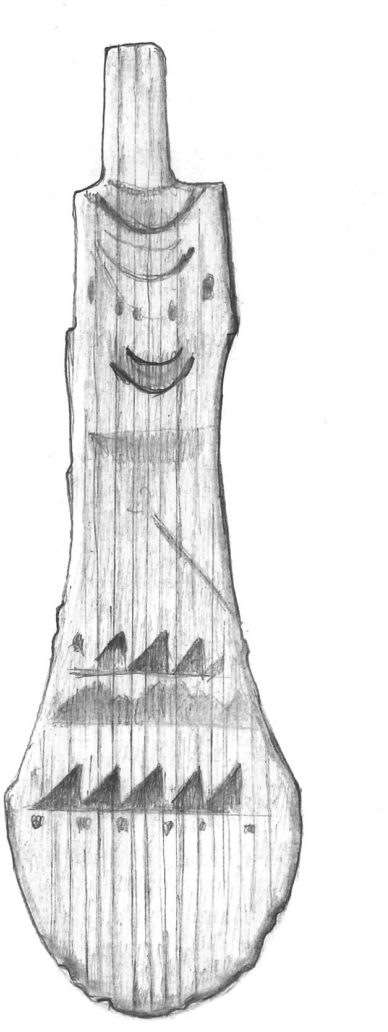


Fig. 14 – (left) SMDAN 2402 paddle doll. Photo: © Proyecto Djehuty/Carmen Ruiz / **Fig. 15** – (right) SMDAN 2402 paddle doll. Decorative scheme after DStretch manipulation (see Pl. XIV). Drawing: © Proyecto Djehuty/Pía Rodríguez Frade

[39] García Fernández, *TdE* 10, 95, fig. 2.

band of vertical herringbone above three rows of triangular checkers (dog-tooth pattern) in alternating red and black. A thin girdle of alternating red and black dots sits just below the widest point of the figurine. Decoration of the back of the figurine is less well defined. Between two bands of alternating dots in the mid-section is an area of undefined decoration. Other traces suggest a possible body chain and other decoration which it is not possible to decipher.

Comments: The paddle doll was found in the northwestern area of the garden courtyard of the Middle Kingdom tomb 1018, under a collapse level of the courtyard's wall associated with the annexed tomb 1030 and close to the entrance to the second unexcavated Middle Kingdom tomb, 1078. In this stratigraphic context, with the exception of a Ramesside shabti (SMDAN 2404) that would have originated in higher levels, little material is documented. Several objects dated to the Middle Kingdom appear in this debris layer: a fragment of cartonnage from the Eleventh Dynasty (SMDAN 2406), accompanied by small fragments of gold leaf. The paddle doll was found at the same level and close to a mummified ram (SMDAN 9115)[40] and a coffin characterized by a white coating (SMDAN 9114), both probably dating to the Seventeenth Dynasty. A wooden model of a kneeling *ḏryt* mourner within this layer is of post-new Kingdom date.[41] Therefore, material in the courtyard may have been deposited as a result of the robbery of burials of Twelfth and Seventeenth Dynasties, which took place during or after the Seventeenth Dynasty.

The decorative programme and profile of this figurine is similar to two paddle dolls excavated from tomb K02.1 at Dra Abu el-Naga[42] which is dated to the Thirteenth Dynasty.

12. *Paddle doll SMDAN 2441/2621* (see Figs 16-17, 23, 25)

Dimensions: h. 19.3 cm, w. 6.1 cm, d. 0.5-1.00 cm

Weight: 20.8 g

Material: wood – *Acacia* sp.

Find location: SU 1054, grid ref. 3Z, sector 10 – garden courtyard

Description: The paddle doll is in a good state of preservation and is formed from two joining parts, the main body (SMDAN 2441)[43] and the right arm (SMDAN 2621 – retrieved from sieving). The left arm is missing and areas of gauging and two drilled holes[44] are visible on both faces of the figurine. The surface decoration is well preserved in black, red and decayed green which has faded to an orange-yellow colour. Carved from a 1.00-0.5 cm thick board, the head is formed from a rectangular tab (h. 2.5 x w. 1.9 cm) surmounting an elongated paddle-shaped body with rounded hips and rounded lower section. The surviving arm has an angular shoulder and is triangular in shape.

Both faces of the figurine are decorated with complex designs. On the front, the figurine wears a collar composed of three lines of black, red, black above the asymmetrical nipples indicated by black dots. The torso of the figurine is decorated in three broad sections. The upper section below the breasts and the lower section at hip-level are composed of four rows of checkers forming diagonal stripes of coloured and uncoloured squares containing dots of green or red[45] in the upper section and black in the lower section. The torso or mid-section is the most complex design, formed by a symmetrical design on either side of a vertical section of checkers in three columns alternating black and red squares on the outer columns and green in the central column. Again, uncoloured squares alternate with coloured squares and have a central dot of green or red each. Flanking the central checker design are vertical columns of herringbone in black, a column of alternating dots in black and green/red, a section of cross-hatching in two columns of red, and finally a further column of black and green/red dots. The round lower section of the figurine is dominated by a large pubic triangle composed of irregular black stippling. The vulval cleft is indicated by a short vertical black line.

The back of the figurine is likewise arranged in zones of decoration. Body chains cross the upper back formed from three rows of dots in red, black and green. Below this, the torso is divided into five broad bands of deco-

[40] Brink *et al*., *JARCE* 57, 33-55.

[41] SMDAN 2401 is a wooden statuette which depicts a woman in kneeling pose wearing a two-strap sheath dress and an *afnet* (or *khat*) head covering. The arms are missing but appear to have been raised to the front. The characteristic costume and pose together with the size (h. 11.2 cm x w. 4.2 cm) suggest this is one of a pair of mourner models found from the New Kingdom onwards. A similar larger figure (SMDAN 2165) fragment was excavated from shaft 1007 and is dated to the Third Intermediate Period: Galán, Jiménez-Higueras, in Miniaci, Grajetzki (eds), *The World of Middle Kingdom Egypt I*, 105-6, fig. 6. Although *ḏryt* models have been found on Twelfth Dynasty model funerary boats, their size is much smaller and the white headcloth usually ends with a point or the hair is either cropped or worn long. For *ḏryt* mourners see, Fischer, *Egyptian Studies* 1, 39-50; see also Tooley, *Egyptian Models and Scenes*, 61-2, fig. 65.

[42] Rummel (ed.), *Meeting the Past*, 35, cat. no. 19, FN 932, FN 938. For tomb K02.1 see: Polz, Seiler, *Die Pyramidenanlage*, 31-3.

[43] García Fernández, *TdE* 10, 95-7, fig. 3.

[44] See below for evidence of use-wear.

[45] Using DStretch some of the dots appear to be the same pigment as the green squares, in others the colour is less clear and may be the red pigment.

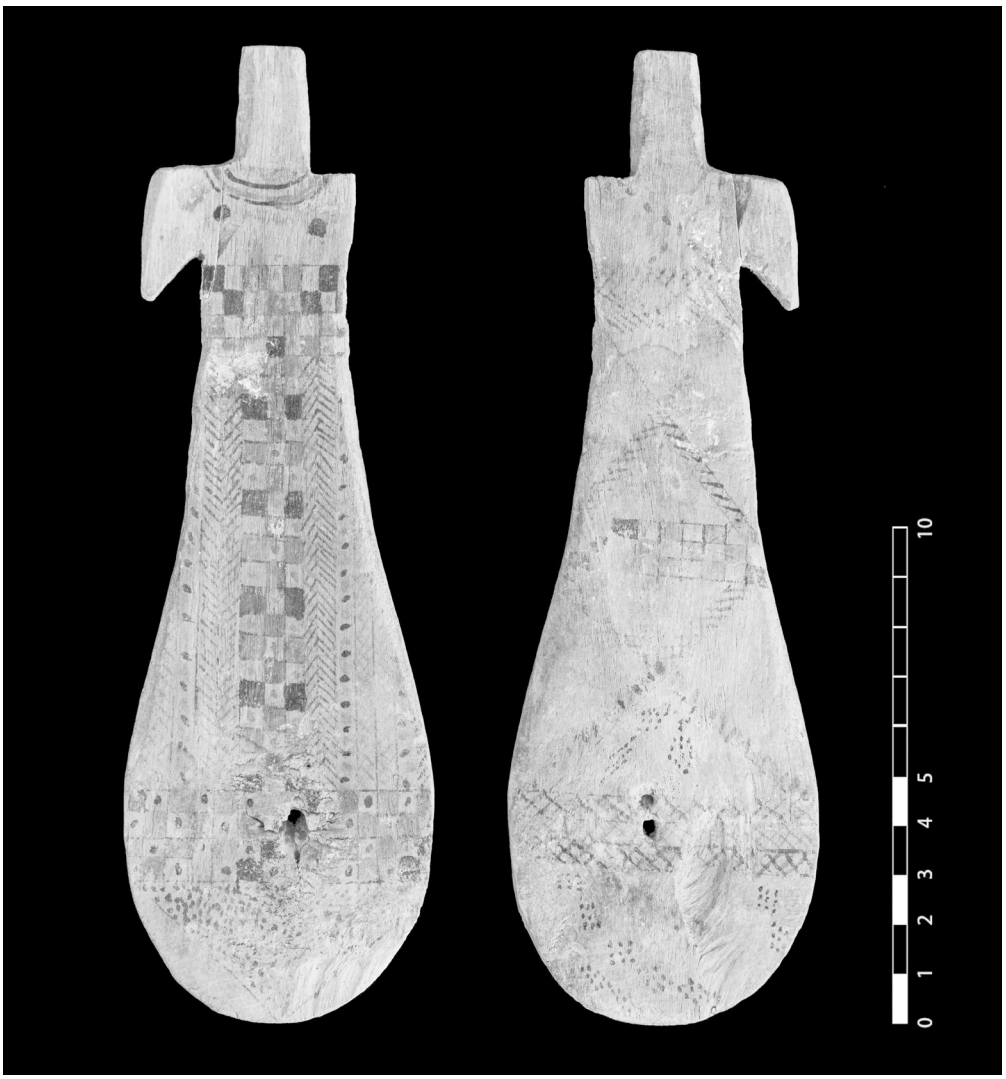
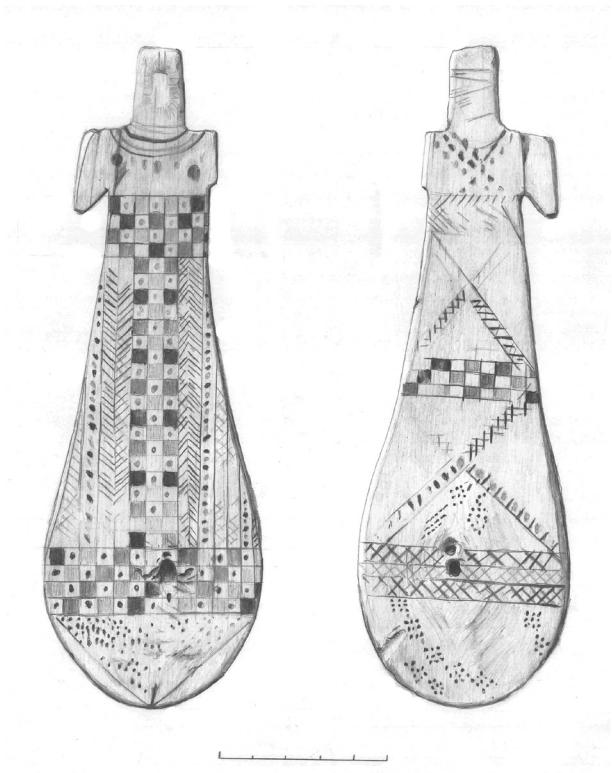


Fig. 16 (above) – SMDAN 2441/2621 paddle doll. Photo: © Proyecto Djehuty/Carmen Ruiz

Fig. 17 (below) – SMDAN 2441/2621 paddle doll. Drawing: © Proyecto Djehuty/Pía Rodríguez Frade



ration. The upper and lower bands are formed by three horizontal rows of red and black cross-hatching. Separating the upper torso from the lower torso is a horizontal band of checkers in three rows of a diagonal design of black, green and red squares alternating with uncoloured squares. Between these three bands of decoration are two zones. The upper zone preserves cross bands decorated with cross-hatching, red in the upper bands and black in the lower bands. The lower zone preserves cross bands decorated with red and black cross-hatching in the upper bands and with dots in black and green/red in the lower bands. Irregularly placed black dots in the triangle formed by the lower cross bands, corresponding roughly to the lower back area, are lozenge-shaped body markings. The lower curved section of the figurine, corresponding to the buttock/upper thigh area, is decorated with three or four curved diagonal rows of black dot lozenges, each lozenge is composed of nine dots. A possible fourth row in the centre of the figurine may have been of green dots.

Comments: The paddle doll was found in the garden courtyard in a level of disturbance between two strata, one of the Middle Kingdom and the other dated Seventeenth/Eighteenth Dynasty. The level of disturbance is the result of robbery post-dating the Seventeenth Dynasty. Within this level and associated with the find spot of the paddle doll were found two coffin lids, one of which dates to the late Middle Kingdom, and numerous complete ceramic forms from the Thirteenth Dynasty, among them a small plate, a jar and a *hes*-vase. This pottery was found on the original floor and forms a homogeneous group. The paddle doll, therefore, is linked to material dating to the Twelfth and Thirteenth Dynasties.

The general profile of the paddle doll and the surface treatment is paralleled by three paddle dolls from Theban tomb MMA 816; the paddle shape, although less bulbous, is similar, the arms are triangular and rows of diagonal lozenge markings are found in the lower back section of the figurines.[46] However, the complexity of the designs on both back and front of SMDAN 2441 is exceptional,[47] certain details such as diagonal checkers in black, red and green are found[48] and rarely, the dotted squares in checker designs.[49]

13. *Paddle doll fragment SMDAN 3572* (see Figs 18-19)
Dimensions: h. 6.6 cm, w. 2.3 cm, d. 0.7 cm
Weight: 1.4 g
Material: wood – *Acacia* sp.
Find location: SU 1001, grid ref. 2Z, sector 10 – garden courtyard
Description: The fragment,[50] 0.7 cm thick, represents the real left lower section of a paddle doll, broken off-centre vertically to hip level but not preserving the outer edge so that it is not possible to state whether the hips were rounded or angular. The state of preservation is otherwise good with much of the surface decoration remaining on both faces.

The front of the fragment is decorated with a broad band of diagonal checkers in six horizontal rows alternating black, green(?),[51] red and uncoloured squares. Above and below this are horizontal bands of black and red cross-hatching. The remains of a large pubic triangle is indicated by black stippling. The back of the fragment is largely uncoloured but retains a unique representation of the hindquarters of a couchant animal with erect bushy tail in red.

Fig. 18 – SMDAN 3572 paddle doll fragment. Photo: © Proyecto Djehuty/Carmen Ruiz

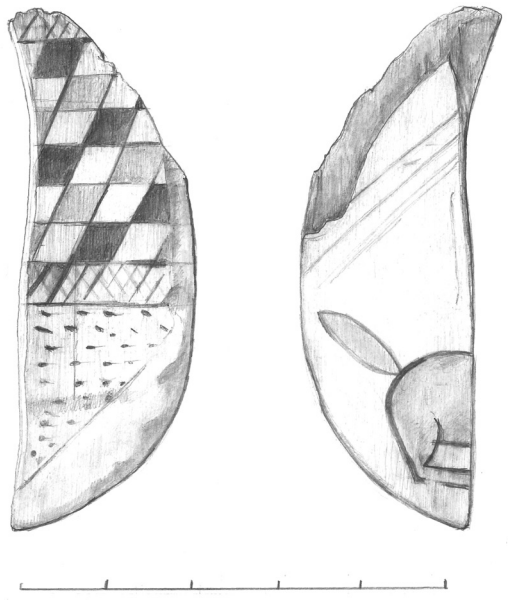


Fig. 19 – SMDAN 3572 paddle doll fragment. Drawing: © Proyecto Djehuty/Pía Rodríguez Frade

Comments: The fragment was discovered in the courtyard, in a zone of plundered material between grid refs. 2A to 2Z comprising masses of linen, bones, fragments of wooden coffin, shabtis and pottery of late Middle

[46] New York MMA 31.3.35 and MMA 31.3.36, Cairo JE 56274. Keimer, *Tatouage*, pl. XV.
[47] An unprovenanced paddle doll, Brooklyn 37.101e, is similarly complex although less well executed.
[48] For instance, the unprovenanced paddle doll, Brooklyn 37.105e.
[49] See the unprovenanced paddle doll, Brooklyn 16.84.
[50] García Fernández, *TdE* 10, 98, fig. 4.
[51] The visible colour appears to be grey but is probably decayed or faded green pigment.

Kingdom, Third Intermediate Period and Late Period date. Associated with this piece is a fragment of pottery offering tray (SMDAN 3580) and two fragments of wooden coffin (SMDAN 3677, 3723), both dated in the Middle Kingdom. Also within this level, of a later date were found mud shabtis, inscribed shabtis, leather fragments with a hieratic text and a pottery model horse and rider. As with the other paddle dolls found in the courtyard, it is likely these materials were the result of ancient looting at some point during or after the Seventeenth Dynasty.

The front of the fragment resembles closely SMDAN 11031 (five horizontal rows of checkers instead of six) and in being decorated on the back with animal motifs (see below). The paddle doll 11031 was found within tomb 1018 suggesting that fragment SMDAN 3572 may have originated here and formed a 'set' with SMDAN 11031, which was not uncommon.

III: Miscellaneous Paddle Doll Fragments

14. *Paddle doll hair SMDAN 5130* (see Fig. 20)
Dimensions: l. 10.8 - 5.2 cm stands; 2.3 - 1.5 cm cone
Weight: not weighed
Material: clay/mud, unfired; linen(?) thread
Find location: SU 1022a, grid ref. 5Y, Sector 10 – shaft tomb 1022
Description: Seven strings of roughly shaped mud bead threaded onto and pressed around linen(?) threads, as well as loose elongated terminal or end beads of an elongated cone form. The mud beads contain iron compounds and a vegetable degreasing agent. Some of the beads preserve fingerprints.
Comments: When originally excavated in 2015, this collection of mud beads strung on threads was interpreted as coarse unfired clay beads from a necklace or other adornment. The material was re-evaluated in the light of further discoveries, namely fragments of wooden paddle dolls and accompanying mud bead hair strands. Since paddle dolls are restricted to the Middle Kingdom, their presence in a Seventeenth Dynasty shaft must be due to the action of robbery and movement of material from one tomb to another. In this case, possibly from either of the Middle Kingdom tombs 1018 or 1078 between which shaft 1022 is cut.

15. *Paddle doll fragment SMDAN 9263* (see Fig. 21)
Dimensions: h. 10.3 cm, w. 2.9 cm, d. 0.6 cm
Weight: 3.1 g
Material: wood – *Ziziphus* sp.
Find location: SU 1001, grid ref. 0E, Sector 11 – surface debris
Description: This poorly preserved fragment, 0.6 cm thick, represents the torso or mid-section of a figurine from the breast to around the level of the pubis. The surface is scarred, cracked and chipped. The remains of painted decoration in red and black is visible on both faces.

The front is decorated with two bands of red and black square checkers at the upper extremity and towards the bottom of the figurine, that in the lower section is

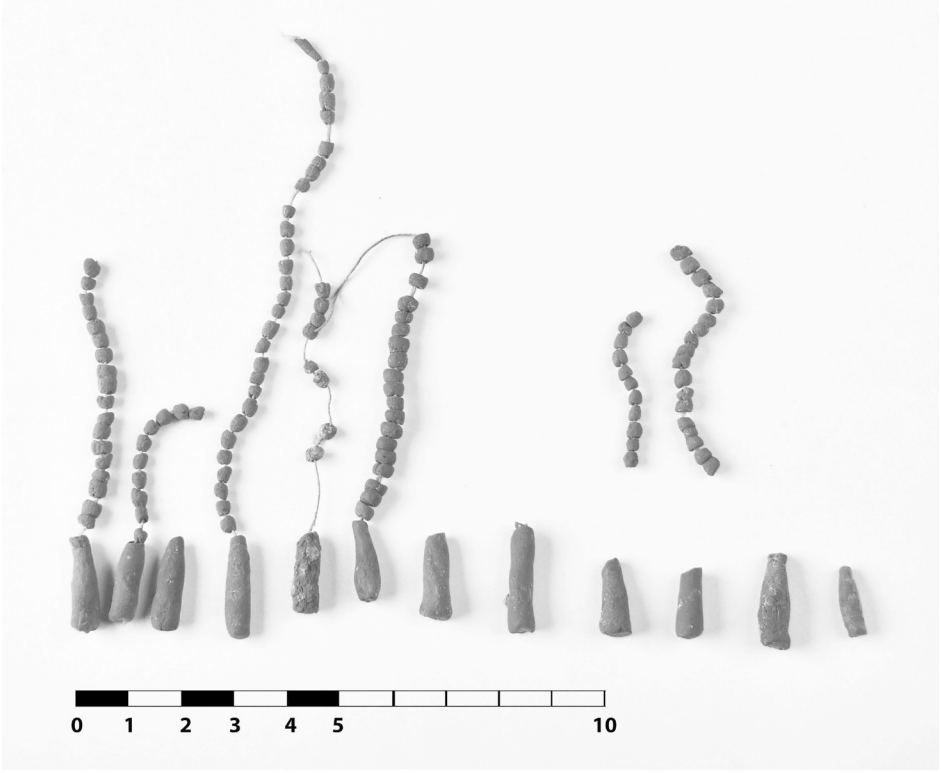


Fig. 20 – SMDAN 5130. Strands of unfired mud/clay beads from a paddle doll wig. Photo: © Proyecto Djehuty/ Ahmed Amin/Carmen Ruiz

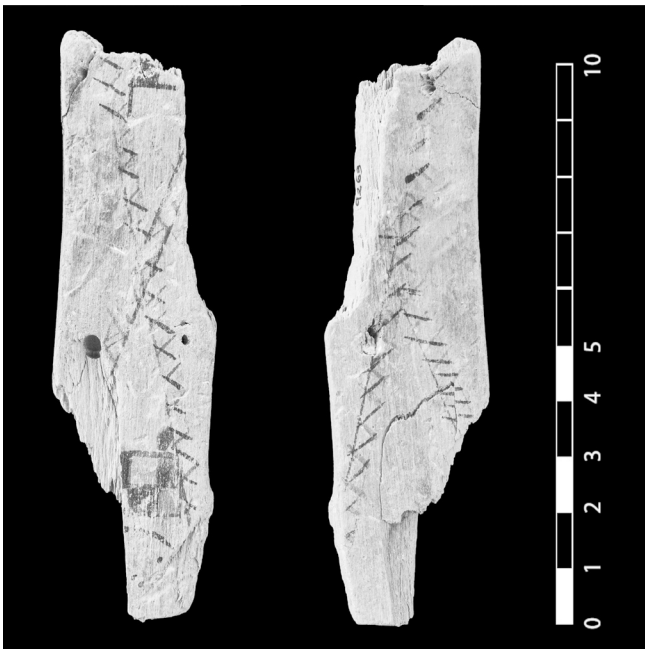


Fig. 21 – SMDAN 9263 paddle doll fragment. Photo: © Proyecto Djehuty/Carmen Ruiz

in two bands of alternating red/black and uncoloured checkers. Below this lower band are well-drawn dots in black which appear to represent the pubic hair in this position. Between the two checker borders are cross-over bands ornamented with red and black alternating lines forming a zigzag or triangular motif. The back of the figurine preserves only cross-over bands which are the same as those on the front.

The figurine has two holes drilled into it from the front. That on the real right side of the torso penetrates through to the back, that on the left is superficial.
Comments: That the fragment was located within surface (modern) debris accounts for its poor state of preservation. The location within Sector 11 at the entrance to the causeway of TT11 suggests that the piece may have originally come from one of the Middle Kingdom tombs located in this area below the New Kingdom necropolis.

16. *Paddle doll hair SMDAN 9265*
Dimensions: l. 5 cm strand
Weight: not weighed
Material: clay/mud, unfired; linen(?) thread
Find location: SU 1001, grid ref. 0E, Sector 11 – surface debris
Description: The strand of twelve hand-shaped roughly spherical mud beads are threaded onto a linen(?) thread. The mud beads contain iron compounds and a vegetable degreasing agent.
Comments: The mud bead hair was recovered from the same surface level as the wooden fragment SMDAN 9263.
17. *Paddle doll fragment SMDAN 9247* (see Fig. 22)
Dimensions: h. 2.9 cm, w. 1.3 cm, d. 0.6 cm
Weight: 0.3 g
Material: wood – probably *Ziziphus* sp.
Find location: SU 1001, grid ref. 1E, Sector 11 – surface debris
Description: This small fragment, 0.6 cm thick, represents the real right shoulder and upper arm of a paddle doll. The shoulder is flat or horizontal with a squared junction with the arm. The arm itself is broken off but sufficient remains to suggest that the arm was originally of the tapered or triangular type similar to the fragment SMDAN 2621.

Decoration is preserved on both faces in black. On the front, the beginning of a necklace or collar can be seen by the neck. A diagonal band or strap, probably from cross-over bands, passes across the chest and is coarsely infilled with a black almost solid design. On the back the strap or band continues with the infill slightly better defined as a zigzag or triangular design.
Comments: The paddle doll fragment was recovered from a surface (modern) debris layer at the foot of the TT11 causeway in an area where Middle Kingdom tombs underly the later cemetery.

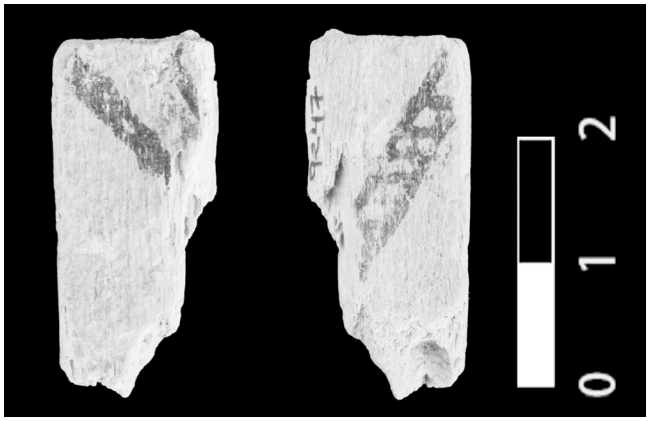


Fig. 22 – SMDAN 9247 paddle doll fragment. Photo: © Proyecto Djehuty/Carmen Ruiz

The Dra Abu el-Naga Paddle Dolls in Cultural Context

In this section various features of the Dra Abu el-Naga paddle dolls (see Fig. 3, Pl. XIII) are examined within the context of the wider corpus of this genre of female figurine. In the analysis, a brief survey of figurines available for study in online catalogues, published reports, papers and catalogues, as well as physical examination in museum collections has been utilised. This material has furnished a dataset of over seventy provenanced

paddle dolls and a similar corpus of unprovenanced figurines. The various features of the Dra Abu el-Naga figurines have been compared with this discrete set of provenanced material, calling upon those of unknown origin where relevant.

The study of paddle dolls in their own right is still in its infancy, although notable contributions have been made in recent years.[52] None of these studies, however, have attempted to present a holistic analysis of the material, leaving questions of manufacture, workshops, internal chronology and the scientific analysis of use-wear for future research.

The term applied to this specific form of female figurine –paddle doll– appears to have been first used by Hayes[53] to describe what he considered to be 'barbarously crude' figures following the example set by Winlock,[54] the excavator of many such figurines in Deir el-Bahri and the Asasif. Prior to this no standard terminology seems to have existed so that figurines have been described as 'Puppe' and 'Brettchenpuppen'[55] in German publications, as 'poupés' and 'planchettes de bois'[56] in French and simply as dolls in English publications.[57] As the names suggest –dolls, puppen, poupés– were not considered to be objects of any gravity having been relegated to the level of playthings, ephemeral and unimportant objects. More recent researchers[58] have attempted to elevate paddle dolls to their proper position among objects with a significant role within the Middle Kingdom cultural milieu alongside other forms of female figurine, which have become known as 'fertility figurines'.[59] In an attempt to distance paddle dolls from the inherent and incorrect implications that their name suggests, some scholars use the term 'pre-formal'[60] to refer to this type of schematic, non-canonical form of figurine but the name paddle doll remains ubiquitous.

Material – wood identification

The wood identification was made by Mónica Ruiz-Alonso using a reflected light Zeiss Axiolab microscope.[61] It was limited by relevant access to observable clean sections in the wood, such as cross section, radial longitudinal and tangential longitudinal, which were then compared to known wood types as shown in standard wood anatomy atlases and online resources.[62] As the wood could not be cut, in some cases, not all diagnostic characteristics could be observed. The taxonomy of three paddle doll samples was identified as *Acacia* sp., four as *Ziziphus* sp., one as *Acacia* sp. or *Ziziphus* sp. and three samples as coniferous wood, probably *Abies* (see Table 2).

Acacia (*šnḏ/šnḏt*)[63] is an indigenous hardwood often used during the Middle Kingdom for making bows, headrests, knobs and dowels.[64] With broad leaves, yellow-white flowers and short spikes, acacia leaves, flowers and pods were used for a multiplicity of medicinal remedies.[65] *Ziziphus*, common name jujube, sidder or Christ's Thorn (*nbs*)[66] is also an indigenous durable hardwood frequently used for making dowels during the Middle Kingdom.[67] This

[52] Morris, *JARCE* 47, 71-103; Müller, in Blöbaum, Eaton-Krauss, Wüthrich (eds), *Pérégrinations*, 387-403; Beha, Donnat, in Donnat, Hunziker-Rodewald, Weygand (eds), *Figurines Féminines Nues*, 57-73.

[53] Hayes, *Scepter of Egypt*, vol. I, 219-20.

[54] Winlock, *Excavations*, 207: barbarous looking things. According to the excavation tomb cards, these figurines were originally termed 'shingle dolls', The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Department of Egyptian Art Archives, Theban Tomb Cards 1307 and 1324 (MMA tomb 110), 1342-32 (MMA tomb 111), 1730 (MMA tomb 510). See Morris, *JARCE* 47, 71-2 for a synopsis of early attitudes to paddle dolls.

[55] Müller in Blöbaum, Eaton-Krauss, Wüthrich (eds), *Pérégrinations,* 387 uses the term Brettchenpuppen while accepting the name paddle doll for convenience.

[56] Keimer, *Tatouage*, 25-6; Beha, Donnat, in Donnat, Hunziker-Rodewald, Weygand (eds), *Figurines Féminines Nues*, 58, use the term 'planchette de bois' while accepting paddle doll for convenience.

[57] See for instance Garstang, *Burial Customs*, 211, fig. 150 a paddle doll (doll) from tomb 09 at Beni Hasan. Throughout the tomb register Garstang refers to wooden figurines as 'doll' in an indiscriminate manner so that it is now difficult to distinguish figures from wooden model scenes and other types of figurine including paddle dolls.

[58] In particular, Müller, in Blöbaum, Eaton-Krauss, Wüthrich (eds), *Pérégrinations*, 387-403 who interprets some of the iconography associated with legless figurines as being sacred/divine. Morris, *JARCE* 47, 71-103 who interprets paddle dolls as the embodiment of the ritual group known as *ḫnrwt*. Tooley's analysis of Middle Kingdom and Second Intermediate Period figurines, unlike previous works, integrates paddle dolls with later truncated type figurines and traces their development through an additional form of figurine not considered elsewhere, Tooley, in Miniaci, Betrò, Quirke, *Company of Images*, 424, 428-9, 449-50, 452-3; Tooley, in Koek (ed.), *MEHEN*, 170-5, 183, 185, 189; Tooley, *SAK* 49, 247-9, 262, 271.

[59] Pinch, *Votive Offerings*, 198-234. On paddle dolls see, Pinch, *Votive Offerings*, 199, 214, 217, 279.

[60] E.g. Parkinson, *Reading Ancient Egyptian Poetry*, 142.

[61] With 5x/0.13; 10x/0.20; 20x/0.40; 40x/0.65 and 50x/0.70 magnification.

[62] For instance, Schweingruber, *Microscopic wood anatomy*; Neumann *et al*., *Woods of the Sahara*; InsideWood, wood identification website: http://insidewood.lib.ncsu.edu, <accessed 06/02/2021>.

[63] Wb IV, 520.9-13 *šnḏ*; Wb IV, 521.1-15 *šnḏt*.

[64] Nicholson, Shaw, *Materials and Technology*, 335-6, 367-8; Wb IV, 520.8-521.1.

[65] See for instance Manniche, *Egyptian Herbal*, 65-6.

[66] Wb II, 245.10-246.2.

[67] Nicholson, Shaw, *Materials and Technology*, 347; Wb II, 245.9-246.2.

SMDAN object #	*Acacia* sp.	*Ziziphus* sp.	*Acacia/Ziziphus*	Coniferous/*Abies*
2402				x
2441/2621	x			
3572	x			
4614				x
4632		x		
4801		x		
4851			x	
4973				x
9247		x		
9263		x		
11031	x			

Table 2 – Wood identification

bush or small tree has small yellow flowers, paired spines and single fruits, its leaves, flowers and fruits widely used in medicinal remedies.[68] Coniferous wood is a term used to refer to trees including cypresses, firs, junipers, pines, cedars and yews.[69] These gymnosperms or cone-bearing softwoods are imported into Egypt as an exotic and prestigious product.[70] The use of these types of woods is often restricted to objects displaying the owner's wealth and status such as coffins and statuary. Our examples are probably *Abies* or fir (*ꜥš*),[71] a soft-wood timber used in boat building, for flagpoles and also small objects,[72] and its resin used in remedies, cosmetics and in mummification.[73]

The authors are aware of only three other paddle dolls whose wood has been identified. The first is an unprovenanced figurine, collected by Joseph Sams which entered the British Museum in 1834, BM EA 6460, which according to the museum records is identified as being of sycamore wood.[74] The second is from the Theban excavations of Herbert Winlock at the Asasif, in tomb MMA 110, New York, MMA 27.3.52a. Museum records state that the wood is identified as pine.[75] The third example is an unprovenanced paddle doll in Paris, Louvre E 18543 formerly in the Musée Guimet collection and transferred in 1948. Like three of the Dra Abu el-Naga paddle dolls, the wood has been identified as acacia.[76]

The choice of wood for these figurines is not insignificant; had paddle dolls been intended as inconsequential ephemeral objects one might have expected their manufacture in easily available, low-quality timbers rather than durable hardwoods and imported timbers. Paddle dolls are closely associated with the cult of the goddess Hathor[77] and, beside her anthropomorphic and zoomorphic manifestations she is associated with several types of tree and tree goddesses.[78] Hathor is most notably associated with the sycamore as *nbt nht*, lady of the sycamore, and *nbt nht rsy*, lady of the southern sycamore, in which guise Hathor provides nourishment for the deceased, and a resting place for the *bꜣ* as a symbol of renewal.[79] It is not surprising therefore to find at least one paddle doll cut from a plank of sycamore wood.

However, what is the significance of the use of acacia? In a late tradition there stood at Heliopolis a sanctuary to Saosis/Iusas north of the temple of Re. This

[68] Manniche, *Egyptian Herbal*, 157-8.
[69] Liphschitz, *Tel Aviv* 25/2, 263-4 table 2; Nicholson, Shaw, *Materials and Technology*, 349-52.
[70] Nicholson, Shaw, *Materials and Technology*, 334, 348.
[71] Wb I, 228.1-6.
[72] Nicholson, Shaw, *Materials and Technology*, 348-9.
[73] Manniche, *Egyptian Herbal*, 64-5; Liphschitz, *Tel Aviv* 25/2, 261, 263-4, Appendix.
[74] Unpublished. Museum records do not indicate the reasons for the wood identification as the piece has not been scientifically examined.
[75] The wood identification is that of the excavator rather than that of scientific examination, Theban Tomb Card 1324. The paddle doll is associated with a wooden writing board stela (MMA 27.3.50), naming Hetepi and identified as sycamore wood, and walking sticks (MMA 27.3.45 and 47) identified as *Tamarix* sp. For the paddle doll, see: Morris, *JARCE* 47, 89, n. 92; for the stela see: Allen, in Oppenheim, Goelet (eds), *Art and Culture*, 31, n. 26. Winlock identifies other examples of 'pine' in Theban Tomb Cards 2266 (MMA tomb 806), 2619 (MMA tomb 819), The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Department of Egyptian Art Archives.
[76] We would like to thank Patricia Rigault-Déon of the Musée du Louvre for confirmation of the xylographic analysis carried out on this figurine; Étienne (ed.), *Les Portes du Ciel*, 59, no. 22.
[77] Morris, *JARCE* 47, 71-103.
[78] Buhl, *JNES* 6/2, 80-97; Bleeker, *Hathor and Thoth*, 34-7.
[79] Bleeker, *Hathor and Thoth*, 36-7; Azzazy, Ezzat, in Guilhou, Maniati (eds), *Liber Amicorum*, 209-10, 213-4. For *nht*/*nhtt* see, Wb II, 282.6-283.3.

goddess acted as female counterpart to the creator god, Atum, as the god's hand.[80] In her sanctuary stood the sacred acacia tree in which all death and life are enclosed.[81] Iusas is closely associated with another goddess called Nebet-hetepet, and in turn both are syncretized with Hathor as aspects of the feminine principle and the mother-daughter duality;[82] the one who conceives (Hathor-Iusas) and the one who gives birth (Hathor-Nebet-Hetepet) as a 'unified feminine element which accomplishes the cyclical generation of the god',[83] and by extension a composite medium of renewal and regeneration. This cyclical regeneration is made explicit in the decoration of the acacia paddle doll Louvre E 18543 which bears the unique image of a scarab beetle (Khepri) pushing a sundisk towards the figure's lower, rounded section in an act of recreating the birth of the sun god. Iusas herself, when not depicted wearing the cow horns and sundisk of Hathor is sometimes shown with a scarab emblem on her head,[84] reinforcing the solar imagery of cyclical generation. The acacia therefore has strong mythological associations with solar regeneration, explicitly in later traditions.

Studies conducted on wood analysis and technology, especially those on contemporary Middle Kingdom tomb models, indicate that sycamore wood predominates,[85] while acacia better lends itself to objects requiring strength and stability, like arrows and bows. Jujube (*Ziziphus* sp.) is also used for objects that require durability.[86] It should also be noted that during the Late Period the *nbs*-tree is considered to be sacred, featuring in the name of several local cults as *ḥwt nbs* and in several sacred groves,[87] suggesting that, like the sycamore and acacia, the jujube had inherent properties due to mythological associations. A branch of *Ziziphus* still with its leaves preserved was found among the offerings in an intact brick-built shrine in the forecourt of Deir el-Bahri tomb MMA 519 along with a wooden stela and four pottery vessels.[88] Although the evidence for the mythological significance of wood comes from later periods it does nevertheless suggest that certain woods could have been chosen for their inherent properties: cyclical solar renewal and an association with Hathor.[89]

Form – body shape, hips, shoulders and arms

The characteristic shape or form of these figurines is paddle-shaped, with a projecting rectangular tab forming the head, rudimentary arms, a long usually narrow torso, with a bulbous rounded lower section, cut out of a more or less thin plank of wood, so that in profile the figurines are entirely flat and devoid of contours. The average thickness of the wood is around 0.6 cm,[90] with the Dra Abu el-Naga paddle dolls conforming to this average, although SMDAN 4628/4928 measures 0.9-1 cm thick.

There is a degree of variation, as is to be expected in handmade objects, in the shape of paddle dolls as well as their overall size. Paddle dolls preserving their complete height can range from 15-20 cm up to 25 cm in height. The Dra Abu el-Naga figurines that survive for most of their height are SMDAN 2402 at 14 cm tall, SMDAN 2441/2621 at 19.3 cm and the largest, SMDAN 11031 at 22.03 cm tall. It is clear from the size of the lower body fragment SMDAN 4632 that this too would have been a figurine over 20 cm tall. The remaining fragments are fairly small and would probably have formed figurines in the region of 10-15 cm tall.

Two distinct body shapes are represented by the Dra Abu el-Naga paddle dolls: rounded hip and angled hip forms. In the former (see Fig. 16), the hips are smooth and rounded forming a gentle curve between the lower bulbous section of the body containing the image of the pubis, and the rise of the waist and torso. Paddle dolls SMDAN 2441/2621, 4632, 4851, and 11031 have rounded hips. In the dataset, 66% of paddle dolls have the rounded hip form. In the latter (see Fig. 4), the hips are marked by an angle and more or less sharp change from the curve of the lower section to where it meets the waist and torso. In the dataset 19% of paddle dolls have the angled hip form. The feature of angled hips can vary from very sharply angled[91] to more subtle examples[92] like SMDAN 2402 (see Fig. 14) which has a very gentle an-

[80] Buhl, *JNES* 6/2, 86; Bleeker, *Hathor and Thoth*, 36-7; Bonnet, *Reallexikon*, 356-7 'Jusas'; Leclant, *LÄ* II, col. 813 'Gotteshand'.

[81] Buhl, *JNES* 6/2, 86; Bleeker, *Hathor and Thoth*, 36.

[82] Troy, *Patterns of Queenship*, 28-30, 60.

[83] Troy, *Patterns of Queenship*, 29.

[84] Brunner, *LÄ* III, col. 217; Vandier, *Iousâas*, 109, 113, 130, 137, § 4, figs 8-11, 18.

[85] Asensi *et al.*, *Hathor Studies*, vol. I, 20 and bibliography; see also Liphschitz, *Tel Aviv* 25/2, 26-4, tables 1-2.

[86] See Liphschitz, *Tel Aviv* 25/2, table 2, listing 70 dowels.

[87] Buhl, *JNES* 6/2, 86, figs 1-4.

[88] The writing board stela of sycamore, MMA 26.3.316, inscribed for Mentuhotep. The pottery, MMA 26.3.312-5, is dated to the reign of Amemenhat III to the early Thirteenth Dynasty. Allen, in Oppenheim, Goelet (eds), *Art and Culture*, 26, figs 2a, 3 for the shrine; *op. cit.*, 31-5 for the stela; *op. cit.*, 30, 35-6 for the pottery; *op. cit*., 26, 31, n. 19 for the jujube branch.

[89] For a discussion of the inherent properties of materials chosen for images, see Nyord, *Seeing Perfection*, 56.

[90] Average estimate taken from a sample of published paddle doll thickness.

[91] See for instance: Boston MFA 05.294, unprovenanced; Stockholm Medelhavsmuseet MM 18334, unprovenanced (ex. Retzius Coll.).

[92] A good example of the type is Edinburgh A.1911.284 from Thebes: Bourriau, *Pharaohs and Mortals,* 126-7, no. 121.

gle, an intermediate form between rounded and angled hips. The dataset shows 15% intermediate hip form indicating that the Dra Abu el-Naga paddle doll group is representative of the genre in terms of lower body shape.

The upper body of paddle dolls varies in shape a great deal more than the lower section. A range of different shoulder and arm shapes can be detected. With few exceptions, in the dataset of provenanced paddle dolls 97% of shoulders were more or less flat or horizontal lying at right-angles to the neck. A naturalistic slope to the shoulders is rarely seen.[93] In contrast to this are two paddle dolls with fully rounded shoulders both purchased in Thebes.[94] The junction of the flat upper face of the shoulder and the upper arm can be divided into two broad groups, those with a sharp or squared shoulder junction (49%) and those with a rounded shoulder junction (34%). The Dra Abu el-Naga paddle dolls preserve two examples of the full shoulder profile. SMDAN 9247 is a shoulder fragment and preserves an acute angled shoulder junction (see Fig. 22). The paddle doll SMDAN 2441/2612 also exhibits a squared shoulder but with a blunter junction (see Fig. 16).

Several arm shapes are known, varying in length and all lacking hands: straight, tapered and triangular. Of these, long straight arms and short triangular arms predominate at 31% of the dataset each. SMDAN 2441/2612 is a good example of the short triangular arm type, with flat and squared shoulder combination (see Fig. 16). Preliminary analysis within the dataset suggests that some features are frequently found in combination such as the rounded hip combined with the short triangular arm or the angled hip combined with the long straight arm.

Decoration – designs, tattoos and images

No two paddle dolls are decorated exactly alike. However, some paddle dolls appear remarkably similar and are evidence that in some cases paddle dolls were made in sets at the same time by the same craftsman or workshop: such is the case for figurines from Asasif tomb MMA 816 (New York, MMA 31.3.35-37, Cairo JE 56274),[95] Möller tomb 35 in the plain behind the Ramesseum (Cairo JE 43088a-b, Berlin ÄM 20201)[96] and Dra Abu el-Naga tomb K02.1 (JE 99617A, JE 99617B).[97] Although fragmentary, it is possible that the paddle doll SMDAN 3572 formed a set with SMDAN 11031 since the decoration of the front faces with diagonal checkers and the rear faces with figural images are comparable. Both these figurines are made from acacia wood and it is notable that the figurines with the most complex decoration are made from this wood.

The decoration on both front and rear faces of paddle dolls is complex and requires further analysis. In some cases decoration is only visible using image manipulation software. Decorrelation stretch or DStretch, a digital image enhancement technique, was used to retrieve the decoration of SMDAN 2402 which looks to the naked eye to be virtually featureless (see Pl. XIV). Offered here some observations based on the Dra Abu el-Naga figurines combined with a brief overview afforded by the provenanced dataset which indicates certain regional decorative preferences. Both faces of paddle doll bodies are divided into zones by a series of horizontal and vertical bands and subdivided by cross-over bands or body chains. The zones created by the horizontal bands may be left undecorated or may be filled with further designs or images. Paddle dolls from the Asasif region of the Theban necropolis favour horizontal and vertical bands of herringbone design, while those from Dra Abu el-Naga tomb 1018 and garden courtyard favour horizontal and vertical bands of cross-hatching. Whether this seemingly insignificant difference is the result of a chronological division or procurement from a different source is unknown. Scholars debate the meaning of the array of checkers, herringbone and cross-hatch stripes, triangles, diamonds and cross-over straps. Most however agree that the designs appear to depict some sort of fabric or woven clothing indicating the ritual nature of the designs and of the figures adorned with them,[98] designs that are applied to sacred objects and beings,[99] as well as evidence for foreign exchange and interaction.[100] Morris has advanced a convincing case for paddle dolls being *khener*-ritualists, identified by their colourful costume, whose performance could be harnessed in perpetuity.[101]

Three of the Dra Abu el-Naga paddle dolls exhibit important features not found elsewhere which are unique. SMDAN 2441/2621 (see Figs 16-17), is the most complete figurine recovered by the Spanish Mission. The

[93] Such as Horniman Museum 18.2.53/2, unpublished, which has gently sloping shoulders.

[94] Edinburgh A.1911.284: Bourriau, *Pharaohs and Mortals*, 126-7, no. 121; BM EA 22612, acquired in Thebes 1887, unpublished.

[95] Conveniently in Keimer, *Tatouage*, pl. XV.1-3 (MMA 31.3.35-6, JE 56274); Hayes, *Scepter*, vol. I, fig. 135 (MMA 31.3.35); Morris, *JARCE* 47, fig. 3 (JE 56274).

[96] Kaiser, *Ägyptisches Museum Berlin*, 45, Abb. 454 (Berlin ÄM 20201).

[97] Rummel, *Meeting the Past*, 35, no. 19.

[98] Morris, *JARCE* 47, 89-90, fig. 7, referring in particular to checkered bands or belts worn by the paddle dolls and women of the *ḫnr*.

[99] Müller, in Blöbaum, Eaton-Krauss, Wüthrich (eds), *Pérégrinations*, 393-8 with including reference to checkers, diamonds, lozenges, scale, palace façade.

[100] Moreno García, in Favry *et al*. (eds), *Du Sinaï au Soudan*, 173-94.

[101] Morris, *JARCE* 47, 103.

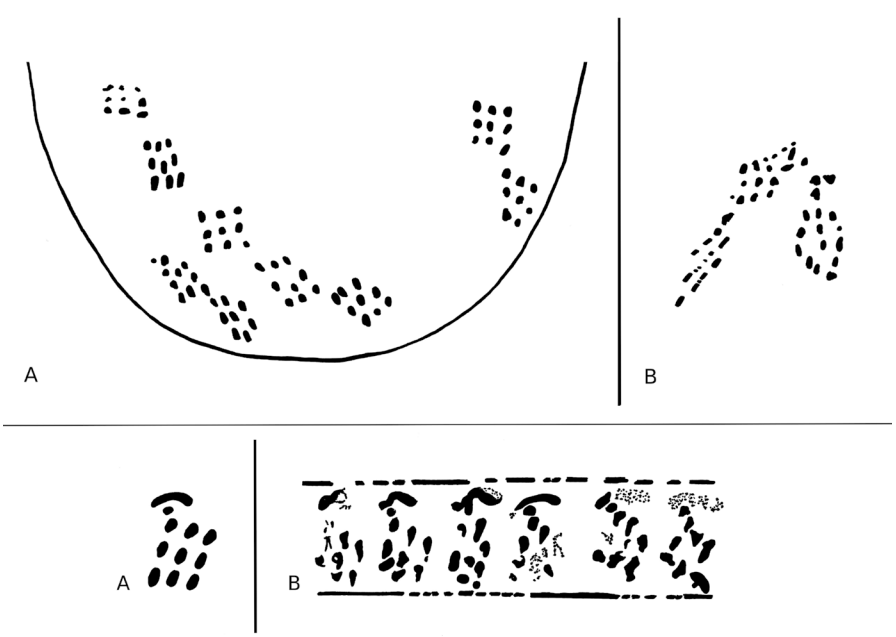


Fig. 23 – (left) Top (A) SMDAN 2441/2621. Dotted lozenge tattoos on the buttocks of the paddle doll. (B) Dotted tattoos in the centre of the back. Bottom (A) SMDAN 11031. Reconstructed marking from (B) dotted lozenge markings with 'hooked' head from across the chest of the paddle doll. Drawings: Angela Tooley

Fig. 24 – (right) SMDAN 4851. Dotted lozenge markings on the back of the figurine. Photo: © Proyecto Djehuty/José Latova

design on the front of the figurine is, as far as the authors are aware, without parallel, comprising an upper and lower horizontal band of square checkers framing a panel of vertical checkers and bands of herringbone and alternating spots. Some of the checkers appear to be yellow in colour but it is unclear whether this is the result of a yellow pigment or the decay of a green pigment, which it appears to be in some patches. The checker design itself is noteworthy for the dots placed in the plain alternating squares, a feature which is not seen on any other known paddle doll. The back of the figurine is divided into three zones by horizontal cross-hatched bands and subdivided by cross-over bands. In the second and third zones are dotted designs which are tattoos (see Fig. 23). In the lowest zone, three diagonal lines of dotted lozenges cover the buttocks region of the figurine: on the real left is one line of two lozenges below a row of five lozenges, on the right is a group of two lozenges. Each lozenge is composed of nine dots. In the zone above, in the small of the back, is a group of irregular marks, possibly poorly executed lozenges or perhaps leaf-shaped designs, composed of rows of four dots. Dotted lozenge tattoos are also found on SMDAN 4851 which, on the back of the figure in the lowest zone (the buttocks), has a group of three lozenges composed of nine dots (see Fig. 24).

Dotted lozenge tattoos are known from other Theban paddle dolls in diagonal lines across the buttock region,[102] as well as located on the shoulders, upper arms and across the chest.[103] Several of the paddle dolls from Asasif tomb MMA 816 have lozenge tattoos on their shoulders, chests and buttocks which are composed of twelve dots each rather than nine. Provenanced paddle dolls from sites other than the Theban necropolis do not appear to have lozenge shaped tattoos, perhaps indicating that this is a feature specific to this area.[104]

Dra Abu el-Naga figurine SMDAN 11031 (see Figs 9-10) is decorated with a complex design on both faces. On the front it has a suite of dotted lozenge markings, situated across the chest between horizontal bands of red and black cross-hatching and above the zone occupied by the nipples (see Fig. 23). At the waist and, above and below the navel between the subdivisions created by the complex multi-strand body chains are further

[102] Keimer, *Tatouage*, pl. XV.1 (MMA 31.3.35, Asasif tomb 816); Kaiser, *Ägyptisches Museum Berlin*, 45, Abb. 453 (ÄM 20203, Möller tomb 35). In this latter example, the dotted lozenges surround the image of a hippopotamus-lion deity.

[103] Keimer, *Tatouage*, pl. XV.3 (JE 56274, Asasif tomb 816). See also MMA 31.3.37.

[104] Two paddle dolls purchased from, and stated to be from Akhmim, appear to have markings on the shoulders and thighs composed of lines or dotted leaf shapes. Keimer, *Tatouage*, 27-8, pls XVI.R-V, XVII.R-V (Fondation Gandur pour l'Art, Geneva FGA-ARCH-EG-0272, ex- Marianne Maspero and Harer Foundation Trust collections. See Christie's, *Ancient Egyptian Art*, lot 8).

dotted tattoos. The markings across the chest comprise six more or less lozenge shapes, each of nine dots, but which differ from other such markings, not only in their placement, but in the addition of a hook or snake-like curved 'head' for which no parallel is known. At waist level a pair of similar markings is seen on the real right side and one of a pair on the left (the other is missing due to damage). It is unclear what is intended by these markings. The additional 'hooks' resemble the head of a snake. Alternatively, the ensemble of dots might depict a highly stylized horned animal.[105] The lozenge markings above and below the navel are composed of twelve dots each and lack the 'hook' and are therefore different from those on the chest and waist.

Two paddle dolls from Dra Abu el-Naga, SMDAN 3572 and 11031 feature figural drawings on their rear faces. Figural images appear on just over half of the dataset of provenanced paddle dolls, with a similar number among unprovenanced examples. Such images are usually placed on the rear or back of the figurines, although rarely, some images appear on the front. The repertoire includes birds,[106] dogs,[107] *caprids/caprinae*,[108] lions,[109] crocodiles[110] and a frog,[111] as well as images of sacred beings and rarely, of humans. This series of figural images recalls other contemporaneous corpora or creature series: the incised images adorning ivory birth tusks and faience figurines. There are similarities between the corpora and some overlaps but none of the image series are identical. The study undertaken by Miniaci of late Middle Kingdom faience figurines[112] has shown that the animals depicted in this series derive from the marsh environment and desert margins. This wild and chaotic environment is inhabited by jerboa, cats and hedgehogs[113] but mostly by harmless domestic animals. The danger of this environment is seen in the form of wild and dangerous creatures like hippopotami, crocodiles and lions. The marshland environment is a liminal zone between the desert and flood plain in which the figure of the herdsman offers protection and order out of chaos.[114] The creatures depicted on birth tusks however are often composite and fantastical and include a range of voracious, dangerous and fearful animals of the high desert and marshland margins, combining feline predators with amphibians[115] in order to effect protection based on the act of killing[116] – the creatures are depicted holding knives. This protection was aimed at women and children, throughout the day and night.[117]

By contrast, some of the images on paddle dolls such as *caprids*, lions and dogs evoke the desert margins or savanna, while images of birds, frogs and crocodiles evoke a marshland environment. Belonging to this group of animals is the image on the rear face of SMDAN 3572, a couchant, red-furred animal with an erect bushy tail (see Figs 18-19). The identification of the bushy-tailed animal is problematic since the front of the animal is missing. Certainly, the erect bushy tail and position of the hind leg resembles the hieroglyph for the hare (Gardiner E34). However, several other desert animals are depicted with a bushy tail including the fox, hyena and jackal.[118] Without the front end of the animal its identity must remain conjecture. The desert animals depicted on paddle dolls allude to the desert hunt (particularly as hunting dogs are also included), scenes of which are among the motifs included in some Middle Kingdom decorated tombs of the elite[119] and, unlike the creature series of birth tusks and faience figurines,[120] paddle dolls do include images of horned ungulates,[121] animals that predominate in the hunt imagery. Desert hunt scenes in private tombs are inspired by royal iconography of the king exerting his power over the agents of chaos.[122] However, the desert, the hunt and the creatures within can also be associated with solar renewal and the journey of the sun god through

[105] Such as an *ovicaprid* like a Barbary sheep or ungulate, like an ibex, which have distinctive curved horns. García Fernández, *TdE* 10, 99-100.
[106] New York, MMA 31.3.43. Morris, *JARCE* 47, 82, fig. 5, from tomb MMA 818 – three unidentified birds.
[107] Cairo, JE 43088a. Keimer, *Tatouage*, 29, fig. 21, from Möller tomb 25 – leaping dog wearing a collar, possibly a hunting dog.
[108] Cairo, JE 43088b. Keimer, *Tatouage*, 29, fig. 22, from Möller tomb 25 – long-horned caprid.
[109] See note 50. Couchant or passive lion.
[110] Geneva, FGA-ARCH-EG 0272. Keimer, *Tatouage*, 28, fig. 19, pl. XVII.5; Chappaz, *Corps et esprits*, 137, fig. 110, from Akhmim – curled crocodile. Like birth tusk imagery, crocodiles on paddle dolls take two forms: straight-tailed (*msḥ* – crocodile) or curved (*sꜣḳ* – 'to assemble'). The meaning of this latter designation is unclear, see Quirke, *Birth Tusks*, 388.
[111] Swansea, Egypt Centre W769. Unpublished – crouched frog.
[112] Miniaci, *Miniature Forms*.
[113] Miniaci, in Hudáková *et al*. (eds), *Art-facts and Artefacts*, 69-70, fig. 5.
[114] Miniaci, in Hudáková *et al*. (eds), *Art-facts and Artefacts*, 80.
[115] Quirke, *Birth Tusks*, 237-406; Miniaci, in Hudáková *et al*. (eds), *Art-facts and Artefacts*, 69.
[116] Quirke, *Birth Tusks*, 565-6; Miniaci, in Hudáková *et al*. (eds), *Art-facts and Artefacts*, 69.
[117] Quirke, *Birth Tusks*, 573, 576.
[118] See for instance, Blackman, *Meir*, vol. II, pls 8, 32 where the animal (standing) is identified as a jackal, *Canis lupercus* (?).
[119] Kamrin, *Cosmos*, 83-9, fig. IV.23.
[120] Miniaci, in Hudáková *et al*. (eds), *Art-facts and Artefacts*, 71.
[121] Cairo, TR 5.3.23.4, unprovenanced, Dorcas Gazelle: Keimer, *Tatouage*, 30, fig. 26 there stated to be a goat; Cairo, JE 43088b, Möller tomb 35, antelope: Keimer, *Tatouage*, 29, fig. 22.
[122] Kamrin, *Cosmos*, 88.

the underworld.[123] It is also possible that hunt animals are intended to evoke Hathor since certain horned herbivores are attested as being in the entourage of the goddess[124] as well animals into which she can transform.[125] As the animal depicted on SMDAN 3572 is part of the desert hunt and a Hathoric creature, then conceivably it is the rear end of a desert hare.[126]

The fragments SMDAN 4628 and 4928 were found to join and are now known collectively as SMDAN 11031. This highly decorated paddle doll depicts two giraffes on its rear face.[127] The back of the figurine is divided into three zones separated by horizontal bands of cross-hatching. The upper zone contains complex multi-strand body chains in red and black matching those on the front. The middle zone is dominated by a centrally placed standing giraffe (see Figs , 9-10, Pl. XV), outlined in black, its fur markings composed of red and black stripes on the neck and red dots on the body and legs. The lower real left section of the paddle doll is missing cutting through the middle of the giraffe's back with subsequent loss of its rear end. In the lower zone a second giraffe (see Pl. XVI) is depicted with the same conventions but in this case the animal is depicted with its foreleg loosely folded underneath the body and the neck hanging downward and ending before the figure of a man holding a long staff who is seated on a stool. The depiction of giraffes on a paddle doll is unique.

Images of giraffes in Egyptian art after the end of the Early Dynastic period are rarely found. The two giraffes on the Dra Abu el-Naga paddle doll increases the number of Middle Kingdom depictions two-fold. Since this is such an unusual subject matter in any context it is necessary to survey the surviving evidence for potential meaning(s).

It is likely that giraffes, as savanna animals, disappeared from the Nile Valley at the latest by the early Old Kingdom, more probably during the late Predynastic or Early Dynastic Period, forcing the species south into Sudan and beyond.[128] Giraffes feature prominently in rock art in the Nile Valley and at Dakhla and Kharga Oases particularly during the early Predynastic Period as petroglyphs often in large panel compositions.[129] Depicted in 'hunting' scenes, giraffes are shown standing, galloping, tethered by ropes[130] as well as apparently dead.[131] In later Predynastic Period compositions boats are introduced to the repertoire of images either with giraffes associated or entirely replacing them[132] so that giraffe petroglyphs disappear altogether. Naqada I/Amratian Period white cross-lined pottery, red-line Nagada II/Gerzean Period pottery, ivory combs and stone palettes also feature images of giraffes.[133] By the Naqada III/Terminal Predynastic Period and Dynasty Zero giraffe images appear on a range of elite objects, often in heraldic compositions of a palm tree between confronting giraffes, in pairs, in desert hunt scenes and in processions of wild animals on monumental palettes, and on knife and mace handles.[134]

While some images clearly portray a hunting environment[135] others seem to have a more esoteric quality leading to interpretations of the giraffe as a heliophorous creature associated with the daily cycle of the sun, as solar carriers and solar renewal.[136] A small number of prehistoric compositions in Upper Egypt appear to associate giraffes with images of early rulers. One such

[123] Kamrin, *Cosmos*, 88-9.
[124] Quack, in Riemer *et al*. (eds), *Desert Animals*, 347, n. 5. The animals include hartebeest, gazelle, hart, as well as hyena, wolf-jackal and lion.
[125] Quack, in Riemer *et al*. (eds), *Desert Animals*, 342-3, 356 gazelle.
[126] See Quirke, *Birth Tusks*, 515-6, 567. Although from a much later period, for the relationship between foxes and Hathor see, Darnell, *SAK* 22, 80, 87-8.
[127] For giraffe, *mmy*, Wb II, 58.14; Gardiner Sign E27. See also *sr*, Wb IV, 189.15-190.17.
[128] Huyge, *Nekhen News* 10, 9.
[129] Ikram, in Riemer *et al*. (eds), *Desert Animals*, 268 as the most commonly depicted species at Kharga Oasis; Polkowski, in Bowen, Hope (eds), *Oasis Papers* 9, 15 as the dominant species depicted at Dakhla Oasis; Huyge, in Friedman (ed.), *Egypt and Nubia*, 199 giraffe in the earliest rock art (Naqada I / Horizon I) at Elkab.
[130] See for instance, Ikram, in Riemer *et al*. (eds), *Desert Animals*, 269, fig. 2; van Hoek, *Sahara* 14, 49-62 'giraffe à lien', possibly as evidence of domestication or concern for water.
[131] Polkowski, in Kabacinski *et al*. (eds), *Desert and the Nile*, 698-701, 704, figs 7, 10-13 so-called 'sitting giraffes', depicted standing at right angles, are animals killed in the hunt.
[132] Darnell, *Archéo-Nil* 19, 90-1, 96.
[133] Huyge, *Nekhen News* 10, 9, see the figure on p. 5 for an incised giraffe on a pottery vessel from a grave in HK 43 burial 104.
[134] Huyge, *Nekhen News* 10, 9, ills. 10 which is the Four Dogs Palette, Paris, Louvre E 11052. See also the battlefield Palette, BM EA20791, Spencer, *Early Egypt*, fig. 35. The giraffe on the Two Dog Palette, Oxford, Ashmolean AN1896-1908 E.3924 has a single giraffe on its reverse side as part of a hunting scene, Whitehouse, *Ancient Egypt*, 15, ills. 30-1.
[135] As in pharaonic art, domination of wild animals is interpreted as bringing order to chaos. The hunts depicted are ritual rather than subsistence; symbolic control over forces of chaos rather than acquisition of food.
[136] Ikram, in Riemer *et al*. (eds), *Desert Animals*, 269; Huyge, in Friedman (ed.), *Egypt and Nubia*, 199-201 largely following the interpretations of Westendorf (see references cited); Darnell, *Archéo-Nil* 19, 86, 89, 94. Identification as a Sethian creature has been refuted, see for instance, McDonald, in McDonald, Riggs, *Current Research*, 75-81; Polkowski, in Bowen, Hope (eds), *Oasis Papers* 9, 145.

is the Naqada I/II panel at Wadi Shatt el-Rigal.[137] The panel comprises at least twenty-eight giraffes oriented towards the Nile. A centrally placed human figure with a tall headdress may be a chieftain who holds the tether rope of the largest giraffe whose neck, like nine other giraffes, is held at a near 90º angle (almost horizontal). Directly above the Predynastic panel is a panel depicting Nebhepetre Mentuhotep II accompanied by his mother, Iah and facing the god's father, Intef accompanied by the chancellor Khety, the: 'careful and precise placement of the dynastic scene reveals a respect for, and awareness of, the older rock art, into which context the latter was engraved as an intentional claim for power and landscape appropriation'.[138] Another early ruler is depicted in a late Dynasty Zero panel at Nag el-Hamdulab (Aswan) in a boat procession.[139] Part of this procession includes a boat with a single large giraffe above it. The juxtaposition of the giraffe and king recalls the heraldic opposition of the palm and confronted giraffes seen on monumental palettes and in rock art in the Theban Western Desert.[140] In these images, the palm tree may be a royal symbol[141] but the giraffes have a clear solar significance.[142] The: 'earlier hunting scenes develop into more clearly expressed depictions of the subjugation of chaos, both terrestrial and cosmic'[143] and expressions of royalty and unity. Similarly, the juxtaposition of giraffe and boat motifs represents the imagery of solar carrier.[144]

It is unclear what giraffes meant by the time of the Middle Kingdom since pharaonic depictions of giraffes before the New Kingdom are rare. They had been long absent from the Nile Valley but the craftsman who painted the two giraffes on SMDAN 11031 clearly knew what a giraffe looked like and may have witnessed live animals (captive or wild) or had seen images of them, perhaps in the Old Kingdom royal monuments[145] or Predynastic Period rock-art panels. There are only two Middle Kingdom representations of giraffes that survive in the archaeological record, both belonging to the early Twelfth Dynasty. The pyramid causeway of Senwosret I at Lisht preserves fragments of a tribute scene depicting a Nubian handler with a small giraffe.[146] Tomb B2 at Meir, belonging to Ukhhotep son of Senbi (Senwosret I/Amenemhat II) contains a desert hunting scene in which a giraffe is placed between images of hunting dogs attacking an ibex and a jackal chasing a fallow deer.[147] This hunting scene is ambiguous since the giraffe is not being attacked. By the Middle Kingdom, the giraffe had become an exotic 'other' creature from foreign lands[148] and remained so into the New Kingdom when it again figures occasionally in processions of foreign tribute.[149] The scene on the paddle doll depicts two giraffes in two different circumstances: one is erect and walking (active) and the other is prone (inactive). Whether the prone giraffe is interacting with the male seated figure is unclear. It is also unclear whether the giraffe is resting, sleeping or dead. The man is seated on a stool (see Figs 9-10, Pl. XVI) and in his outstretched hand is a staff, clearly visible at the top closest to the giraffe's head but continuing to the edge of the paddle doll in front of his foot. Therefore the stick being held is a long staff which indicates authority, power and status. Perhaps, rather than interacting directly with the prone giraffe,[150] the man can be viewed in much the same way as the image of the tomb owner who oversees all that is laid out before him. The

[137] Petrie, *A Season in Egypt*, pl. 16, no. 489; Nilsson, Ward, *Ancient Egypt* 120, 34-41, ills. 36.
[138] Nilsson, Ward, *Ancient Egypt* 120, 41.
[139] Site 7, Tableau 7a, Hendrickx *et al*., in Huyge, van Noten, Swinne (eds), *The Signs of Which Times?*, 296-301, figs 1-4.
[140] Hendrickx *et al*., in Huyge, van Noten, Swinne (eds), *The Signs of Which Times?*, 302; Darnell, *Archéo-Nil* 19, for the Rayaynan region of the Theban Western Desert, addorsed giraffes 86, fig. 6.
[141] Darnell, *Archéo-Nil* 19, 89.
[142] Hendrickx *et al*., in Huyge, van Noten, Swinne (eds), *The Signs of Which Times?*, 302
[143] Darnell, *Archéo-Nil* 19, 90.
[144] Darnell, *Archéo-Nil* 19, 90-1; Hendrickx *et al*., in Huyge, van Noten, Swinne (eds), *The Signs of Which Times?*, 302.
[145] Old Kingdom giraffe representations: Fifth Dynasty, Niuserre, Abu Gurob Sun Temple, 'Hall of Seasons' (inundation season/akhet), Edel, Wenig, *Die Jahreszeitenreliefs*, pl. 1; Fifth Dynasty, Unas, Saqqara pyramid causeway, north wall desert hunt scene, Hassan, *ZÄS* 80, 138, pl. XIII.1. A small pottery head identified as a giraffe was excavated south of the mortuary temple of Khafre at Giza in 1935, Cairo TR 11.5.46.9, http://giza.fas.harvard.edu/objects/62669/full/ <accessed 05/12/2020>. It is unclear whether this object is contemporary with the pyramid or intrusive.
[146] Boston, MFA 54.644. See Cannuyer, *La girafe*, 145-6, figs 72-3.
[147] Blackman, *Meir*, vol. II, 19, 20, pls 8, 32.1.
[148] In the Tale of the Shipwrecked Sailor giraffe tails are among the exotic precious commodities that are given to the sailor by the Lord of Punt, Lichtheim, *Ancient Egyptian Literature*, vol. I, 214. Apart from ivory and shell furniture inlays depicting giraffes, bracelets of giraffe hair feature in Kerma Culture contemporary with the Egyptian Second Intermediate Period, e.g. Boston, MFA 20.1777 from Tumulus K X-B. The use of the giraffe as a determinative in the word *sr*, usually translated as 'foretell' (Wb IV, 189.5-190.1) adds to its exoticism suggesting an ability to foresee. See however, Cannuyer, *La giraffe.*
[149] For instance, Davies, *Paintings*, pls 7, 22 a giraffe among other exotic tribute brought by Nubians in the tomb of Rekhmire, TT100 at Thebes, Eighteenth Dynasty.
[150] The figure, for instance, is not threatening the giraffe or subduing it by holding a tether. Dominance is obtained by virtue of occupying a position of authority and possessing a staff of authority.

two giraffes can be seen on the one hand as animals of the desert, representatives of chaos in the same way as other animals depicted in desert hunts and on paddle dolls, over whom order is imposed in the figure of the seated man. On the other hand, the giraffe can be interpreted as a solar animal seen in two aspects; in the upper register the emphasis is on activity and the lower register as inactivity or as the cycle of day and night.[151] In either case, protection is generated by control of chaotic and potentially harmful forces and by invoking renewal and protection through the renewal of the solar cycle.

Images of human figures on paddle dolls are rare. Including SMDAN 11031, only four examples are known. In our example the figure is male (see Figs 9-10, Pl. XVI), outlined in black, with details of the hair, staff and stool in black, the skin is rather carelessly coloured in red. However, the eye is carefully indicated as is the profile of the mouth. The area representing the kilt preserves no trace of colour. The figure of a seated man facing to the right is placed in the lowest section of the paddle doll, in an area delimited by the curve of the bottom of the figurine. His legs are unrealistically tucked up due to the curve of the space in which he is drawn. One arm is outstretched, the hand holding the upper end of a long straight stick or staff.[152] The head of the lower giraffe hangs in front of the man, whose pose as noted above, recalls that of the tomb owner seated before registers of activities over which he has authority and supervision. It is perhaps in this light that the interaction between the lower giraffe and the man is to be seen.

An unprovenanced paddle doll, Brooklyn, 37.101E, depicts on its rear face an image of a standing hippopotamus-lion deity with another creature, possibly a lion, standing on its back in the middle torso section of the figurine. In the lower curved section are two 'stick' figures, one in red, the other in black, which appear to be male and female, in what can best be described as an intimate embrace. Both figures are sitting upright, their arms and legs entwined. This scene has been interpreted as one of copulation with obvious conception implications.[153] The second figural image appears on another unprovenanced paddle doll, Cairo TR 5.3.23.10.[154] The rear of the figurine preserves the image of a standing man(?) and a bovid(?).[155] Without sight of this composition, nothing of value can be noted beyond its existence. Besides the rare human figure depicted on this paddle doll, is a unique inscription in hieratic.[156] The text as recorded by Keimer appears to contain the word *wnw*, which can have the meaning of child or unborn child (foetus).[157] Again, without sight of the figurine and the full inscription, little more can be stated other than that the text appears to relate to an unborn child. A third human figure is from Asasif.[158] The outline image depicts a person in a sitting pose with one arm outstretched resembling the SMDAN 11031 example but facing the other way.

The most frequently found image on paddle dolls is that of the erect hippopotamus-lion deity which is conspicuous by its absence from Dra Abu el-Naga paddle dolls. This figure, often referred to as Taweret (or Thoueris), a name applied to a hippopotamus deity during the New Kingdom, is not named as such during the Middle Kingdom. Images of a deity which is a composite of hippopotamus body and head, the mane and legs of a lion and the dorsal ridge of a crocodile are a fusion of marsh and high desert powers.[159] This creature is frequently depicted holding a knife but on ivory birth tusks can also be associated with *ꜥnḫ* and *s3* signs as well as holding or biting snakes.[160] When named on birth tusks the images are called *rr*, meaning 'boar' but with the meaning of *rrt* 'sow'[161] or 'female hippopotamus' perhaps as a deliberate ambivalence towards the gendering and function of the figure.[162] Similar images are seen in the Book of Two Ways, guarding the waterway route, as befits amphibian creatures, who are la-

[151] In the wild giraffes lie down for brief periods to sleep. Young giraffes (calves) lie down more frequently than adults. In this position, rumination may take place. The legs are tucked beside the body. See, Dagg, *Giraffe*, 72-5, 130, 160; Shorrocks, *The Giraffe*, 76-7, 89, 100-1, 103.

[152] DStretch reveals that the staff is long and terminates at the edge of the paddle doll. No indication of a tether can be seen either associated with the man's hand, staff or the giraffe's neck.

[153] Beha, Donnat, in Donnat, Hunziker-Rodewald, Weygand (eds), *Figurines Féminines Nues*, 59-60, n. 19.

[154] This object is not available for study. Information regarding its decoration relies almost entirely on brief notes made by Keimer and an indistinct archive photograph available to the authors.

[155] Keimer, *Tatouage*, 30, '*Sur le verso: une figuration humaine et un animal (vache ?), le tout très sommaire*'.

[156] Keimer, *Tatouage*, 30, fig. 27; Beha, Donnat, in Donnat, Hunziker-Rodewald, Weygand (eds), *Figurines Féminines Nues*, 63.

[157] Wb I, 315.10-12.

[158] Graefe, *Die Doppelgrabanlage*, 41, 100, Kat. 219, O-Taf. 26. Central fragment of a 22.6 cm high paddle doll found in burial chamber K of the Middle Kingdom tomb below TT196.

[159] Quirke, *Birth Tusks*, 327-34, § 4.1. Hippopotamus-lion, motif no.1, in particular 327.

[160] Quirke, *Birth Tusks*, 328-9.

[161] Wb II, 438.7 *rr*; Wb II, 438.8-11 *rr.t*.

[162] Quirke, *Birth Tusks*, 329. See also, *irr* with the meaning of *rr*, *op. cit.*, 330. In a Twenty-second Dynasty text, on the back pillar of a hippopotamus deity, Louvre E 25479, Reret is one '*who attacks with her roar, who eats him who oppresses her, with a loud voice, roaring, protecting (the one) who has come out of her womb (the All-Lord)*', Jansen-Winkeln, *SAK* 33, 140-6, figs 5-6, Taf. 9-11.

belled *ꜥ3-ḥr*, 'Great-Face'[163] and *ꜥš3-ḥrw*, 'Many-Faced'.[164] Unlike the hippopotamus of the birth tusks, some of those on paddle dolls carry a short horizontal staff or hold a long staff in front on them instead of a knife. The wielding of a staff in female images is unusual and lends authority to the power of the image.[165] A hippopotamus deity found in the Pyramid Texts is named *ipy*, who acts as divine nurse to the king and whose milk affords protection.[166] These early hippopotamus deities are hybrids which fuse the marsh and desert environments, ambiguous in nature, both dangerous and protective against hostile forces, bringing order over chaos and ensuring daily solar renewal, having power over life and death, protecting the living and nurturing the dead, having significance in both spheres in equal proportions.[167]

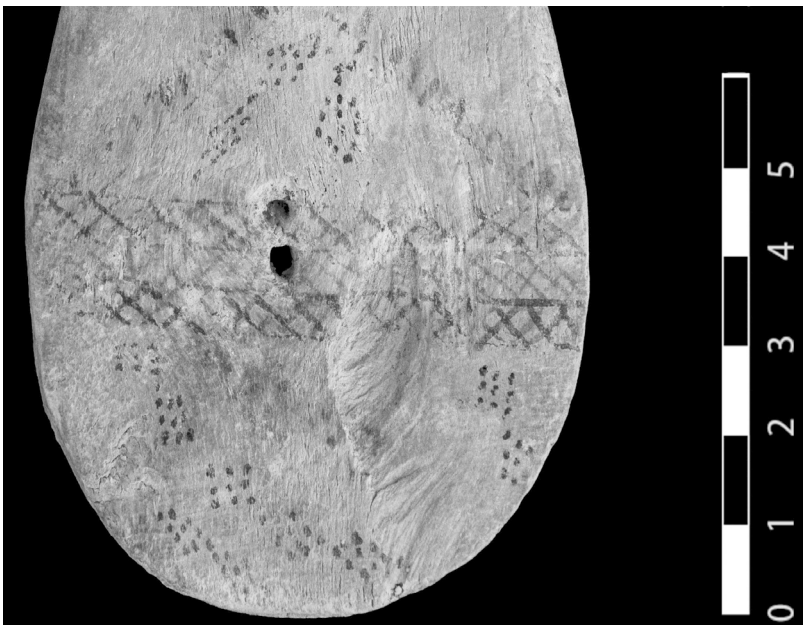


Fig. 25 – Possible evidence of use wear – gouges and drilled holes on SMDAN 2441. Photo: © Proyecto Djehuty/Carmen Ruiz

Gouges and holes - evidence of use-wear?

Three paddle dolls in particular demonstrate noticeable grooves, scratching and holes which may be evidence of use-wear: SMDAN 4851 (gouging), 2441/2621 (gouging and holes) and 9263 (holes). Although wear is sometimes noted in museum online catalogues without further elaboration or explanation and occasionally rodent damage suggested for some losses, no scientific analysis of use-wear has been applied to paddle dolls, leaving the question of how these figurines were employed open. Winlock noted that some of the paddle dolls he excavated at Asasif and Deir el-Bahri 'had seen hard use', which he put down to them being toys.[168] Morris mentions use-wear analysis but this seems to consist only of annotated tomb cards referring to signs of wear and broken edges.[169] Around 39% of the dataset paddle dolls and 34% of known unprovenanced examples exhibit some sort of damage which appears to be deliberate. This takes the form of gouging the wood, chipping the edges, scratching lines and the drilling of holes, frequently in pairs.

Gouging of the surface (see Fig. 25) is particularly evident on the rear of SMDAN 2441/2621 in the lower right section with a smaller gouge to the left. Another diagonal gouge reaches from the edge of the figurine to the chest on the front face. This damage appears to have been done prior to the decoration of the paddle doll since the design on both faces overlies the damage. This begs the question of whether the figurine has been damaged deliberately or whether it has simply been made from an uneven and unsmoothed piece of wood.[170]

[163] CT1069, as guardian of the barque or Re, de Buck, *Coffin Texts* 7, VII, 331c, plan 1; Faulkner, *Coffin Texts*, vol. III, 143-4.

[164] CT1179, de Buck, *Coffin Texts* 7, VII, 517a, plan 14; Faulkner, *Coffin Texts*, vol. III, 188 as one '*who created thunder, who mounts up to Re and repels the strength of Apep, who splits open the sky and drives away storm, and who nourishes the crews of Re*'.

[165] Spieser, *CdE* 84, 9-10.

[166] Pyr. 269 §381/382, '*O my mother Ipy, give me this breast of yours, that I may apply it to my mouth and suck this your white, gleaming, sweet milk. As for yonder land in which I walk, I will neither thirst nor hunger in it forever*', after Faulkner. Faulkner, *Pyramid Texts*, 78; Weingarten, *Transformation*, 10; Velasco Pírez, in Abd el Gawad *et al*. (eds), *Current Research*, 215. For Ipy/Ipet see Wilkinson, *Complete Gods*, 184.

[167] Contra Beha, Donnat, in Donnat, Hunziker-Rodewald, Weygand (eds), *Figurines Féminines Nues*, 63 '*La divinité est compétente dans le domaine de la naissance et de la défense de l'enfant, pas dans le champ de la renaissance symbolique*'. For Ipet in the funerary sphere see, Spieser, *CdE* 84, 18; Velasco Pírez, in Abd el Gawad *et al*. (eds), *Current Research*, 215-6; Wilkinson, *Complete Gods*, 184; Graves-Brown, *Daemons and Spirits*, 46.

[168] Winlock, *Excavations*, 207.

[169] Morris, *JARCE* 47, 71-2, n. 3, specifically New York, MMA 31.3.43 from tomb 818 and Cairo JE 56276 from tomb 816.

[170] For a similarly overpainted groove, see Boston, MFA 13.5100, Sheikh Farag? This paddle doll also has paired drilled holes in the front face which breach the hippopotamus-lion image on the rear face and chippings around the lower section. Diagonal scratches can also be observed in SMDAN 3572 above the animal image. Similar diagonal scratches are clearly visible on Brooklyn 37.102.

The second form of damage exhibited by this figurine is composed of two drilled holes in the rear face (see Fig. 25), one piercing through to the front, in an arrangement resembling an inverted keyhole. The larger of the two holes breaches the front face and here it appears that some repairs may have taken place prior to decoration since the wood at this point appears somewhat like a knot that has received some plaster infill as a repair. The position of the drilled holes in many cases is off-centre above the pubis in the region of the lower abdomen.[171] Pairs of drilled holes are by far the most frequently occurring damage seen. The holes comprise a larger hole, often piercing through the thickness of the wood with a smaller often superficial hole above forming a distinctive inverted keyhole pattern. Single holes and keyhole pairs placed in the upper torso are also found.

Scrapings, flakes and chips of wood as well as sawdust may have been taken from the figurines as part of a ritual. It is known from medical papyri that wood in the form of sawdust (*ws.t*),[172] flour/powder (*dḳw*),[173] twigs and pieces (*ḫt*)[174] were used in prescriptions to treat a wide range of ailments in both sexes.[175] That some paddle dolls were excessively used in some capacity is evidenced by MMA 31.3.43 from Asasif tomb 818 which is heavily abraded and rubbed around the outer edge, changing the profile of the figure,[176] while others appear pristine and untouched. Exactly when damage occurred (before, during or after the funeral), by whom and for what purpose (medicinal or ritual) cannot be known.

Summary and Conclusions

Paddle dolls are found in mortuary deposits[177] either directly outside the tomb[178] or within the tomb structure itself,[179] both physical contexts in which the Dra Abu el-Naga fragments were found. Associated pottery suggests that they date between the Twelfth and Thirteenth Dynasties. Wood analysis has shown that durable wood types (acacia/*Ziziphus*) were preferred over local timbers or imported softwoods (coniferous), perhaps chosen for their mythological significance.[180] An important contribution to the study of paddle dolls and Middle Kingdom material culture is the addition to the repertoire of unique decorative elements: hook-headed dotted lozenge tattoos, and images of giraffes and a seated male figure.

Paddle dolls were utilized in different ways under different circumstances and contexts. Their decoration is predominantly ritualistic, Hathoric and solar. The images invoke the liminal spaces of desert and marshland environments, places of transition – imagery which is as relevant in a mortuary context as in the world of the living. Certain avenues of investigation touched upon in this paper require further research, nevertheless the Dra Abu el-Naga paddle dolls have increased our understanding of this genre of figurine and are outstanding for their range of unique features.

ADDENDUM

In 2021, as this paper was in press, the Spanish Mission celebrated its 20th archaeological season at Dra Abu el-Naga. In the closing days of the season another significant fragment of paddle doll was retrieved from sector

[171] Brooklyn, 37.105E, unprovenanced, has a hole off-centre at navel level which has been patched with plaster and painted over in similar fashion.
[172] Wb I, 358.15.
[173] Wb V, 494.15.
[174] Wb III, 339.10-340.9.
[175] For instance, pEbers, remedies 663 and 789 call for pine sawdust, Lalanne, Métra, *Le Texte Médical*, 171, 191; 272 calls for jujube wood, while 479 for jujube flour/powder, Lalanne, Métra, *Le Texte Médical*, 103, 139; 848 calls for a twig of acacia, Lalanne, Métra, *Le Texte Médical*, 201; acacia sawdust is an ingredient in remedy R 11,8 of the Louvre Medical Papyrus, E 32847, Bardinet, *Médecins et Magiciens*, 307. Middle Kingdom remedies likewise incorporated wood products. In the Kahun Medical Papyrus, UC32057, Case 25 Column 3, 9-11 is a spell including a remedy for an unknown wood called *ḫpr-wr*-wood grated onto the left side of a birth brick, Collier, Quirke, *The UCL Lahun Papyri*, 58, 63: *ḫpr-wr*, a medicinal, a product of the Wadi Natrun, Wb III, 267.3.
[176] See Morris, *JARCE* 47, fig. 55.
[177] The single example which is known to have been found within a settlement context is excavation no. 6115a from Bereich I / Area I – Häusergruppe-Sûd, on Elephantine Island in a New Kingdom and therefore secondary context, Kopp, *MDAIK* 61, 84-5, Abb. 27.4.
[178] See for instance, New York MMA 15.10.90 from Asasif tomb MMA 828 found in 'rubbish in front of the tomb', https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search <accessed 01/02/2021>; 0/1416, a paddle doll found in the forecourt of Qubbet el-Hawa tomb QH88, Edel, *Die Felsgräbernekropole*, 992-3, fig. 19, 24.
[179] For instance, the intact tomb Möller 35 at Thebes which contained a total of twenty-three paddle dolls, five with burial A, fifteen with burial C, two with burial D and one with burial E, arranged next to the coffins in the burial chamber, Anthes, *MDAIK* 12, 8-9, 14.
[180] On the ancient origins of the relationship between the acacia, the *ḫnr*, hunting, butchery and offering rituals see the intriguing argument by Hendrickx *et al*. in Riemer *et al*., *Desert Animals*, 212-19, 231.

11, in the area at the foot of the causeway to TT11.[181] Catalogued above under this location are paddle dolls listed as 'miscellaneous'. Added to these is now the following:

18. *Paddle doll fragment SMDAN 9336* (see Figs 26-7, Pl. XVII)
Dimensions: h. 8.5 cm, w. 4.4 cm, d. 0.9 cm
Weight: 6.6 g
Material: wood – not identified[182]
Find location: SU 1259, grid ref. 99E, sector 11 – surface debris
Description: The fragment, 0.9 cm thick, represents the upper section of a paddle doll, unevenly broken midway through the torso. The real left shoulder and upper arm are preserved while the right is lost. Sufficient of the left arm remains to suggest that it was of the short triangular type. The head and neck are formed from a long rectangular tab. The state of preservation is generally good with decoration in black and red visible on both faces.

The front of the torso from the level of the armpits is decorated by five alternating black and red horizontal cross-hatch bands. The front of the figurine is dominated by two large *wadjet*-like eyes covering the entire décolletage, meaning the upper chest from shoulders to armpits, and from upper arm to upper arm across the chest. The large eyes, c. 2-3 cm wide, are outlined in black and meet in the middle, with a black cosmetic line extending to the side on the fully preserved eye on the real left side. Touches of red are visible at the inner and out canthi of each eye. Above each eye and meeting in the middle are two eyebrows in black, one with long cosmetic tail preserved. The iris of each eye is circular and black, although that on the left is somewhat obscured. Below each eye is what appears to be the stepped appendage of the *wadjet*-eye. Here, however, the appendage, which touches the top of the dress, has a crossbar and looped top which approximates an *ankh*-sign. Since the preservation of the wood and surface decoration at this point is damaged, this detail remains unclear. The eyes are not true *wadjet*-eyes because they do not have the spiral bow.

On the back of the figurine are two horizontal bands of red and black cross-hatch, below which are the upper sections of cross-over bands decorated in blocks of red and black rectangles.

A circular hole on the right front passes through the figure diagonally and emerges off-centre at the back. It should be noted that a horizontal groove incised into the front of the head tab is probably where the wig of the paddle doll had been attached.[183]

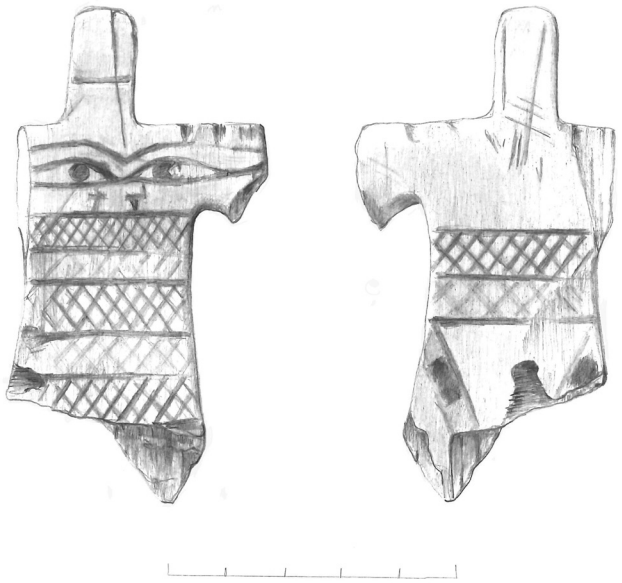


Fig. 26 – (upper) SMDAN 9336 paddle doll fragment. Photo: © Proyecto Djehuty/Carmen Ruiz
Fig. 27 – (lower) SMDAN 9336 paddle doll fragment. Drawing: © Proyecto Djehuty/Pía Rodríguez Frade

Comments: The fragment was retrieved from a surface layer of limestone chippings which also contained pot-

[181] The authors would like to thank the editors for permitting this addendum at short notice.
[182] The fragment has not been scientifically examined. The colour of the wood, its close grain and weight suggest a dense timber, possibly Acacia or *Ziziphus*. This, however, remains to be confirmed.
[183] See the research of Megan Clark: Paddle Dolls in Ancient Egypt: Gaudy or Godly? - Zoom lecture (12 May 2020), https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=E1qodHVG__8&t=8s, <accessed 12/05/2020>.

tery mainly from the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Dynasties, a few from the Twenty-fifth and Twenty-sixth Dynasties and very little of Middle Kingdom date comprising a mixed and disturbed context. SMDAN 9336 was located in grid ref. 99E directly adjacent to 0E (see Figs 1-2; grid ref. 99E is southwest of 0E) where paddle doll fragments SMDAN 9265 and 9247 were found.

The decorative design of alternating red and black horizontal bands of cross-hatching is also known from two complete paddle dolls, both unprovenanced: Cambridge, Fitz. E.50.1946[184] and on a paddle doll in the Egyptian Museum, Cairo.[185]

The motif of a pair of large eyes across the entire upper chest and shoulders of a paddle doll is thus far unique.[186] Whether the eyes are sacred or human is open to debate since they have a lower appendage but no spiral bow.[187] The lower appendage is not the usual stepped marking but appears to be a pair of small pendant *ankh*-signs[188] or at least vertical marks with a clear crossbar halfway down, the head of the marking being uncertain. Contemporary depictions of the *wadjet* and human eye on objects include in the lunette at the top of stelae, on wooden coffins in the eye-panel, in object friezes particularly on depictions of mirror disks and standard handles,[189] on the blades of model steering oars, on birth tusks[190] and as amulets. In several of these instances the *wadjet* and human eye are used interchangeably having the same meaning and function.[191] On stelae the image of a pair of eyes can be interpreted as the eyes of a supreme deity whose power, by their depiction, is transferred to the stela/stela owner[192] who wishes to see through them[193] or the means by which the deity can watch over/look favourably upon the stelae owner.[194]

It might be considered that the large pair of eyes at the top edge of the paddle doll are the eyes of the figurine itself. The hair or wig of the figurine would have been secured to the rectangular head leaving the eyes looking out below. However, had this been the case it might have been expected that other figurines would have sought the same solution rather than the known applied clay or resin heads with bead faces or the rudimentary painted features on some other examples.[195] A parallel to the prominent eyes drawn across the throat and upper chest region (décolletage/décolleté) is the mummified torso of a New Kingdom woman discovered at Deir el-Medina whose skin bears many tattoos including a group of *wadjet*-eyes placed on the throat or lower neck.[196] So numerous and specific are the tattoos on this woman that she has been interpreted as possibly being a *rḫyt* – a knowing woman or wise woman, perhaps consulted as a kind of healer or ritualist, a medico-magical practitioner.[197] The placement of these powerful images upon her throat would imbue her vocalisations with particular potency.[198] It is perhaps in this light that SMDAN 9336 should be viewed; as depicting a woman of special significance within her community, the figurine itself sacred not mundane.

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[184] Unpublished. Bequeathed by Robert Mond.

[185] Identified on a pre-1980s archive photograph in the possession of Angela Tooley as being in a group of figurines listed in the Temporary Register (TR); Keimer, *Tatouage*, 31 relating to TR 5/3/23/6 to 5/3/23/9.

[186] Cairo, TR 5/3/23/2, wears a small single eye as a pendant on a short necklace. Keimer, *Tatouage*, 29, fig. 23.

[187] Non-standard arrangements, although scarce, do exist. For instance, the reversed spiral bow on three stelae probably from Abydos: Rosatti, in Buzi, Picchi, Zecchi (eds), *Aegyptiaca*, 311-12, figs 4-5, tav. 1-2.

[188] The combination of *wadjet* or human eye motif and *ankh*-sign is known from contemporary stelae, however there the motif is a single *ankh*-sign between a pair of eyes: Hölzl, *Giebelfelddekoration*, 17, 27.

[189] Lilyquist, *Mirrors*, 48, 71, figs 141-2; see also model mirrors with eyes on the disk: *ibid*., 33, 47, 70, 82, fig. 71.

[190] Quirke, *Birth Tusks*, 367-8 where the *wadjet*-eye is considered to be part of a combination with baboons and not as an independent element in the decorative scheme of birth tusks as Motif 18 (364-6, figs 4.87-88).

[191] E.g. eyes within the lunette of stelae: Hölzl, *Giebelfelddekoration*, 31-3; Franke, Marée, *Egyptian Stelae*, 81. A similar conclusion is drawn by Pinch regarding the New Kingdom images of eyes on votive stelae, as model eyes, votive *wadjet* eyes and eye plaques: Pinch, *Votive Offerings*, 258-9.

[192] Hölzl, *Giebelfelddekoration*, 32.

[193] Franke, Marée, *Egyptian Stelae*, 81.

[194] Pinch, *Votive Offerings*, 258-9. Pinch notes that eyes are particularly appropriate in the case of Hathor who is the Solar Eye, all-seeing, protective, defeater of the enemies of the Sun god.

[195] For instance, the rudimentary eyes drawn at the top edge of the head protrusion of SMDAN 11031 (see Fig. 10).

[196] Austin, Gobeil, *BIFAO* 116, 27-8 tattoos T3 and T4, table 1, figs 1-3.

[197] Austin, Gobeil, *BIFAO* 116, 34-5.

[198] Austin, Gobeil, *BIFAO* 116, 28. The remains are not those of an ill person therefore their presence is not curative.

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Middle Kingdom Coffins and Coffin Fragments in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge

Wolfram Grajetzki

Abstract

This is the publication of Middle Kingdom coffins and coffin fragments in the Fitzwilliam Museum in Cambridge. The museum houses a substantial - but little known - collection of coffins, many coming from the Garstang excavation in Beni Hasan. The coffins present a good sample of Middle Kingdom 'standard coffins'. The coffin of the lady Nakht is decorated with an otherwise rarely found Pyramid Text spell. The article is the second part of the discussion of local coffins presented in 2016 (in the journal Egitto e Vicino Oriente *39). The main aim is to present photos and the archaeological context.*

E.W.82

Coffin fragment (see Fig. 1; Pls XX-XXI)
Date: Dynasty XII
Provenance: most likely Asyut
Material: wood
Dimensions: 8 x 72.3 cm
Bibliography: Bourriau, *Pharaohs and Mortals*, 84, no. 66
Dawson, Strudwick, *Death on the Nile*, 41, fig. 26, 148-149. cat. no. 14
Grajetzki, *EVO* 39, 34, fig. 8
Hannig, *Zur Paläographie der Särge aus Assiut*, 521 (S1Cam)
Zitman, M., *The Necropolis of Assiut*, vol. II, 112-13

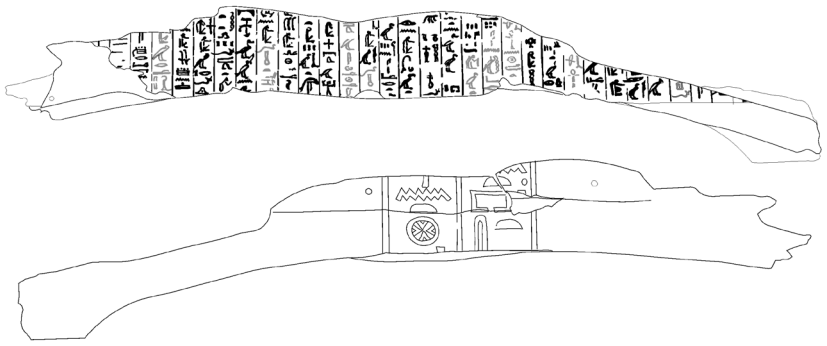


Fig. 1 – Fragment E.W.82

Description: Fragment of a coffin, once belonging to a woman (according to the grammatical endings in the religious texts on the coffin inside). The inside is decorated with coffin text spells (CT 203, 204, 574, 210).[1]

Outside: The outside is painted yellow. There are double lines painted green with parts of biographical phrases: *ḥzt nt nwt.s mi ḳd.s* (honoured of the whole town) and *im3ḫyt ḫr rnnwtt nt pr.s* (revered one of Renenutet of her house). Both phrases are also known from other Middle Kingdom coffins found at Asyut.[2]

[1] de Buck, *The Egyptian Coffin Texts. Chicag*o.

[2] Lapp, *Typologie*, S12, S33, S49, S58.

Inside: The inside is decorated with long religious texts (see the table below). The same sequence of coffin texts as on this fragment is to be found on the coffin of Mesehti (S1C) from Asyut. Although the spells are only badly preserved, it is clear that they follow closely the versions on the better preserved coffin of Mesehti. Especially CT 203 has on the coffin of Mesehti an extension, which also appears on the Cambridge coffin.

The coffin fragment is also decorated on the outside with double lines, only known from Asyut and Rifeh. The coffin fragment was 'found' in the museum store together with E.W.66.a, b which most likely comes from Asyut.

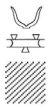
Column	Reference to de Buck
7	III, 136b (CT 203)
8	III, 136g (CT 203)
9	III, 136i-j (CT 203)
10	III, 137a (CT 203)
11	III, 137d (CT 203)
12	III, 137, d-f (CT 203)
13	III, 137h (CT 203)
14	III, 137i-j (CT 203)
15	III, 138a (CT 203)
16	III, 138q (CT 203)
17	III, 139c (CT 203)
18	III, 139e (CT 203)
19	III, 139g (CT 203-204)
20	III, 139i (CT 204)
21	III, 140f (CT 204)
22	III, 141e (CT 204)
23	III, 142a-b (CT 204)
24	III, 142d; VII, 183f (CT 204, 574)
25	VII, 183j-h (CT 574)
26	VII, 184b-c (CT 574)
27	VII, 184e-f (CT 574)
28	VII, 184h (CT 574)
29	VII, 184j (CT 574)
30	III, 164d (CT 210)

E.W.66.a, b

Coffin fragments. No records on acquisition (see Fig. 2; Pls XVIII-XIX)
Date: mid to late Dynasty XII
Provenance: most likely Asyut
Material: wood, stuccoed on the outside and painted. The inside is undecorated.
Dimensions: 8.8 cm x 75 cm (a); 6 x 72 cm (b)
Bibliography: Bourriau, *Pharaohs*, 87-8, no. 67
Bourriau, in Quirke (ed.) *Middle Kingdom Studies*, 5, n. 8
Dawson, Strudwick, *Death on the Nile*, 42, fig. 27, 101, fig. 69, 109, fig. 78, 146-7, cat. no. 13
Grajetzki, *EVO* 39, 22, fig. 7
Hannig, *Zur Paläographie*, 522 (S2Cam)
Zitman, *The Necropolis of Assiut*, vol. II, 126-7 (S2Cam)
Zitman, *The Necropolis of Assiut*, vol. I, 300, n. 2151; 348, no. 2544

These are two fragments of a coffin belonging to the 'master physician' Wepwawetemhat[3] (*Wepwawet is at the front*). The name of the coffin owner is never fully preserved, but can be reconstructed from the remaining texts:

Fragment *a*



Fragment *b*

Title

The name Wepwawetemhat was especially popular at Asyut in the Middle Kingdom. Zitman lists 15 people with that name from this place.[4] Wepwawetemhat bears the title 'master physician'.[5] The title is only once preserved.

The coffin is only preserved in two relatively small boards. They present the remains of scenes in the middle and text columns at the sides. Fragment *b* shows at the left end a colour pattern indicating that this was the boarder of the coffin. All hieroglyphs and figures are looking to the right. Both boards therefore come from the left (east) side of a coffin. On *b* is shown a man dragging two cattle. On *a* is shown a man dragging a cow and behind him are standing two women. The number of four columns on the coffin outside is unique in Asyut.[6] The polychrome hieroglyphs are also rare on Asyut coffins.

The hieroglyphs are polychrome. Details are often painted in different colours. The aleph bird (Gardiner sign list G1) on fragment *a* is green, the head is yellow, the beak is black. Lines under the eyes under the eye are blank. The mouth (D21) is red, the water line (N35)

[3] Ranke, *Personennamen I*, 77, 22.
[4] Zitman, *The Necropolis of Assiut*, vol. II, 173-4.
[5] Most recent list of title holders: Nunn, *Ancient Egyptian Medicine*, 211-14 (list does not include Wepwawetemhat).
[6] Zitman, *The Necropolis of Assiut*, vol. I, 300, n. 2151.

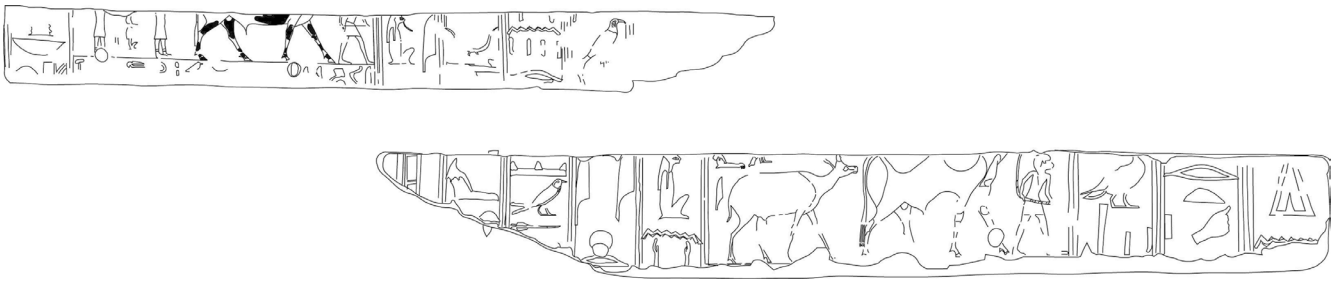


Fig. 2 – Fragments E.W.66.a,b

is dark blue. Single strokes (Z1) are light blue. The horn of an ox (F13) is black. The *nb*-basket (V30) is yellow. The signs of the second board have similar colours: bread Gardiner sign list X8 (red), bread (X1) is dark, fist (D49) is red, the goose bird (G38) in light green,legs in white and some details in brown. Human leg (D58) in red. A sitting woman (B1) is shown with black hair and yellowish, brown face. The ka sign (D28) is red, the reed (M17) in light green. The *wr*-swallow (G36) in black with head in white and legs in red. The arrow (T11) in red and white while the feathers are in black and finally the lion (F4) is painted in yellow-brown, while the mane and nails are black.

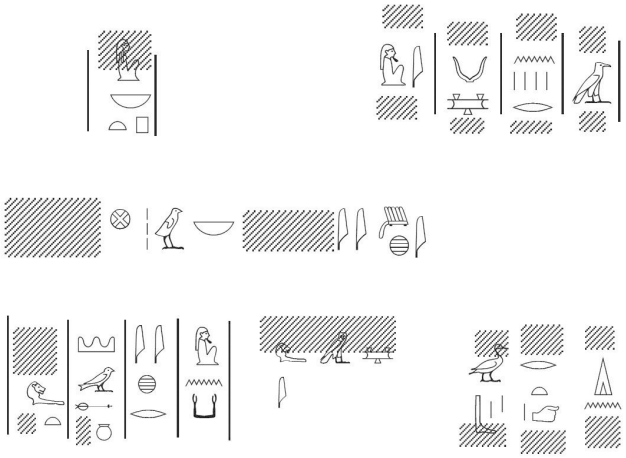
There are always four text columns next to the scenes. The lines on *a* belong to two *hetep-di-n* formula common on coffins found at Asyut: *ḥtp di n rˁ-itmw ḥnˁ ḏrt.f* (an offering given to Ra-Atum and his hand) and *ḥtp di n gb ḥnˁ nwt* (an offering given to Geb and Nut). The next column block seems to consist of *imɜhy ḫr* formulae including the name and title of the coffin owner. Above the man with the cattle are the remains of the coffin owner's name: Wepwawetemhati (written with an 'i' at the end).

There are many coffins and coffin fragments known from Asyut, but only a few of them bear titles. Interestingly there is in the Museum of Tanta a coffin of a certain Wepay with the same title.[7] Wepay might be the abbreviation of Wepemhat and both coffins might belong to the same person. However, this is only a guess.

Coffins with polychrome inscriptions on the outside are not very common in the Middle Kingdom when polychrome hieroglyphs are more typical for the coffin inside. Examples with polychrome hieroglyphs on the inside include the sarcophagus of Mentuhotep from Lisht[8] and that of Ameny from Thebes.[9]

From Asyut not many coffins with polychrome hieroglyphs are known. Other examples are the coffin fragments British Museum EA 47597[10] and BM EA 47604.[11]

Texts on Fragment



Coffins with figurative scenes on the outside appear in Asyut sporadically. The repertoire is surprisingly varied. There are two main subjects visible. Some coffins show offerings and objects that also appear on object friezes on the coffin insides, such as mirrors, weapons and sandals. Those coffins with offerings evidently focus on the supply of commodities for the deceased, food and ritual items. The decoration is borrowed from the inside of coffins.

The scenes showing human figures are in contrast much more individual. The coffin of Wepwawetnakht (S15C) shows funeral rituals otherwise mainly known from tombs.[12] The coffin of Khuy (S4C) shows the coffin owner with his dog, again a scene better known from

[7] Gauthier, Lefebvre, *ASAE* 23, 15-17, no. 9; Zitman, *The Necropolis of Assiut*, vol. II, 139, 176 (S2Tan).
[8] Arnold, *Middle Kingdom tomb architecture*, pls 86-91.
[9] Rummel, in Polz (ed.), *Für die Ewigkeit geschaffen*, 81-90.
[10] Hannig, *Zur Paläographie der Särge aus Assiut*, 672-3 (S36L).
[11] Hannig, *Zur Paläographie der Särge aus Assiut*, 704 (S54L).
[12] For example Newberry, *Beni Hasan*, vol. I, pls XVII (Tomb BH 2, Amenemhat), XXXV (Tomb BH 3 Khnumhotep)

tombs.[13] It seems that in both cases, these scenes are borrowed from the decorations of tomb chapels. The Cambridge fragment fits here quite well, with people bringing cattle as offering, a common scene in many tomb decorations of the Old and Middle Kingdom.[14]

Asyut Coffins with outside Decoration

Hetep (S1Bru) – Brussels MRC E 3036 – offerings;[15]
Khuy (S4C) – Cairo JE 36445 – coffin owner Khuy with dog;[16]
Ankhef (S12C) – Cairo JdE 45065[17] – offerings;[18]
Ankhef/Nakht (S13C) – CG 28130 – offerings;[19]
Wepwawetemhat (S15C) – Cairo, JE 45063 – offerings[20]
Satsobek (S23X) – current location unknown – one offering bearer;[21]
Wepwawetnakht (S2Hil) – Hildesheim PM 6000 – priests in performing rituals;[22]
Mesehti (S1Jos) – Brooklyn Museum 1995.112 – offerings, including sandals and mirror, oils;[23]
Djefahapy (S5P) – Louvre E. 12031-9 – offerings on both sides, including oils;[24]
Wepwawetemhat (S6P) – Louvre 12035 – serevant, single woman, offerings;[25]
Wepwawethetep (S5Tan) – Tanta Ta 715 – offerings, including weapons;[26]
Wepay (S6Tan) – Tanta TA 718 – offerings including weapons[27]

Coffins with outside decoration (other than texts) are also known from other places in Egypt. In his study on the burial of Senebtisi these coffins were labelled by Mac/Winlock 'Upper Egyptian',[28] as these coffins are mainly attested in Upper Egypt. Places with such coffins include Edfu[29], Moalla, Gebelein,Thebes and Asyut.[30]

E.88.1903

Anthropoid coffin. Gift of the Beni Hasan Excavation Committee (see Fig. 3)
Date: mid-late Dynasty XII
Provenance: Beni Hasan, Tomb 132
Material: sycamore fig, linen, plaster and painted
Dimensions: 182.4 x 33.2 x 41.2 cm
Bibliography: PM IV, 162;
Garstang, *Burial Custo*ms, 173-4, 191, 217, figs 180, 181c, 80, fig. 427
Bourriau, *Pharaohs and Mortals*, 91-2, no. 72, pl. III.3
Taylor, *Egyptian Coffins*, 25, fig. 16
Ikram, Dodson, *The Mummy in Ancient Egypt*, 202, fig. 252 (the coffin in the outer coffin), fig. 254 (dated under Senusret III)
Vasilika, *Egyptian Art*, 36, no. 14
Taylor, *Death and the Afterlife*, 223, fig. 163
Dawson, Strudwick, *Death on the Nile*, 22-3, 28, fig. 12, 44. fig. 29, 162-5, no. 20
Description: This is a wooden mummiform coffin in made two parts, covered with painted plaster on a thin layer of linen. The linen was not applied very systematically to all parts of the wooden surface, so that parts of the wood are not covered by it (visible on the scan 2005/21xb). The plaster is painted white. The inscription on the front is written in blue hieroglyphs. The face is black, while the wig, the beard, the eyebrows and the lines around the eyes are blue. On the chest is painted a broad collar in red, blue and green with an end string of beads in green and blue.
Technical remarks: The box and lid were made each of one piece of sycamore wood. The beard was made separately.

Under the collar there is written the Nut formula. The line reads:

ḏd mdw hȝ ȝst-irt ʿḥȝwty wsr-ht pzš n.s mwt.k nwt ḥr.k m rn.s n š-pt di.n.s wn.k m nṯr n ḥft ḫnm sw m ḫt nbt ḏwt m rn.s ḫnm-wr

[13] For example Newberry, *Beni Hasan*, vol. I, pl. XXX (BH 3, Khnumhotep).
[14] For example Newberry, *Beni Hasan*, vol. I, pls XVII, XXXV; Newberry, *Bersheh*, vol. I, pl. XII.
[15] Zitman, *The Necropolis of Assiut*, vol. II, 122-3.
[16] Zitman, *The Necropolis of Assiut*, vol. II, 122-3; Lapp, *Typologie*, 136, fig. 149.
[17] Hannig, *Zur Paläographie der Särge aus Assiut*, 482-4.
[18] Lapp, *Typologie*, pl. 26; Zitman, *The Necropolis of Assiut*, vol. II, 122-3.
[19] Zitman, *The Necropolis of Assiut*, vol. II, 122-3.
[20] Zitman, *The Necropolis of Assiut*, vol. II, 122-3.
[21] Zitman, *The Necropolis of Assiut*, vol. II, 146-7.
[22] Zitman, *The Necropolis of Assiut*, vol. II, 112-13.
[23] Zitman, *The Necropolis of Assiut*, vol. II, 126-7; Hannig, *Zur Paläographie der Särge aus Assiut*, 783-5 (S1NY).
[24] Zitman, *The Necropolis of Assiut*, vol. II, 136-7.
[25] Zitman, *The Necropolis of Assiut*, vol. II, 136-7; Lapp, *Typologie*, 136, figs 151-2.
[26] Zitman, *The Necropolis of Assiut*, vol. II, 138-9; Hannig, *Zur Paläographie der Särge aus Assiut*, 819-23 (S5Tan).
[27] Zitman, *The Necropolis of Assiut*, vol. II, 138-9; Hannig, *Zur Paläographie der Särge aus Assiut*, 824-8 (S6Tan).
[28] Mace, Winlock, *The Tomb of Senebtisi at Lisht*, 51.
[29] Michałowski, Desroches, de Lonage, Manteuffel, Żejmo-Żejmis, *Fouilles Franco-Polonaises, Rapports III, Tell Edfou 1939,* 70-71, pl. XLVII.
[30] Lapp, *Typologie*, 121-193.

Fig. 3a-b – Coffin E.88.1903 (front, back, inside of back) © The Filzwilliam Museum, Cambridge

> Words spoken: Oh, Osiris, the warrior (*ḥ3wty*) Userhet,[31] may your mother Nut spread herself over you in her name *shepet*, she causes that you are a god without enemies, free of all evil things in her name Great sieve

The spell goes back to the Old Kingdom (PT 588; 1607 §ab).[32] It appears in the Middle Kingdom often on the box of rectangular coffins from el-Bersheh. In the middle of the dynasty it appears on the lid of rectangular coffins all over the country.[33] The spell has several meanings. The deceased has '*reached heavily spheres*'[34] as he is now under the protection of the sky goddess. It might also indicate that the deceased was seen as Osiris. The coffin was seen as Nut and the deceased was now, like Osiris in the womb of Nut.[35]

Middle Kingdom anthropoid coffins are not always inscribed, many examples do not bear any text. Those with text have it on the front in one column. The texts most often contain offering formulae (*hetep-di-nisut*). Nut spells are otherwise not common.

Anthropoid coffins appear sporadically in the Twelfth Dynasty. They are always part of a coffin ensemble with at least one outer rectangular coffin. The anthropoid coffins are often made from very thin wood and therefore do not have a good chance to survive. One example found at Dahshur was was made of a wooden frame and covered with a cartonnage.[36] Therefore there might have been originally more examples existed than we now expect. The anthropoid coffins of the Middle Kingdom can be arranged in two types. There are coffins painted in one colour: black or white and there are the anthropoid coffins with a pattern on the whole body. Many of the latter examples have a Nemes like head dress.[37] The Fitzwilliam coffin was found lying on its left side inside the outer box coffin.

The name Userhet

The name translates 'Het is powerful' and is also attested in other burials at Beni Hasan: in grave 16 and in grave 177 (see Fitzwilliam E.67.1903).[38] Het is most likely a not well attested deity, also appearing in the name Hetankh (*ht-ʿnḫ*).[39] Het seems to be identical with the deity Heti (*hti*) or Heteti (*htti*) appearing in a few coffin texts (CT 372, 885, 948). The coffins with these spells come mainly from el-Bersheh, but also from papyri. In Beni Hasan is also attested the name Hetu (*htw*),[40] perhaps also referring to the same god. The name Heti (*hti*) is attested in the Old Kingdom and might again refer to the same deity.[41] Otherwise, not much can be said about this god. CT 372 is directly addressed to Hety and is about the nostrils of the deceased.

Title of Userhet

The title – *ḥ3wty* 'warrior' – of Userhet of is not very common in the Middle Kingdom, but can still be regarded as regular. The evidence has been discussed by Danijela Stefanović.[42]

Several title holders are known by name. In the shaft tomb cemetery at Beni Hasan the title is four times attested (Khnumhotep – Tomb 16; Userhet – Tomb 132; Nakht – Tomb 135; Usernakht – Tomb 283).[43] Other military titles found at this place are *imi-r nw* (twice) and *imi-r šnṯ* (once). Alone from the attestation in tombs with inscribed material it seems most likely that these 'warriors' were not common soldiers, but already people higher up in a hierarchy. In the late Middle Kingdom some of them are attested with a local designation,[44] such as 'warrior of Nekhen'[45] or 'warrior of Tjebu'.[46] This seems to indicate a strong local responsibility. The title holders of the title 'warrior' are listed by Stefanović.[47]

List of Middle Kingdom people with the title 'warrior'.[48]

Aares, stela Cairo CG 20732, Second Intermediate Period;

Ha-ankhef, own stela of the Second Intermediate from Edfu;[49]

Hehni (?), Papyrus Boulaq 18;[50]

Hemeny, father of Usernakht (Beni Hasan, Tomb 283);

Hetep, Nubian rock inscription, Middle Kingdom;[51]

[31] Name not in Ranke, *Personenamen.*

[32] Morales, *The transmission*, 52-3.

[33] Willems, *Chests of Life*, 131-5, 174.

[34] Willems, *Chests of Life*, 134.

[35] Willems, *Chests of Life*, 134.

[36] Baba, Yazawa, in Miniaci, Grajetzki (eds), *The World of Middle Kingdom*, vol. I, 7-8, pl. XIII.

[37] Petrie, *Gizeh and Rifeh*, 12, pl. Xb, Xf.

[38] Garstang, *Burial customs*, pls VII, VIII.

[39] Newberry, *Beni Hasan*, vol. I, pls xiii, xix, Ranke, *Personenamen I* 231, 14.

[40] Newberry, *Beni Hasan*, vol. I, pl. xvii. Ranke, *Personenamen I*, 231, 16.

[41] Ranke, *Personenamen I*, 231, 15.

[42] Stefanović, in Grallert, Grajetzki (eds), *Life and Afterlife*, 123-9.

[43] Garstang, *Burial Custo*ms, pl. VII.

[44] Ward, *Titles*, nos. 619-24.

[45] Smither, *JEA* 31, pl. 3.9.

[46] Smither, *JEA* 31, pl. 3.10.

[47] Stefanović, *The Holders of Regular Military Titles*, 178-81.

[48] The list is an update to that one provided by Stefanović, *The Holders of Regular Military Titles*, 178-81. The update benefited heavily from the online database: Alexander Ilin-Tomich, *Persons and Names of the Middle Kingdom*: https://pnm.uni-mainz.de/info <accessed on 18/04/22>

[49] Gunn, *ASAE* 29, 5-14.

[50] Allam, *Hieratischer Papyrus Bulaq 18,* pl. 27 (versus VIII, 9).

[51] Žába, *The Rock Inscriptions of Lower Nubia*, 175, no. 170.

Heqa-ib. He appears in a short graffito at the Wadi el-Hudi, naming him and another 'warrior' with the name Ini-iqer (see below);
Hor, Lahun papyrus;[52]
Ini-iqer (perhaps to be read Intef-iqer). He appears in a short graffito at the Wadi el-Hudi, naming him and another 'warrior' with the name Heqa-ib.[53] There is no further information. A closer dating is not possible;
Khenmu, Statue Cambridge Fitzwilliam E.500.132;[54]
Khesbuy, rock inscription;[55]
Khnumhotep, son of Baqet. Burial 16 at Beni Hasan;
Khusobek, Stela from Abydos, Manchester 3306[56]
Kemeni, Cairo 20313. late Middle Kingdom stela with several people with military titles;
Khu, offering table from Asyut, BM EA974;[57]
Khusobek, stela from Abydos, reign of Senusret III;[58]
Mem, rock inscription at Wadi el-Hudi ('warrior of the town');[59]
Mentu-aa. Stela Leiden 51.[60] This stela of his family might date to the middle of the Twelfth Dynasty;
Neb ... rock inscription;[61]
Neni, statue (unpublished);[62]
Qenqen, Papyrus Boulaq 18, Thirteenth Dynasty;[63]
Reni-iqer, Semnah despatches. Reni-iper is 'warrior of Nekhen';[64]
Sebekhotep, Lahun papyus;[65]
Senankh, he appears on a stela dated to the 30th year of Amenemhat III and found Sheikh Farag, Tomb SF 217;[66]
Senebem..., stela, Cairo 20746. The stela dates to the late Middle Kingdom;
Seneferu, Lahun Papyrus;
Senen, stela, Cairo 20746. The stela dates to the late Middle Kingdom;
Sepi, Semnah despatches. Sepi is 'warrior of Tjebu'[67]
Userhet (Beni Hasan, Tomb 132, this coffin);
Usernakht, Beni Hasan, Tomb 283. His name and title appear on his stela found at his (?) grave. The short inscription reads: 'the warrior's' Hemeny's son 'the warrior' Usernakht, his wife';[68]
Wenkhu, Gebel Tjauti[69]

One remarkable feature is the unusually number of high quality objects for the title holders.[70] Several of the 'warriors' are attested by their own stela, a few by their own statue. Two had an own, decorated coffin (Beni Hasan, Tombs 16, 132). The title is attested all through the Middle Kingdom and Second Intermediate Period, but the evidence for the title after the Twelfth Dynasty is less abundant. Most Twelfth Dynasty 'warriors' have a strong connection to local courts and it seems that the title declined with the decline of the local courts at the end of the Twelfth Dynasty. One wonders whether 'warrior' was not a proper title announcing a specific function in a military hierarchy, but rather a general designation announcing a person with military task. Indeed, in the text of the stela of Khusobek, the title is used in a biographical phrase: '*his majesty had me work as a fighter behind and beside his majesty, with seven men of the Residence*'.[71] The same applies for Ha-ankhef, known from his stela at Edfu. He calls himself '*brave* (*ḳni*) warrior'.

Associated finds

Outer coffin – University of Liverpool SACOS E. 512 (Garstang, *Burial Custo*ms, fig. 149, 180, p. 191 (lid), Willems, *Chests of Life*, 35 [BH2]); Bourriau, *Pharaohs and Mortals*, 90-1, no. 71, Lapp, *Typologie*, fig. 62a, pl. 9c);
Pottery types: 9, 19, 24, 36, 38, 39, 40, 57 (Liverpool, SACOS E. 4398)[72]

Date

Seidlmayer[73] places the tomb according to the pottery in his last pottery phase of the cemetery of Beni Hasan in Middle Kingdom. This is the time from shortly after Senusret I to about Senusret II. The outer coffin of Userhet is decorated with a palace façade, a decora-

[52] Collier, Quirke, *The UCL Lahun papyri: Religious, literary, legal, mathematical and medical*, 112-13.
[53] Sadek, *The Amethyst Mining Inscriptions*, vol. I, 64, no. 52.
[54] Bourriau, *Pharaohs and Mortals*, 55-6, no. 42.
[55] Rothe, Miller, Rapp, *Pharaonic inscriptions from the southern Eastern Desert of Egypt*, 390.
[56] Baines, in Dreyer, Osing (eds), *Form und Mass*, 43-61.
[57] Zitman, *The Necropolis of Assiut*, vol. I, 328.
[58] Baines, in Dreyer, Osing (eds), *Form und Mass*, 43-61.
[59] Sadek, *The Amethyst Mining Inscriptions*, vol. I, 72-3, no. 84.
[60] Boeser, *Beschreibung der aegyptischen Sammlung*, vol. II: pl. XXXIX.
[61] de Morgan, *Catalogue des monuments et inscriptions de l'Égypte antique*, vol. I, 12 (52).
[62] Clère MSS, ANT- 20.3.1978 Neg. U 527, https://pnm.uni-mainz.de/inscription/5675#36194, <accessed 27.10.2021>.
[63] Allam, *Hieratischer Papyrus Bulaq 18,* pl. 27 (versus VIII, 8).
[64] Smither, *JEA* 31, pl. IVa.
[65] Collier, Quirke, *The UCL Lahun papyri: Religious, literary, legal, mathematical and medical*, 110-11.
[66] Leprohon, *Stelae*, vol. I/2, 86.
[67] Smither, *JEA* 31, pl. IVa.
[68] Orel, *JEA* 81, 218-20, pl. XIX.2.
[69] Darnell, *Theban Desert Road Survey*, vol. I, 74-5.
[70] Stefanović, in Grallert, Grajetzki (eds), *Life and Afterlife*, 128-9.
[71] According to the translation in Wilson, in Pritchard (ed.) *Ancient Near Eastern Texts*, 230.
[72] If not otherwise stated, the associated finds are based on Orel, *Chronology and Social Stratification in a Middle Egyptian Cemetery*
[73] Seidlmayer, *Gräberfelder*, 229, tav. 64 and fig. 168 on p. 395.

tion pattern common in the second part of the Twelfth Dynasty,[74] supporting the date provided by the pottery. Bourriau dates the coffin to the mid Twelfth Dynasty (under Senusret III).[75]

The burial equipment does not include wooden models. They disappear in the middle of the Twelfth Dynasty from tombs at the royal cemeteries, especially at Lahun, where there is only one burial with this type of objects.[76] It might seem that they disappeared first at the royal cemeteries, while only later in the provincial ones. However, the lack of models is at least a further indicator for an advanced date of the burial and the coffins within the Twelfth Dynasty.

The burial of Userhet is in a wider sense comparable to that of Senu from Dahshur.[77] Both were placed in a rectangular, decorated coffin. Senu was adorned with a mummy mask, Userhet was adorned with a mummy-shaped coffin. The only other items for the burials were pottery vessels. Both men had military titles.

E.67.1903

Coffin fragments of Userhet. Gift of the Beni Hasan Excavation Committee (see Fig. 4; Pls XXXVII-XXXXVIII)
Date: mid-late Dynasty XII
Provenance: Beni Hasan, Tomb 177
Material: wood
Dimensions: no data available
Bibliography: Garstang, *Burial customs*, 218, pl. VII
Dawson, Strudwick, *Death on the Nile*, 90-1, figs 59-60
Grajetzki, *EVO* 39, 30, fig. 5
Description: Four wooden (the two long and the two short sides) boards from a box coffin. The uppermost parts, including the horizontal text lines are missing and the back side is badly preserved. The inscriptions are in blue on a red painted underground just for the hieroglyphs. The coffin was decorated all around with a palace façade (Willems type VI). At two places the title of Userhet[78] is mentioned. He seems to be draughtsman (*zš ḳdwt*),[79] although the reading of the hieroglyphs is not entirely clear. This is the first time that a tomb of a Middle Kingdom artist can be identified. He might have been the painter for coffins or even for the big Twelfth Dynasty tombs at Beni Hasan.

[74] Willems, *Chests of Life*, 161-3.
[75] Bourriau, *Pharaohs and Mortals*, 92.
[76] Eschenbrenner-Diemer, in Miniaci, Betrò, Quirke (eds), *Company of Images,*170-1.
[77] Baba, Yazawa, in Miniaci, Grajetzki (eds) *The World of Middle Kingdom Egypt*, vol. I, 12-14.
[78] Name not in Ranke, *Personennamen I*.
[79] The title for the Middle Kingdom is discussed: Stefanović, in Kóthay (ed.), *Art and Society*, 185-98.

Transcription and translation

Front

...imsti wsr-ht mɜs [*ḫrw*]
...šw mn-st wsr-ht
...tfnt wsr-ht
[*ḫ*]*r dwɜ-mwt.f zš ḳdwt wsr-ht*[(a)]

[the revered one befo]re Amset, Userhet, true [of voice]
[the revered one befo]re Shu, stable at place Userhet
[the revered one befo]re Tefnut, Userhet, true of voice
[the revered one befo]re Duamutef, the draughtsman[(a)] Userhet

Back

...wsr-[*ht*]
...wsr-[*ht*] *mɜʿ-ḫrw nb imɜḫ*
... [*mn*]*-st wsr-ht*
...wsr-[*ht*]

…. User[het]
…. User[het], true of voice, lord of revered one
…. place, …. User[het]
…. Userhet

Head end

...[*ḫ*]*r psdt ʿɜt wsr-*[*ht*]
...imɜḫy ḫr nt zš ḳdwt (*?*) *wsr-ht*

[the revered one be]fore the great ennead, User[het]
[the rever]ed one before Neit, the draughtsman (?) Userhet

Foot end

... srḳt[(b)] *ht ht*
...[*ḫ*]*r psdt nḏst wsr-ht*

[the revered one before] Selket,[(b)] Het, Het
[the revered one befo]re the small ennead, Userhet

[(a)] Here the *title zs-ḳdwt* is best preserved
[(b)] Note the Selket sign (scorpion) with its human hands

Other finds from Tomb 177
Blue glazed beads, ball and bar;
Coffin of *Nfrí*, BH36 (Liverpool, SACOS neg. B197) fragment of coffin of *R.w-ᶜn.w*, BH35 (Grsy GA220) spherical faience beads (Cairo JdE 43310);
Pottery types: 1, 5* (Liverpool, SACOS E4623), 15, 26, 39

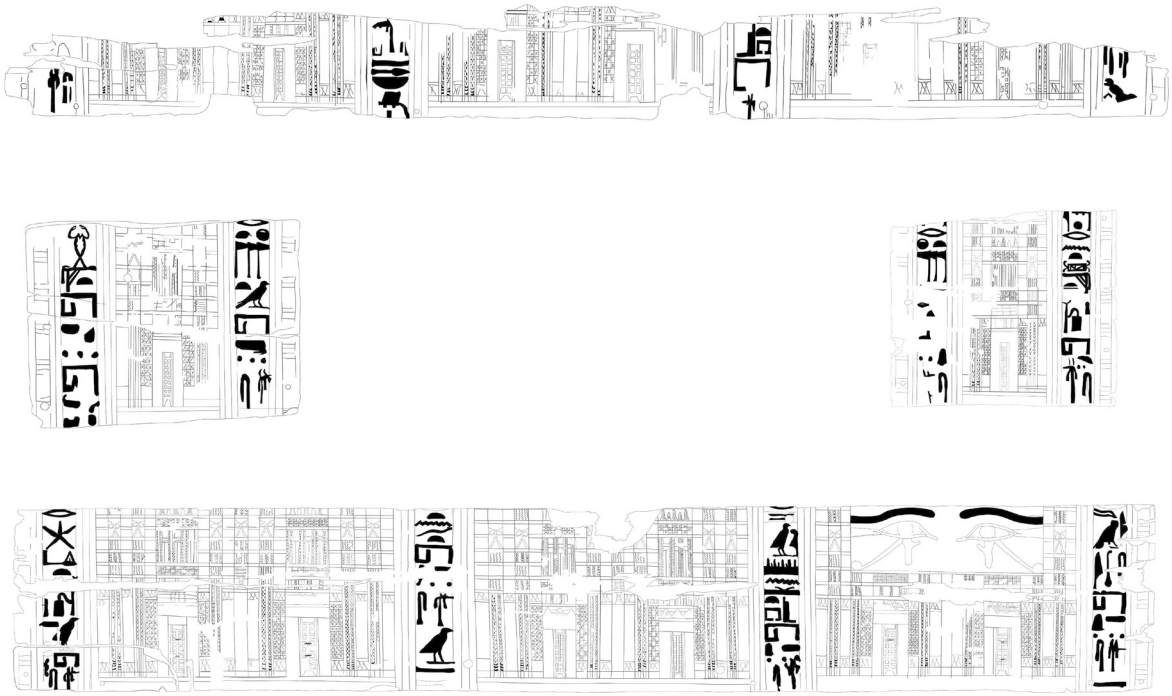


Fig. 4 – Coffin E.67.1903

Date
Seidlmayer[80] placed the burial at the end of his '*Stufe* II' (early Middle Kingdom to about Senusret I). The style of the coffin with the palace facade indicates a slightly later date.

E.68.1903

Box coffin of the 'lady of the house' Nakht[81] (see Fig. 5; Pls XXVII-XXXI)
Gift of the Beni Hasan Excavation Commitee
Date: mid-late Dynasty XII
Provenance: Beni Hasan, Tomb 23
Material: cedar wood, sidr and acacia
Dimensions: 1.855 x 0.545 x 0.436 (width)
Bibliography: Garstang, *Burial customs*, 212
Bourriau, *Umm el-Ga'ab*, 64, no. 115
Bourriau, *Pharaohs and Mortals*, 90, no. 70, colour fig. on 85, pl. III.4
Dawson, Strudwick, *Death on the Nile*, 79, fig. 49, 105, fig. 75, 107, fig. 75, 152-5, cat. no. 15
Grajetzki, *EVO* 39, 29, fig. 3
Description: This is a box coffin decorated with a painted palace facade. The palace facade consists in the upper part of a checker board pattern, with green and blue squares next to those filled with lines and diagonal checker board patterns on a white back ground. Rectangular fields are filled with a stylized papyrus plant. The lower field half shows the door proper that is just left brown. It is framed by a blue line. The coffin is decorated on the long sides with one horizontal and four vertical inscriptions. On the short sides there are one horizontal and two vertical inscriptions. The colours of the decoration from the front side of the coffin are heavily faded and most often only visible as 'shadows' on the wood. The colours on the other coffin sides are better preserved.

Transcription and translation

Front

ḥtp di niswt ꜣst-irt nb ḏdw nṯr-ꜥꜣ nb ꜣbḏw di.f prt-ḫrw t ḥnḳt šs mnḫt snṯr mrḥt iḫt nbt nfrt wꜥbt n kꜣ n nbt pr nḫt

imꜣḫyt ḫr imst nbt-pr nḫt
imꜣḫyt ḫr šw nbt pr nḫt
imꜣḫyt ḫr gb nbt pr nḫt mꜣꜥ-ḫrw
imꜣḫyt ḫr dwꜣ-mwt.f nḫt

[80] Seidlmayer, *Gräberfelder*, 229.
[81] Ranke, *Personenamen I*, 209, 16 (common Middle Kingdom female name).

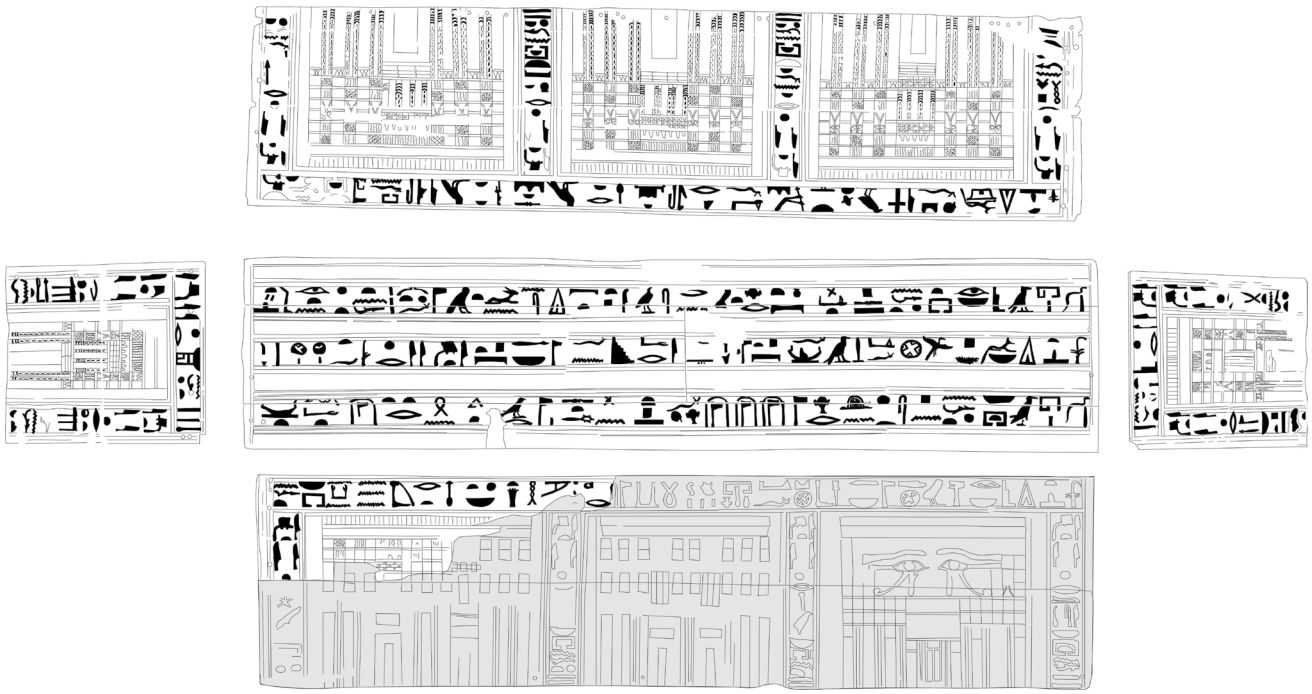


Fig. 5 – Coffin fragments E.68.1903

An offering which the king gives to Osiris, lord of Busiris, the great god, lord of Abydos, may he give a voice offering consisting of bread, beer, cattle, birds, alabaster, linen, incense and all pure, good things, for the ka of the lady of the house Nakht

the revered one before Amset, lady of the house, Nakht, true of voice
the revered one before Shu (?), lady of the house, Nakht, true of voice
the revered one before Geb, lady of the house, Nakht, true of voice
the revered one before Duamutef Nakht

Back

ḥtp di niswt inpw tpy ḏw.f imy-wt nb t3-ḏsr ḏi.f ḳrst nfrt m zmtt imntt im iz.f n ḫrt-nṯr nbt-pr nḫt nbt im3ḫ

An offering which the king gives to Anubis, on his mountain, who is in his embalming, lord of the sacred land, may he give an beautiful burial in the western desert in his tomb of the necropolis, lady of the house, Nakht, lord of honour

Vertical

im3ḫyt ḫr ḥpy nḫt nbt im3ḫt
im3ḫyt ḫr tfnt nbt pr nḫt m3ᶜ-ḫrw
im3ḫyt ḫr nwt nbt pr nḫt m3ᶜ-ḫrw
im3ḫyt ḫr ḳbḥ-snw.f nḫt

the revered one before Hapy, Nakht, lord [of honour]
the revered one before Tefnut, lady of the house, Nakht, true of voice
the revered one before Nut, lady of the house, Nakht, true of voice
the revered one before Qebhsenuef Nakht

Foot

im3ḫyt ḫr nbt-ḥwt nḫt m3ᶜ-ḫrw

the revered one before Nebethut, Nakht, true of voice

Vertical

im3ḫyt ḫr psḏt ᶜ3t nḫt
im3ḫyt ḫr psḏt nḏst nḫt

the revered one before the great ennead, Nakht
the revered one before the small ennead, Nakht

Head

im3ḫyt ḫr 3st nḫt m3ᶜ-ḫrw

the revered one before Isis, Nakht, true of voice

Vertical

im3ḫyt ḫr srḳt nḫt
im3ḫyt ḫr nṯr-ᶜ3 nb pt nḫt

the revered one before Selket, Nakht
the revered one before the great god, lord of the sky, Nakht

Lid

ḏd mdw ḥ3 3st-irt nbt-pr nḫt pzš mwt nwt ḥri m rn.s wš-pt di.n.s wn.t m nṯr n ḫfti.t nḫt irt.n 3ty-ḥtp

ḥtp di niswt inpw nb sp3 di.f ḏ3.f pt nṯr sn-t3 iʿr.f[(a)] *n nṯr-ʿ3 nb pt im3ḫy ḫr nṯr.f nwty*[(b)] *m3ʿ-ḫrw*[(c)]

ḏd mdw ḥ3 nbt-pr nḫt pn sḫt n ḥrw zḥw.f ḥr-tp.t psš.n ztḫ wrmt[(d)] *šnt.t r zḥ nʿ.t*

Words spoken: oh Osisris, lady of the house Nakht. May your mother Nut spread herself over you in her name weshpet. She might give that you are a god without enemies, Nakht, begotten for Aty-hotep

A king's offering for Anubis, lord of Sepa, may he grant that he is traveling the sky, that he might beunited with the god and that he might go up to tghe great god, the lord of heaven, the revered one before the town's god, true of voice.

Words spoken, O this Nakht, Horus has woven his tents over your head, Seth spreads the baldachin, so that you are embraced toward the tent, so that you sail.

(a) The coffin is made for a woman. The gramatical endings are masculine and feminine

(b) The reading of *nṯr nwty* is uncretain. The *nṯr*-sign (Gardiner sign list R8) looks rather like a *sw*-sign (Gardiner sign list M23)

(c) The spell also appears on the lid of the coffin of Sobekaa from Thebes.[82] It is Pyramid Text spell 690 (section 2100a-c, lines 988-9 in the pyramid of Pepy II)

(d) The determinative of this word is a triangular shaped object like Gardiner sign list 034. Hanning reads on the coffin of Sobekaa 'Ruder' (paddle) (Hannig, *Ägyptisches Worterbuch II*, 709) and sees three paddles (Gardiner sign list Aa5) as determinatives. In the Pyramid Texts appears *wrmt* - 'hut'/'baldachin'. *Thesaurus Linguae Aegyptiae*, Pyramide Pepis II., PT 690. https://aaew.bbaw.de/tla/servlet/GetCtxt?u=guest&f=0&l=0&tc=22324&db=0&ws=136&mv=4 (retrived 20/04/2022). Jan Assman translates 'Sonnensegel (shade sail). (Assmann, Bommas, Kucharek, *Altägyptische Totenliturgien, III*, 361)

In Tomb 23 were buried at least four people: Nakht, Ra-enenshe, Netjer-nakht and the 'lady of the house' Hetep.

Other finds

Three (?) other coffins;
Wig of long haired doll;
Wooden measure, 14 cm long (Fitzwilliam E.174.1903);
Scarab;
Portion of granary;
Remnants of small rowing boat;
Three fragments of upright alabaster vase;
Shell;
Pottery types: 13, 24, 25, 32, 37, 41 and three dishes;
Wooden fragment (LM E591) (Liverpool Museum)

Date

The coffin might date around the time of Amenemhat II-Senusret III (Seidlmayer, *Gräberfelder*, 229, *Stufe* III). Bourriau pointed out that Tomb 23 contained pottery ranging from the Eleventh to the Twelfth Dynasty, assuming several occupation phases of the tomb. The coffin of Nakht with its palace façade is datable on stylistic and palaeographic grounds to the middle or the second part of the Twelfth Dynasty.[83] The appearance of Pyramid Text spell 690 - as on the coffin of Sobekaa from Thebes - might indicate a date under Senusret III.[84]

E.69.1903

Long side of a coffin with eye panel from the coffin of Senumutef;[85] gift of the Beni Hasan Excavation Committee (see Fig. 6; Pls XXXIC-XL)
Date: mid-late Dynasty XII
Provenance: Beni Hasan, Tomb 94
Material: wood, painted
Dimensions: no data
Bibliography: Garstang, *Burial customs*, 215
Dawson, Strudwick, *Death on the Nile*, 22-3, 10, fig. 13
Grajetzki, *EVO* 39, 31, fig. 6
Description: Beni Hasan, Tomb 94 contained at least two burials: 'the lady of the house' Khnume(t) and Senumutef. The fragments preserved in the museum are two long pieces from the left side of a box coffin. There is at the top the horizontal text line with an offering formula, painted in green hieroglyphs and only partly preserved. There are four vertical lines, presenting the *im3ḫ* – formula with the name of the coffin owner at the end followed by *nb-im3ḫ*, in at least one case. The panels between the four columns are decorated with: (1) a false door with the wedjat-eyes at the top, (2) a field full of food offerings and (3) a segment of a palace façade. All three panels are framed by an ornamental pattern in green, red and yellow. This is only missing at the columns of the middle field. However, all three panels show next to the columns also colour patterns, similar to the palace façade, providing the impression that the

[82] Steindorf, *Grabfunde II,* 3-4; Lapp, *Typologie*,169.

[83] Willems, *Chests of Life*, 67.
[84] Willems, *Chests of Life*, 114-115.
[85] Name not in Ranke, *Personenamen I*.

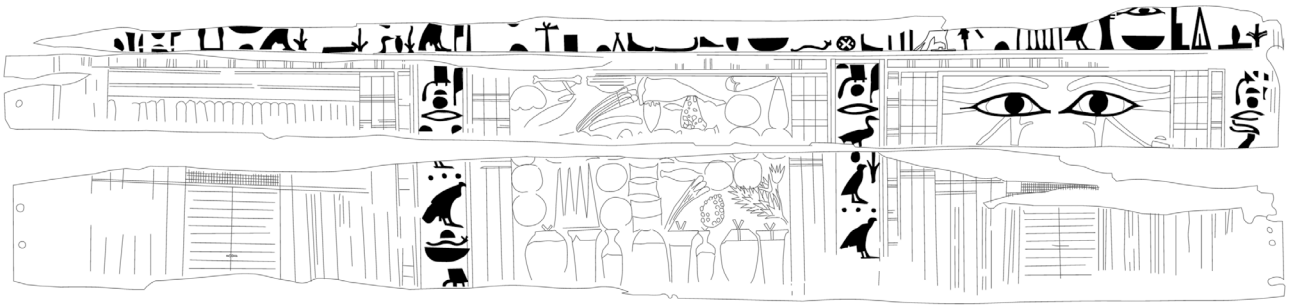


Fig. 6 – Fragments E.69.1903

whole coffin was decorated all around with a palace façade and the field with offerings and the false door just laid over it. The offerings in the middle field consist of eight vessels at the bottom and several meat and vegetable offerings above it. The vessels are of different shape, but the upper part is painted red for all of them. Their forms are best known from contemporary stone vessels, such as the cylindrical vessels.[86] It is hard to identify all foods depicted over the vessels. On the top appear three pieces of meat, one half round, red piece with a clearly visible painted bone. There is a cow's head with white and black patched skin and there is also the leg of a cattle. Next to the leg are depicted onions. Next to it might appear a cucumber, painted in green. The round pieces are most likely breads. In lower part are easily identifiable blue and back painted grapes. There are again onions. Four triangular pieces might represent cakes. The colours are in part very well preserved. The hieroglyphs and wedjat eyes are green on the yellow background.

Inscription

The inscriptions show a feminine ending (*im3ḫyt*). Senumutef (*the brothers of his mother*) does not seem to be a typical woman's name. It may be compared with the name Senuitif on coffin Fitzwilliam E.70.1903.

ḥtp di niswt 3st-irt nb ḏdw ḫnty-imntiw nṯr ꜥ3 (?) nb 3bḏw di.f iḫt nbt nfrt wꜥbt dbḥt-ḥtp ꜥnḫt nṯr im ḫ3 ḥnḳt... 3pdw... ḫꜥ m ...nb .. k3 snw-mwt.f (?)

An offering which the king gives to Osiris, lord of Busiris, foremost of Westerners, great god, lord of Abydos, may he give all good and pure things, a funerary meal of which the god lives, thousand of beer, goose.... thousands of ...Senumutef

im3ḫt ḫr imst...

the revered one before Amset...

im3ḫt ḫr gb snw-mwt...

the revered one before Geb, Senumut[ef]

im3ḫt ḫr nwt snw-mwt.f nb imꜥḫ

the revered one before Nut, Senumutef, lord of revered one

Date

The coffin belongs to Willems type VI, datable at the end of the Twelfth Dynasty and maybe even later. The coffin belongs in style to the latest of the Twelfth Dynasty examples found at Beni Hasan. The panel with offerings in the middle is so far not known from Beni Hasan and there are only a few other examples known from other places. The panels have ornamental frames.[87] These frames are known from very early coffins found at Beni Hasan[88] and from late examples (coffin of the warrior Userhet[89])

Similar coffins with a depiction of offerings on the front and a palace façade

Coffin of Djehuty-hotep (B5C) from el-Bersheh; Lapp, in Willems (ed.), *The World of the Coffin Texts*, 73-99, pl. 12; Lapp, *Typologie*, 86, pl. 14c;

Coffin of Imeny in Bologna (K2), Anonymous (ed.), *Il senso dell'arte*, 206, no. 156;

Coffin of Ibi in Bologna (K1), Anonymous (ed.), *Il senso dell'arte*, 206-8, no. 157

Coffin of It, Hermitage 769, perhaps fro, Thebes, Livshits, *Труды Института этнографии, новая серия* 93 (1969), 12-108

[86] *Cf.* Engelbach, *Harageh*, pl. xlvii.58-71.

[87] Willems, *Chests of Life*, 191-3.

[88] Lapp, *Typologie*, 58, fig. 50, pl. 9a

[89] Lapp, *Typologie*, 64, fig. 62a, pl. 9c; Garstang, *Burial customs*, 174, fig. 180.

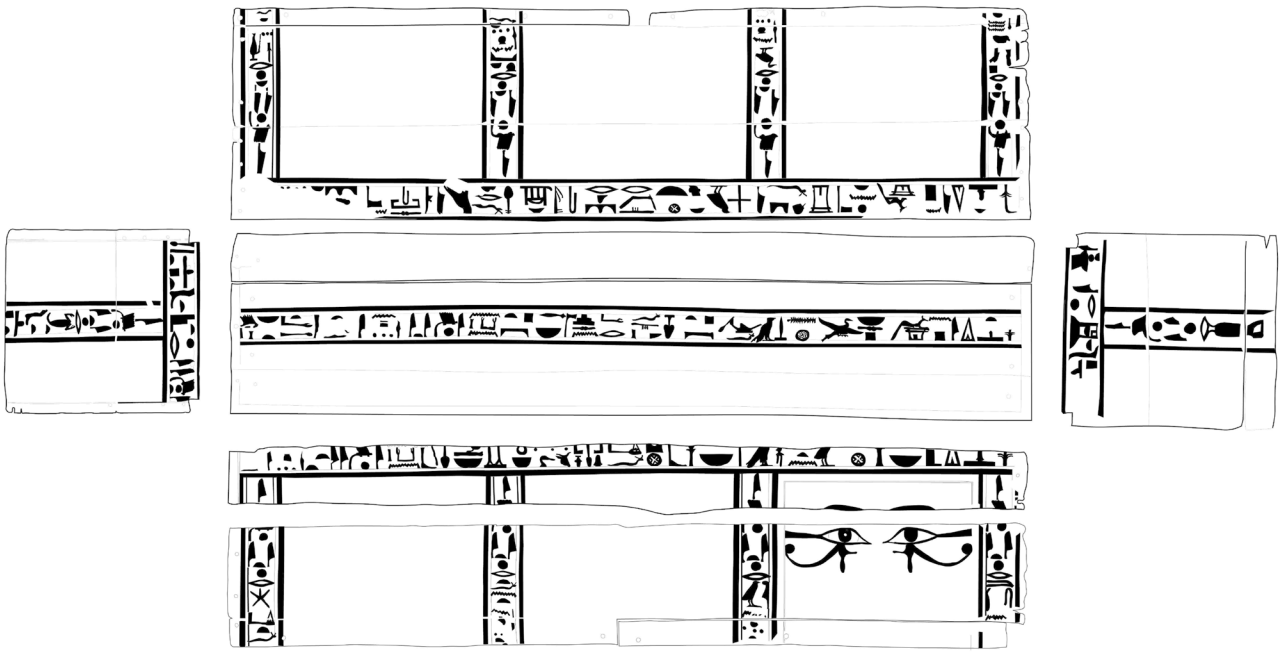


Fig. 7 – Coffin E.70.1903

Other finds
One other coffin (?) of Khnume(t);
Two flint knives;
Bar shaped beads of blue and black glaze;
Two large blue glazed semi-circular attachments for collar and beads;
Shell;
Coffin fragment, BH54 (Macquarie MU 2870, E12606);
Pottery vessels: type 57 (Bolton 17.04.28) type 59 (Fitzwilliam E.209.1903) (Bourriau, *Umm el-Ga'ab*, 61, no. 106a);
Pottery types: two large irregular forms

E.70.1903

Coffin. Gift from Price, F.G. Hilton; Given to Towry Whyte by Hilton Price from his share of the finds (see Fig. 7; Pls XXXII-XXXVI)
Date: Dynasty XII
Provenance: Beni Hasan, Tomb 65
Material: wood, painted
Dimensions: L 190, H 44 x W 54 cm
Bibliography: Bourriau, *Pharaohs and Mortals*, 88-9, no. 68
Garstang, *Burial customs*, 214
Dawson, Strudwick, *Death on the Nile*, 22-3, fig. 9 (drawing by Whyte), 36, fig. 19
Grajetzki, *EVO* 39, 28, fig. 2
Description: There are the long boards (front, back and lid) from a coffin of a woman called Senuitif.[90] The boards from the short sides belong perhaps to a different coffin. The long boards belong with four vertical columns to Willems type IV, while the short end pieces with a single vertical column belongs to type III. The short ends name a different person: At-et-hotep. The coffin is painted yellow, the inscriptions are green, and the lines framing the hieroglyphs are blue and white.

Transcription and translation

Front

ḥtp di niswt ꜣst-irt nb ḏdw ḫnti-imntiw nṯr ꜥ3 nb ꜣbḏw di-.f prt-ḫrw t' ḥnḳt kꜣ ꜣpd šs mnḫt iḫt nbt nfrt wꜥbt n kꜣ n imꜣḫyt snw.iti.f

An offering given by the king to Osiris, lord of Busiris, Khentyimentiu, lord of Abydos, may he give a voice offering consisting of bread, bear, cattle, birds every cloth, linen and all good, pure things for the ka of the revered one Senu-itif...

imꜣḫyt ḫr imsty
imꜣḫyt ḫr šw [*s*]*n*[*w.iti.f*]
imꜣḫyt ḫr tfnwt snw...
imꜣḫyt ḫr dwꜣ-mwt.f

the revered one before Amset…
the revered one before Shu, [Se]n[u-itif]
the revered one before Tefnut Sen[u-itif]…
the revered one before Duamutef …

[90] Name not in Ranke, *Personennamen I.*

Back

ḥtp dỉ nỉswt ỉnpw ḫnty zḥ-nṯr tpy ḏw.f ỉmy-wt nb-t3-ḏsr ḳrst nfrt m ỉz.s n ḫrt-nṯr:...

An offering which the king gives to Anubis, who is in front of the shrine, who is on top of his mountain, who is in his embalming, lord of the sacred land (may he give) a beautiful burial in her tomb of the necropolis…

ỉm3ḫyt ḫr ḥpy
ỉm3ḫyt ḫr gb snw...
ỉm3ḫyt ḫr nwt snw-ỉtỉ.f
ỉm3ḫyt ḫr ḳbḥ-snw.f ...

*t*he revered one before Hapy
the revered one before Geb, Senu[itif]
the revered one before Nut, Senuitif
the revered one before Qebehsenuef [Senuitif]

The short end under the same (?) number comes most likely from a different coffin, as it mentioned a different person and belongs to a different coffin type.

Head end, top

ỉm3ḫỉt ḫr nbt-ḥwt 3ty-ḥtp

the revered one before Nebethut, Atyhotep

Vertical line in the middle

ỉm3ḫyt ḫr srḳt

the revered one before Selket

The foot end, top

ỉm3ḫyt ḫr 3st 3ty-ḥtp m3ʿt-ḫrw

the revered one before Isis, Atyhotep, true of voice

Vertical line in the middle

ỉm3ḫyt ḫr srḳt wʿrt-ḥtp

the revered one before Selket

Lid

ḥtp dỉ nỉswt ỉnpw nb sp3 ḏ3.f pt zm3.f t3 ʿr.s n nṯr ʿ3 nb pt n k3 n ỉm3ḫyt snw-ỉtỉ.f m3ʿt-ḫrw nbt ỉm3ḫ

An offering which the king gives for Anubis, lord of Sepa, (may he grant), that he travels the heaven, that he unites with the earth and that she goes up to the great god, lord of heaven, for the ka of the revered one Senuitif, true of voice, lord of honor

Date

Mid Twelfth Dynasty. Coffin type IV follows at most sites type I introduced under Sesostris I (Willems, *Chests of Life*, 159-60). It was most common under Amenemhat II.

Other finds

Blue glazed figure of a standing man, 11 cm high (Liverpool Museum), Garstang, *Burial customs*, fig. 140;
Large kohl palettes;
Head rest of wood;
Small blue glazed ring beads, small black ball beads, blue glazed ball beads, double cone beads (blue glazed) – Garstang, *Burial customs*, 111, fig. 100;
One cowry shell;
Two scarabs: a. green, decorated; b. carnelian, plain;
Alabaster kohl vessel without lid, Garstang, *Burial customs*, fig. 110;
Part of small basket;
Hair (?);
String of amethyst ball beads, blue glazed beads, ball and bar;
Small beads, blue glazed;
Coffin of *Henu*, BH21 (BM 32051); string of faience beads (Fitz E.52.1903) (Bourriau 1988: no. 162); string of glazed beads (Liverpool, SACOS E5028); 'pottery' necklace (Liverpool, SACOS E2297); faience monkey pendant; carnelian and blue-glaze beads (Ash E.E.518); squatting male figure from model boat (Fitz E.195.1903); pottery vessel: type 124 (Liverpool, SACOS E4645);
Pottery: type 39 and one dish

E.71.1903

Box coffin of Khety.[91] Gift of the Beni Hasan Excavation Committee (see Fig. 8; Pls XXII-XXVI)
Date: Dynasty XI-early Dynasty XII
Provenance: Beni Hasan, Tomb 366
Material: sycamore fig, dowels are made of sidr (Ziziphus zizyphus)
Dimensions: L 186 x H 50 x W .44.4 cm
Bibliography: PM IV, 162
Garstang, *Burial customs*, 224
Dawson, Strudwick, *Death on the Nile*, 84, fig. 55, 138-41, cat. no. 11
Description: Box coffin. The outside is plastered and painted orange. The inscriptions are painted in green. The guidelines for the hieroglyphic inscriptions in black are everywhere still visible. The eyes on the front are in black with a white background. Especially on the back side there are several drops of green paint on the orange background under the in-

[91] Ranke, *Personennamen I*, 209, 16.

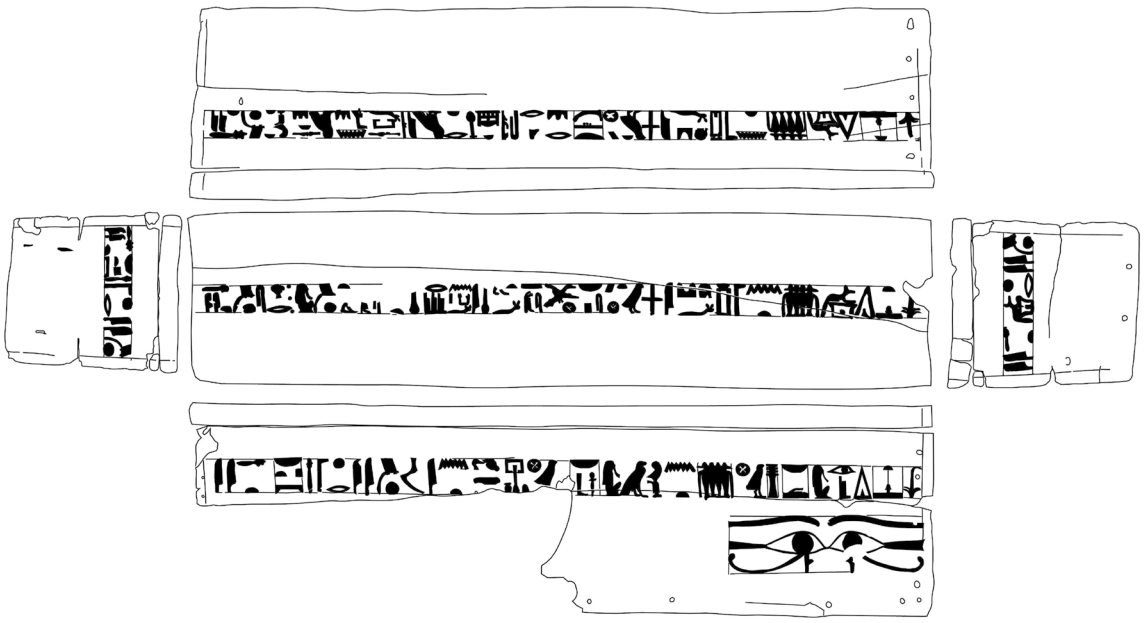


Fig. 8 – Coffin E.71.1903

scription. There is only one line of inscriptions on the four outer sides and one line on the lid. This is coffin type I of the typology developed by Willems, datable to the end of the Old Kingdom to the early Twelfth Dynasty. The writing of some words on the coffin are consistent with this date. The writing of Djedu (Busiris) is at Beni Hasan typical for the late Eleventh and early Twelfth Dynasty.[92] The writing of *ḏsr* in *nb-t3-dsr* with only one arm is typical for the Twelfth Dynasty.[93]

Transcription and translation

Front

ḥtp di niswt 3st-irt nb-ḏdw ḫnty-imntiw nb 3bḏw prt ḫrw t' ḥnḳt k3w 3pdw nt im3ḫy ḫr nṯr ʿ3 nb pt ḫty

An offering which the king gives to Osiris, lord of Busiris, foremost of Westerners, lord of Abydos, voice offerings of bread, beer, cattle and goose for the revered one before the great god, lord of heaven, Khety

Back

ḥtp di niswt inpw ḫnty zḥ-nṯr ḏw.f imy-wt nb-ḏsr ḳrt nfrt m iz.f n ḫrt-nṯr m zmit imntt im3ḫ ḫty

An offering which the king gives to Anubis, who is in front of the divine tent, and who is on his mountain, a good burial in his tomb in the cemetery of the western desert (for) Khety

Lid

ḥtp di nswt inpw ḫnty-zḥ-nṯr ḏw.f imy-wt nb-sp3 šmst.f nfr in k3.f r swt nfrwt šmswt im3ḫww ḥr.s im3ḫ ḫty

An offering which the king gives to Anubis, who is in front of the divine tent and who is on his mountain, lord of Sepa, may his ka follow well to all good places on which the revered ones follow, the revered one Khety

Foot end

im3yt ḫr nṯr ʿ3 ḫty

the revered one before the great god, Khety

Head end

im3ḫy ḫr inpw ḫty

the revered one before Anubis, Khety

Technical details

The joints of the boards are secured with dowels. Each side of the coffin is made of two boards that are edge joined. The interior is not painted or plastered. The exception is a white paste that was placed over the joints.

Other finds

Model: sailing boat (E.71a.1903). Gift of the Beni Hasan Excavation Committee (*Material*: wood and linen; *Measurements*: 40.5 x 62 x 12.4 cm; *Bibliography*: Bourriau, *Pharaohs and Mortals*, 107, no. 94; Mur-

[92] Willems, *Chests of Life*, 67.
[93] Willems, *Chests of Life*, 65.

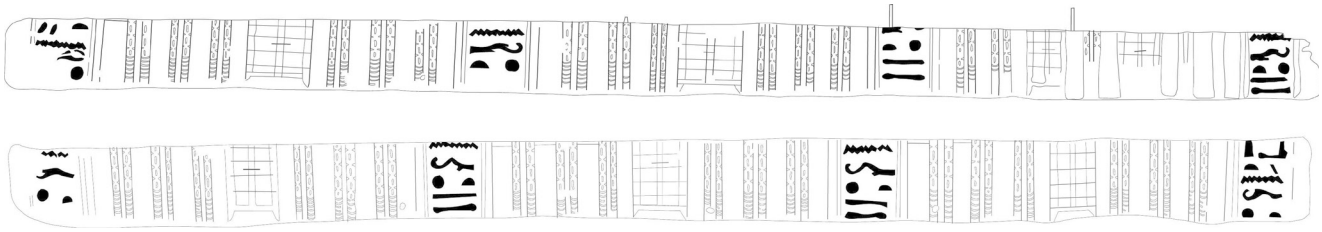


Fig. 9 – coffin fragments E.216.1903

ray, *The Splendour that was Egypt*, pl. VIII; Dawson, Strudwick, *Death on the Nile*, 142-145, cat. 12, fig. on p. 145; Grajetzki, *EVO* 39 (2016), 27, fig. 1)

Model: rowing boat (E.71b.1903). Gift of the Beni Hasan Excavation Committee (*Material*: wood and linen; *Measurements*: 25 x 59 x 12 cm; *Bibliography*: Bourriau, *Pharaohs and Mortals*, 107, no. 95; Dawson, Strudwick, *Death on the Nile*, 142-5, cat. 12, fig. on p. 144)

Model: butchery (E.71c.1903). Gift of the Beni Hasan Excavation Committee (*Material*: wood, linen; *Measurements*: 16.3 x 29.0 x 23.0 cm; *Bibliography*: Garstang, *Burial Customs*, 105, 244, fig. 94; Bourriau, *Pharaohs and Mortals*, 106, no. 93; Dawson, Strudwick, *Death on the Nile*, 142-5, cat. 12, fig. on p. 145). *Model scene*: four men (one is now lost) slaughtering an ox

Model: bakery, brewery (E.71d.1903). Gift of the Beni Hasan Excavation Committee (*Material*: painted wood, linen, clay; *Measurements*: 18.5 x 41.4 x 29.7 cm; *Bibliography*:Garstang, *Burial Customs*, 126-8, 244, fig. 124; Murray, *The Splendour that was Egypt*, pl. XIV; Bourriau, *Pharaohs and Mortals*, 105-6, no. 92; Dawson, Strudwick, *Death on the Nile*, 142-5, cat. 12, fig. on p. 142). *Model scene*: eight men and women involved in food production. Two women are grinding flour. One kneeling woman is sifting; a man is working with a pestle and mortar; a woman is sitting in front of a of loaves; a man a carrying water on jars on a joke, another two objects, a sieve and a vessel (?) on a joke, next to him are standing two vessels (a sealed vat, a beer jar. Finally there is a man pressing bread through a sieve into a vade

Model scene: granary (E.71e.1903) (*Material*: painted wood, linen; *Measurements*: 25 x 29 x 23.6; *Bibliography*: Garstang, *Burial Customs*, 224; Dawson, Strudwick, *Death on the Nile*, 35, fig. 18, 142-5, cat. 12, fig. on p. 144)

Pottery: '2 thick flat dishes also one form 36 height 12 inches' (Garstang, *Burial Customs*, 244). The tomb can be dated by the pottery to the early Twelfth Dynasty (Bourriau, *Pharaohs and Mortals*, 106)

E.216.1903

Coffin of Nakht[94]

Given: 1903

Date: mid-late Dynasty XII

Provenance: not stated, but most likely Beni Hassan, Tomb 135

Material: wood

Dimensions: 2.17 x 0.12 x 0.02 m (front); 216 x 0.13/0.135 x 0.02 m

Bibliography: Garstang, *Burial Customs*, 217 (tomb register)

Grajetzki, *EVO* 39, 30, fig. 4

Description: Only the lowest boards from each longer side are still preserved. The blue inscriptions are painted on a yellow background. They are fragmented by a blue line, then there is a white band and a black line follows. The palace façade between the vertical columns consisted of blue bands; the decorated pattern is black on a white background. In the middle there is a red line. The center of each segment of the palace façade has a door, mainly painted yellow on a yellow background. The edges of the doors are painted in red. The two bottom planks belong to the long sides of the coffin of a person called Nakht. There are four vertical lines on each side. Most often only the end of the name is preserved, sometimes followed by 'true of voice'. The space between the lines is decorated with a palace façade. In front of the name are several times some other signs visible. They seem to fit to the title *ḥ3wty* – warrior. There is indeed one burial at Beni Hassan published by Garstang belonging to a person with an identical name and title. The coffin fragments most likely come from this tomb (135).

Other finds

In the tomb of Nakht were found according to the tomb register only the coffin fragments.

Date

see the discussion for coffin **E.67.1903**

[94] Ranke, *Personennamen I*, 209, 16.

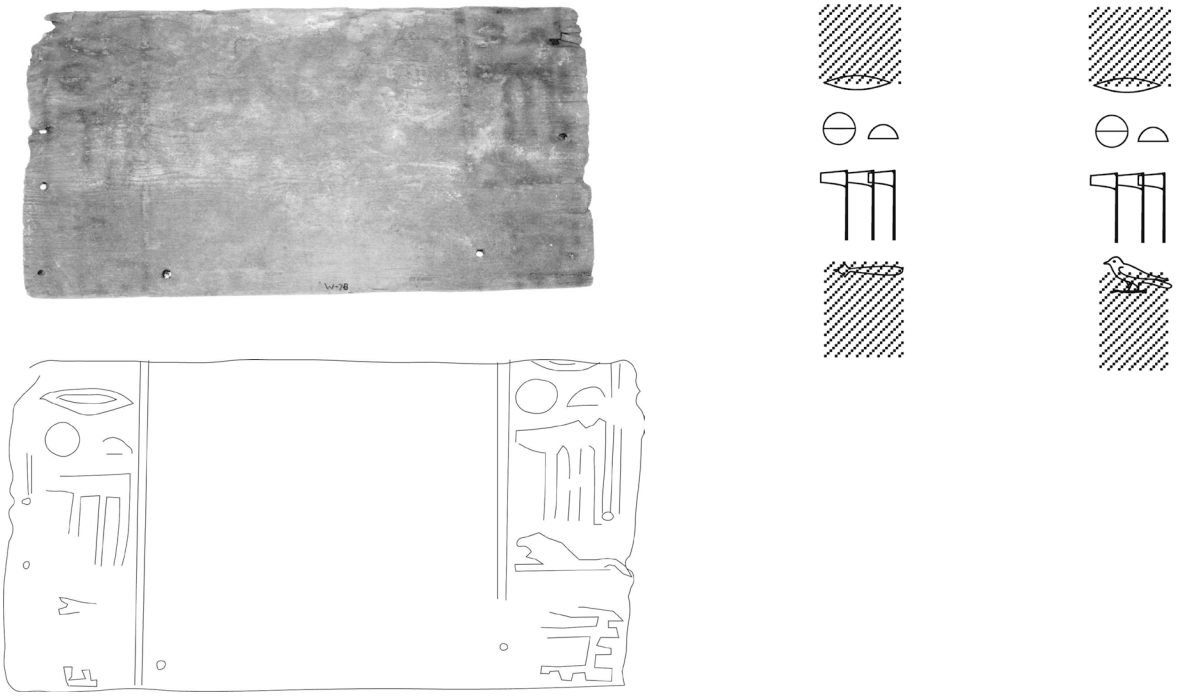


Fig. 10a, b – Fragment E.W.78, photo and drawing; photo: © The Filzwilliam Museum, Cambridge

E.W.78

Coffin fragment
Date: Dynasty XII
Provenance: Beni Hasan?
Material: Wood, painted
Dimensions: 23.9 x 46.8 x 0.19 cm
Bibliography:
Unpublished
Comments:This is the end piece of a Middle Kingdom box coffin. The fragment belongs most likely to the head end, following the left facing orientation of the hieroglyphs. The inscriptions are very faded; what remains are painted green. Eight holes for dowels are still visible. There are no records about the provenance of this board. The museum has several coffins from Beni Hasan and therefore it seems possible that the board also comes from there. Beni Hasan is one of the places where organic matter is often well preserved. Furthermore, it seems most likely that the board comes from an official excavation, since such badly preserved objects rarely appear on the art market. On the surface there is a pinkish white plaster-like paste.

Transcription and translation

[*im3ḫw ḥ*]*r psḏt ...*
[*im3ḫw ḥ*]*r psḏt nds...*

[The revered one] before the [great ?] ennead […]
[The revered one] before the [small ?] ennead […]

Acknowledgment

I am grateful to Julie Dawson and Helen Strudwick for help in the museum, Paul Whelan for reading my English. Some coffins were not accessible for proper photographs. They are only presented in drawings. For some others exact measurements could not be taken. Technical dates are taken from the museum database

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The Journey from Authenticity to Forgery: A Case-study on an Adze-blade (Egyptian Museum Cairo JE 67944) of the Thirteenth Dynasty

Ali Hassan Eid

Abstract

The paper investigates an unpublished adze-blade attributed to king Amenemhat Sobekhotep, commonly identified as the first ruler of the Thirteenth Dynasty. However, this superior position is still uncertain. The Egyptian Museum at Cairo (JE 67944)acquired the adze-blade as one of the objects which was gifted by the King Fouad I. The inscription on the adze-blade is the same on a cylinder-seal which is kept at the Metropolitan Museum of Art (MMA 30.8.319). A discussion with prof. S. Quirke led to doubts around the authenticity of the adze-blade. Since its inscription is almost identical to the illustration of the cylinder seal by P. E. Newberry in his publication 'Scarabs'. The paper tackles this adze-blade that does not typologically belong to the Late Middle Kingdom or even the Second Intermediate Period. Furthermore, comparing the same inscription on the adze-blade and the cylinder-seal to verify the extent of the adze-blade's authenticity.

1. Introduction

The Thirteenth Dynasty is still one of the questionable periods in ancient Egyptian history.[1] The Dynasty garnered much attention from historians of ancient Egypt to put their contributions around its political history.[2] However, the subsequent studies tackled this period mainly through its rulers' sequence in the Ramesside manuscript, the Turin king-list.[3] In comparison, the profound archaeological investigation of the royal evidence does not consider adequately in the study of the political history in such an obscured period.[4]

The scattered and rare pieces of evidence characterizes the archaeological record of the Thirteenth Dynasty. Thus, such an issue should provoke the researchers to depend on authentic sources for history crafting. Authenticity[5] is one of the criteria that should be considered by re-assessing the evidence of controversial periods like the Thirteenth Dynasty. A piece of unpublished adze-blade attributed to the King Amenemhat Sobekhotep of the Thirteenth Dynasty may point to a misleading information about the activity of this king. A discussion with S. Quirke raises doubts about the genuineness of this adze-blade. The present study investigates this object and reveals an argument about its authenticity extent.

[1] Siesse, *La XIII^e Dynastie*, 10-1;Grajetzki, M*iddle Kingdom*, 63-6; Quirke, in Quirke (ed.), *Royal Power*.

[2] von Beckerath, *Untersuchungen*; Ryholt, *Political Situation in Egypt*; Siesse, *La XIII^e Dynastie*.

[3] Turin King-list counts the Thirteenth Dynasty's rulers in Col. VI/ 5 to VII/ 23 according to Gardiner, *Royal Canon*, pl. III; or in Col. 7/ 5 to 8/ 27 according to Ryholt, *Political Situation in Egypt*, 71; See Allen, in Marée (ed.), *The Second Intermediate Period*, 1.

[4] Quirke, in Czerny *et al*. (eds), *Timelines*, vol. I, 263.

[5] Authenticity: is the quality of being real or true, and it is the antithesis of the forgery: which is copying pictures, documents, signatures, etc., and pretending they are genuine (*Cambridge dictionary*).

2. Historical Overview

King Amenemhat Sobekhotep[6] occupies a debatable position in the history of the Thirteenth Dynasty.[7] The king is mentioned in Turin King-list[8] as [*nsw*] *bity sḫm rˁ ḫw t3.wi sbk ḥtp*.[9] Simultaneously, most studies place him on the head of the dynasty[10] despite contradicting this conclusion with the Turin King-list.[11] According to the king-list, King Wegaf is the first ruler of the Thirteenth Dynasty.[12] In contrast, The archaeological record of King Wegaf does not reflect this front position.[13] Scholars believe that the throne name of king Amenemhat Sobekhotep, *sḫm-rˁ-ḫw-t3.wy*, was interchanged with the throne name of king Wegaf, *ḫw-t3wy-Rˁ*, in the Turin King-list.[14] However, the identity of the Thirteenth Dynasty's head is one of the crucial issues of the dynasty's political history.[15]

3. The Adze-blade Description[16]

3.1. Basic data

The adze-blade (see Figs 1-2) is kept at the Egyptian Museum Cairo (JE 67944). It is one of the numerous objects that King Fouad I gifted to the Egyptian Museum in April 1936.[17] The provenance is unknown. According to the database of the museum, the adze-blade is cast of copper, while it appears in black. This adze-blade measures L. 29.5 cm, W. 7.8 cm at the butt, and 14 cm at the cutting edge.

3.2. Morphological description

This adze-blade has a slightly narrow flat butt and expands up to be broader at its cutting edge, having convex sides. Through the in-person investigation, it seems that the adze-blade was intensively used. A semi-deep crack appears on the front and back of the adze. The adze's butt seems unpolished, and the cutting edge has two broken unsymmetric side-edges. Some green patches are spread over the two surfaces of the adze-blade. Almost the green colour refers to malachite, the principal ore of copper. The copper also has a natural content of arsenic that probably gave the adze-blade its black colour[18]. Unfortunately, the adze-blade did not subdue to the laboratory examination to define its material accurately.

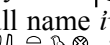
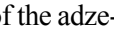
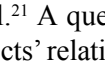
3.3. Inscriptions

The adze-blade bears a hieroglyphic inscription enclosed in a rectangular frame (L. 4.4 cm and W. 3.6 cm) at its first one-third. The inscription and the rectangular frame were filled with a white pigment, making the signs visible on the black adze's surface. The inscription's runs from the cutting-edge's side to the butt's side and read from left to right:

Ś3 Rᶜ Ỉmn-m-ḥ3t Śbk-ḥtp mry Śbk-Rᶜ nb ỉw-(m)- ỉtrw

Son of Re Amenemhat Sobekhotep beloved of Sobek-Re
Lord of 'Iu-em-iteru'

Comment on the text

The text mentions that the king is beloved of Sobek-Re Lord of *ỉw-(m)-ỉtrw* that it is identified as Crocodilopolis, modern el-Mahamid Qibil.[19] Here, the inscription is missing the letter or in *ỉw-m- ỉtrw* and doubling the letter in the syllable . Other sources[20] mention the town's full name *ỉw-m-ỉtrw* as:  , ,  ,  . Indeed, the same inscription of the adze-blade is identically engraved on a cylinder-seal.[21] A question that should be raised about the two objects' relationship will be discussed below. Besides, as an epigraphical remark: the letter 'ripple of water'[22] in the word is inscribed as a streak without ripples.[23]

[6] Recent studies designate king Amenemhat Sobekhotep as Sobekhotep I; See Ryholt, *Political Situation in Egypt*, 191-7, 207-9.
[7] Franke, *Orientalia* 57, 249-50.
[8] (Col. 7/ 19).
[9] Gardiner, *Royal Canon*, pl. III; Ryholt, *Political Situation in Egypt*, 71.
[10] Ryholt, *Political Situation in Egypt*, 73, 209-10, 296-7; Franke, *JEH* 1/2, 270; Siesse, *La XIII^e Dynastie*, 69-78.
[11] Quirke, in Czerny *et al*. (eds), *Timelines*, vol. I, 264.
[12] (Col. 7/ 5); Ryholt, *Political Situation in Egypt*, 71; von Beckerath, *Untersuchungen*, 30-1, Allen, *The Second Intermediate Period*, 7.
[13] Von Beckerath, *ZÄS* 84, 81-5; Franke, *Orientalia* 57, 249; Quirke, in Czerny *et al*. (eds), *Timelines*, vol. I, 264.
[14] Ryholt, *Political Situation in Egypt*, 315-16.
[15] Siesse, *CRIPEL* 31, 161-78.
[16] I prefer to use the English terminologies of tools' description according to the specialized study of Odler, *Copper Tools*.
[17] Engelbach, *ASAE* 41, 223.
[18] Scheel, E*gyptian Metalworking*, 14.
[19] LÄ V, 1001; el-Mahamid Qibli is one of the villages that today follows the town of Armant.
[20] Gauthier, *Dictionnaire des Nomes*, vol. I, 42- 3.
[21] Newberry, *Scarabs*, 195, pl. XLIII [3]
[22] Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammar*, 490 (N 35).
[23] For similar cases for carving techniques on adzes see Mekawy Ouda, *JEA* 106, 145-59.

4. Typology

Possibly, there is no question to type this adze-blade since it is already identified with an inscription bearing royal names and places. However, its unknown provenance implies an unsecured archaeological context, whereas most ancient tools would have been recycled through epochs.[24] Therefore, the adze-blade should be examined through its typological outline. According to the early work of Petrie of tools and weapons, it is inconspicuous to determine the typology of the adze-blade precisely. Nevertheless, it is apparent that the adze-blade resembles the group listed by Petrie that significantly expanded in size and was found in Cyprus and suddenly started in Egypt just before the First Dynasty or in the reign of Menes.[25] Odler also assumes that the adze-blade looks like the adzes of the First Dynasty.[26]

The closer chronological example to the present adze-blade is the Hyksos King Awoserre Apophis adze at the British Museum (EA 66206). It is inscribed with the king's name and dedicated to Sobek, lord of Sumenu. Apophis's adze is significantly different from the adze of Amenemhat Sobekhotep. It is a bronze necked adze and measures L. 19.8 cm and W. 5.8 cm at the cutting edge and has a diminutive butt probably because of corrosion.[27]

5. Function

Generally, adzes are the second in importance after the axes,[28] that it was employed by ancient Egyptian craftsmen for cutting wood and stone and buffing its surfaces.[29] Copper or bronze adzes were functioned as one of the foundation deposits besides pottery, food offerings, small mud bricks, and beads. Foundation deposits designate as votive offerings inserted under the structures like temples before building up. Beginning from the Middle Kingdom, foundation deposits bore the king's name as beloved of the deity of a town or temple,[30] like the present case-study. However, our adze-blade was severely utilized, so it was never used as a foundation deposit, despite its royal inscriptions. Since model/votive tools commonly served as foundation deposits, not the functional ones. Weinstein argued that the Awoserre Apopi's adze-blade mentioned above was not used as a foundation deposit since it was a functional adze-blade due to damage on its cutting edge. Meanwhile, he suggested that if the adze-blade came from a foundation deposit, so it indicates a temple of Sobek by the king Awoserre Apopi at Sumenu (in the vicinity of Gebelein).[31]

6. Discussion

According to the archaeological record of King Amenemhat Sobekhotep, he held the throne name *sḫm rʿ ḫw t3. wi,* the golden Horus name *ʿnḫ ntṛw,* and the birth name *Ỉmn m ḥ3t sbk ḥtp.* He is well-attested with these three titles only in Medamoud[32] and attested as *sḫm rʿ ḫw t3. wiỈmn m ḥ3t sbk ḥtp* only at Deir el-Bahri.[33] Simultaneously, he was not attested as *Ỉmn m ḥ3t sbk ḥtp* in Lower Egypt. Only the throne name *sḫm rʿ ḫw t3.wi* is attested in Lahun,[34] whereas two other kings bear the same throne name.[35] Nevertheless, scholars like Ryholt believe that the throne name *sḫm rʿ ḫw t3.wi* refers to the birth name *imn m ḥ3t sbk ḥtp*.[36]

The king's birth name *imn m ḥ3t sbk ḥtp* is attested lonely on three pieces of evidence that are unknown provenance: (1) on a limestone fragment, that shows only the name without any other data,[37] (2, 3) a cylinder-seal,[38] and the present adze-blade and the two evidence are inscribed with the same inscription '*S3 rʿỈmn m ḥ3t sbk ḥtp mri sbk rʿ nb iw-*(*m*)*- itrw*'. The cylinder-seal (see Figs 3-4)[39] is carved in steatite (L. 2:0 cm W. 0.5 cm) and is kept at the Metropolitan Museum of Art (MMA 30.8.319).[40] It was published and illustrated for the first time by Newberry. He transliterated the town *iw-m-itrew* as '*Shyteru*'.[41] The most controversial note in the publishing of Newberry is that his illustration of the cylinder-seal is identical to the inscription on the adze-blade.[42] Noticeably, this note provokes an argument around the non-authen-

[24] Odler, *Copper Tools*, 1.
[25] Petrie, *Tools and Weapons*, 5, 16, pls XV.8, XVI.66-67. See Petrie Museum online catalouge: UC 40973, UC 40973bb, UC 40974.
[26] A discussion with Odler by email on 16.12.2021.
[27] James, *British Museum Quarterly* 24, 40, pl. XIII.6.
[28] Petrie, *Tools and Weapons*, 16-7.
[29] Odler, *Copper Tools*, 128.
[30] Weinstein, in Redford (ed.), *Oxford Encyclopaedia*, 559-61.
[31] Weinstein, *Foundation deposits*, 55-6; James, *British Museum Quarterly* 24, 40.
[32] Bisson De La Rouque, *Mèdamoud*, pls X-XI; Cottevieille-Giraudet, *Mèdamoud*, pls V-VI.
[33] Naville, *The XIth Dynasty Temple*, 11-12; PM II², 392.
[34] Pap. Kahun IV.1: Griffith, *The Petrie Papyri*, 25-6, pl. X.
[35] According to the archaeological record, the throne name *sḫm rʿ ḫw t3.wi* overlapps with three kings attribute to the Thirteenth Dynasty and the Second Intermedaite Period: Amenemhat Sobekhotep, Kha-baw, and Pa-n-tjeny. See von Beckerath, *Untersuchungen*, 33-6, 45; Ryholt, *Political Situation in Egypt*, 73, 163-66, 216-7.
[36] Ryholt, *Political Situation in Egypt*, 316-20; See also Quirke, in Czerny *et al.* (eds), *Timelines*, vol. I, 264.
[37] Newberry, *PSBA 25*, 135, fig. 1.
[38] Newberry, *Scarabs*, 195, pl. XLIII [3].
[39] Hayes, *The Scepter of Egypt*, 342, fig. 226.
[40] https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/544369, accessed on <4.4.2022>.
[41] Newberry, *Scarabs*, 195.
[42] Newberry, *Scarabs*, pl. XLIII [3].

ticity of this adze-blade, which could be demonstrated in the following points:

1. Adze-blade typology shows that it does not refer to the Middle Kingdom or any later period but to the First Dynasty; it is assumed that the adze was recycled with a royal Thirteenth Dynasty inscription.
2. The exhausted condition of the adze-blade implies that it is not a royal or was never used in ceremonial events.
3. The text direction on the adze-blade runs in a double vertical line from the cutting-edge side to the butt side and is enclosed in a rectangular frame, whereas it most likely should run from the butt to the cutting-edge in one vertical line without frames as it is the case in other examples.[43]
4. The current facsimile illustration (see Fig. 4) of the cylinder-seal shows that the town *iw-m-itrw* is inscribed correctly as ; it is evident that Newberry mistakenly transcribed the letter *m* as *i*. So, if the adze-blade had been contemporaneous, it would have been inscribed with the correct writing.
5. The Egyptian Museum acquired the adze-blade as a royal gift from the King Fouad I that he purchased through his agents or was presented to him, whereas Engelbach considered that afew objects among the whole gifted collection are forgeries.[44]

The points mentioned above argue that the First Dynasty adze-blade was inscribed later. The wrong inscribed name of the town *iw-m-itrw* indicates that the inscription was not inscribed in the reign of king Amenemhat Sobekhotep. The prominent notice around the inscription is the almost identical resemblance between the inscription on the adze-blade (see Fig. 5a-b) and the Newberry's illustration of the king's cylinder-seal (see Fig. 6) in his book *Scarabs*.[45] The assumption is that the Newberry's illustration was copied on a plain adze-blade by antiquities forgers in the modern era, sometime between the Newberry's book publishing in 1908 until King Fouad I gifting the collection to the Egyptian Museum in 1936.

Fig. 1 – Adze-blade of King Amenemhat Sobekhotep, (Cairo, JE 67944) © courtesy of the Egyptian Museum, Cairo

7. Conclusion

The massive trade of antiquities was one of the common motivations for visiting Egypt in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. Hunting a genuine Egyptian artifact was a goal for the tourists and antiquities collectors from the western world.[46] There is no coincidence that the majority of the Egyptian antiquities on display in western museums got their path there due to the trade of antiquities.[47] Thus, due to the increasing demand for Egyptian antiquities, forgeries artifacts, which are difficult to dis-

[43] See Petrie, *Tools and Weapons*, pl. XVII.76, 88. See Petrie Museum online catalogue: UC 16330, UC 15894; James, *British Museum Quarterly* 24, pl. XIII.6.
[44] Engelbach, *ASAE* 41, 230-1.
[45] Newberry, *Scarabs*, pl. XLIII [3].
[46] Wakeling, *Forged Egyptian antiquities*, 1-10; Hagen Ryholt, *Antiquities Trade in Egypt*.
[47] Hagen Ryholt, *Antiquities Trade in Egypt*, 11.

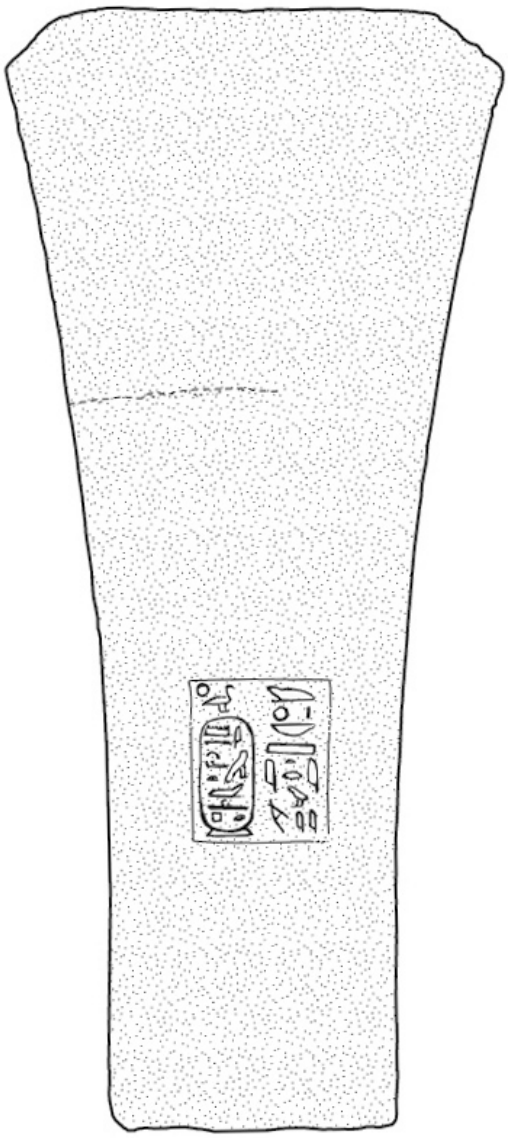


Fig. 2 – The adze-blade in facsimile drawing © illustration by Adel Kelany

Fig. 3 – Cylinder-seal of King Amenemhat Sobekhotep, (MMA 30.8.319) © courtesy of Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York

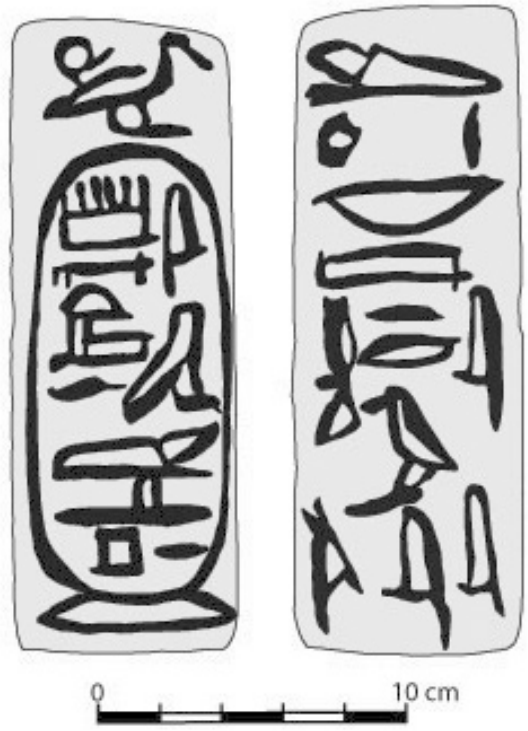


Fig. 4 – Cylinder-seal of King Amenemhat Sobekhotep in facsimile drawing © illustration by Adel Kelany

cover, in parallel were promoted and sold as originals.[48] The antiquities forgers did not replicate only the original artifacts directly but also used the drawings and publications of the Egyptologists. For instance, Newberry's drawings of scarabs,[49] and other books, were used by the forgers as models for their forgeries, as reported by Ahmed Fakhry when he was an inspector of antiquities in Luxor between 1932- 1936.[50] Similarly, in the present case-study, the forgers used Newberry's book of *Scarabs* by selecting an illustration (see Fig. 6) and copying it on

[48] Hagen Ryholt, *Antiquities Trade in Egypt*, 147-8.
[49] Newberry, *Timins Collection*; Newberry, *Scarabs*.
[50] Lilyquist, *Three Foreign Wives*, 270; Hagen Ryholt, *Antiquities Trade in Egypt*, 148.

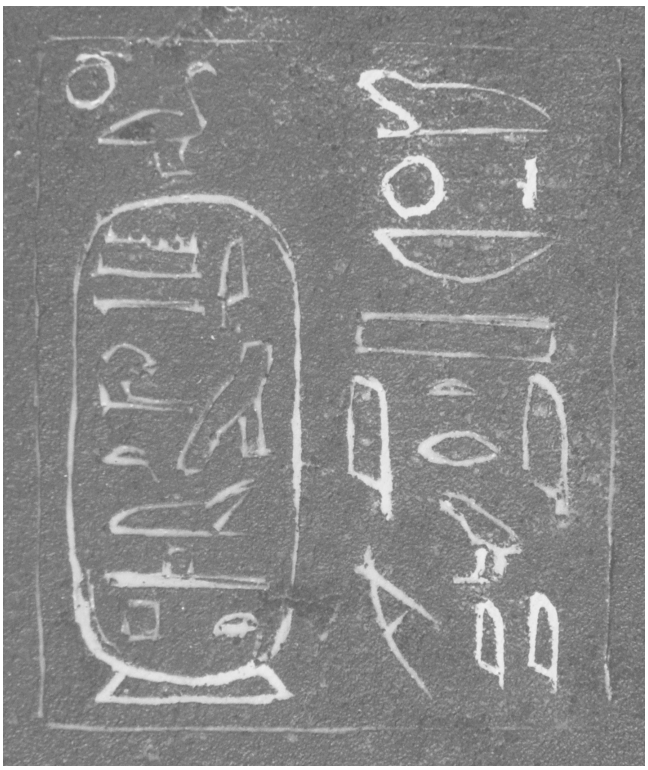


Fig. 5a – The inscription on the Adze-blade © courtesy of the Egyptian Museum, Cairo

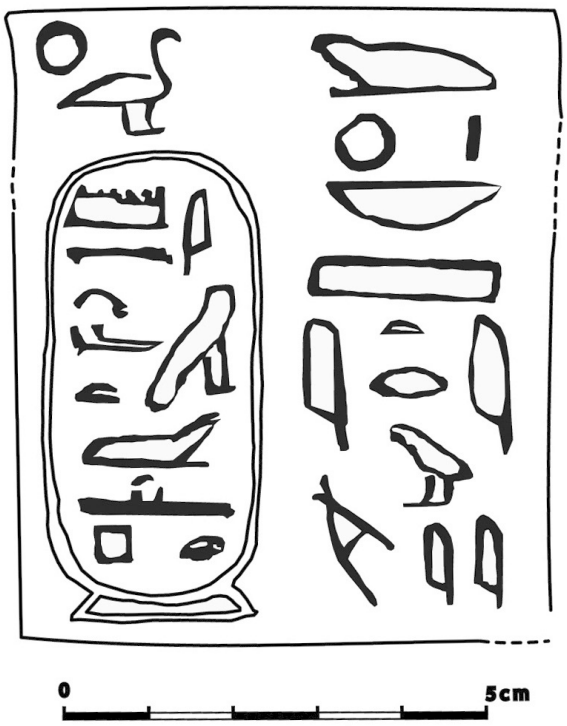


Fig. 5b – The inscription on the adze-blade in facsimile drawing © illustration by Adel Kelany

Fig. 6 – Newberry's illustration for the inscription on the cylinder-seal © after Newberry, *Scarabs*, pl. XLIII [3]

a non-inscribed adze-blade (see Fig. 5a–b). Interestingly, forgers chose an inscription that contained a royal cartouch, which indicates their knowledge that the cartouch is a royal sign that raises the adze-blade market value.

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Middle Kingdom Wooden Board with Hieratic Inscriptions from the Egyptian Museum in Cairo (JE 30442/CG 25369/SR 920)

Khaled Hassan

Abstract

Hieratic texts inscribed on wood boards were uncommon through the Middle Kingdom written sources. Thus, this paper presents a rare example of wooden board of this era preserved in the Egyptian Museum of Cairo (JE 30442– SR 920– CG 25369). This board bears an administrative hieratic text with different entries. Some of them are very difficult or even unparalleled. This paper also aims at publishing this object in full for the first time with colored pictures accompanied by the facsimile, hieroglyphic transcription, transliteration, translation, and commentary on most of the entries of this object. It will also try to shed light on the paleography of the text in comparison with some contemporary examples. The dating and the provenance of this object will be discussed based on the examination of the paleography as well.

Description

The wooden board is covered with stucco on the recto and the verso; however, the layer of stucco on the verso was completely removed. As such, no traces of writings could be spotted on this side. It is well known that the standard pharaonic wooden writing boards consist of a piece of wood as core of the board, usually wrapped with linen and then covered in a layer of stucco forming the writing surface.[1] However, no traces of linen could be noticed under the stucco on the recto or on the verso. The stucco on the recto has a yellowish color. A large portion of the stucco that covered the recto was also peeled off, particularly in the lower part of the tablet. Few cracks and breaks are visible on this board such as the large vertical one in the middle of the board and could be seen on the verso as well. Most wooden boards had a hole etched to one side, probably for attaching it to other objects,[2] but no holes could be seen in the body of the current board.

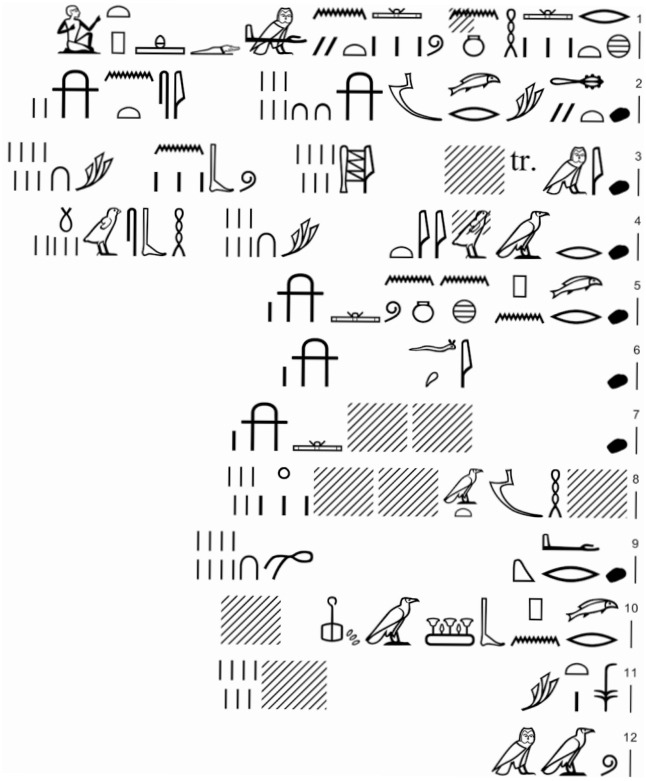
Fortunately, the damages do not affect the text which still mostly clear and readable. The text is inscribed in black ink on one side only, i.e., recto. This board is now preserved in the Egyptian Museum of Cairo and measures 38 x 21 cm. According to the Special record SR of the Museum, this piece was found at the site of Gebelein, with a question mark which make the provenance still uncertain. The main text is composed of twelve hieratic lines with check points in black in the front of some entries. Traces of faded and erased ink on the recto point to a palimpsest on this side. At the bottom of the tablet, a few hieratic signs were also inscribed as secondary inscriptions. They were most probably executed by a student who tried to practice writing on this board. Only a black and white picture was included by Daressy in the *catalogue general* with a concise description, but without transcription or translation.[3] As far as I am aware, this

[1] Hagen, *JARCE* 49, 82; Eyre, *The Use of Documents*, 31. For more information about the writing tablets see Vernus, *LÄ* V, col. 603-709.

[2] Hagen, *JARCE* 49, 82-3; Hagen, *JEA* 105/2, 179.

[3] Daressy, *Ostraca, CGC 25001-25385*, no. 25369, 96, pl. 64.

tablet has never been fully published: the hieratic text and its contents have never been examined. Assuredly, the wooden board of Cairo will be a very interesting addition to the scarce hieratic paleography of the Middle Kingdom. Paleographic comparison with contemporary examples will also be presented and the provenance of this board will be discussed on paleographical grounds. The main difficulty in interpreting this board lies in the fact that some entries are unparalleled.



Hieroglyphic Transcription [4]

Transliteration

(1) *rḫ.t ḥnw nty m-ᶜ sbk-ḥtp*
(2) • *ḫty ḫ3r m3 ḫ3r 26 isnt ḫ3r 2*
(3) • *im….ᶜ3bt? 7 wbn ḫrš* 17
(4) • *rwy.t ḫrš 16 ḥbsw 2*
(5) • *ḫ3r pn nḫn.w ḫ3r* 1
(6) • *iwf ḫ3r* 1
(7) • *ḫ3r* 1
(8) *... ḥm3t* ...5
(9) • *ᶜrḳ* 18
(10) *ḫ3r pn bš3 ḥḳ3t…..*
(11) *swt* …7
(12) *w3m ?*

[4] The author of this paper preferred to run this text into lines not into columns. The lines 2, 3, and 4 contains two different entries in each line, however they were treated as single line.

Translation

(1) List of goods that are in the hand of Sobekhotep
(2) *ḫty*- plant new sack 26 *isnt*- plant sack 2/leather 2 ?
(3) ... pile? 7 *wbn*- plant? Bundle 17
(4) straw bundle 16 ... clothes 2
(5) this sack of Nekhenou-bread sack 1
(6) ... meat sack 1
(7) ...sack 1
(8) ... salt... 5
(9) basket 18
(10) this sack of malted grain, barrels...
(11) Sout-plant 7
(12) *w3m*?

Commentary

In comparison with the written sources from the Middle and New Kingdom, e.g., papyri and ostraca, wooden boards inscribed in hieratic are relatively few and were scattered in several museums and magazines around the world. These boards were basically used as a writing medium by the students for educational purposes. Thus, they mostly contained widely known literary texts.[5] Beside their didactic function, they sometimes contain administrative documents inscribed alone on the board or accompanied with some literary texts or student exercises.[6]

The text of the current board is entirely written in black ink and no noticeable traces for using the rubric on both recto and verso. The hieratic inscriptions are arranged in horizontal lines, while the right and left margins have not the same size. Large spaces were left blank on the recto of this board. Based on paleographical clues, and handwriting consistency, it seems that the main text was inscribed by a single scribe. The ink is bold in most of the text and the dipping positions could be noticed as well. The text is mostly inscribed in separated forms, and ligatures are relatively few such as and .

1-a: The scribe of the Cairo board preferred to ligature the first two signs of the word *i.e. r+ḫ*. This form of writing is very similar to several contemporary examples such as in Lahun papyri particularly

[5] The most known group of wooden boards is the twelve literary boards that Carnarvon discovered at lower Asasif between 1908 to 1913. For more details, *cf.* LILYQUIST, *JEA* 105/2, 157-75; another wooden board with literary texts, *cf.* PEET, in CASSON (ed), *Essays*, 91-8; VAN DE WALLE, *ZÄS* 90, 118-23; BARNS, *JEA* 54, 71-6; GALÁN, *JEA* 93, 95-116; HAGEN, *JARCE* 49, 73-91; HASSAN, *BIFAO* 117, 281-92; HAGEN, *JEA* 105/2, 177-208.
[6] For boards contain non-literary texts, *cf.* BROVARSKI, *ASAE* 71, 27-52; KYRIAKIDIS, *ÄuL* 12, 211-19; VERNUS, *RdE* 33, 89-124; HASSAN, *EJARS* 6/2, 125-32.

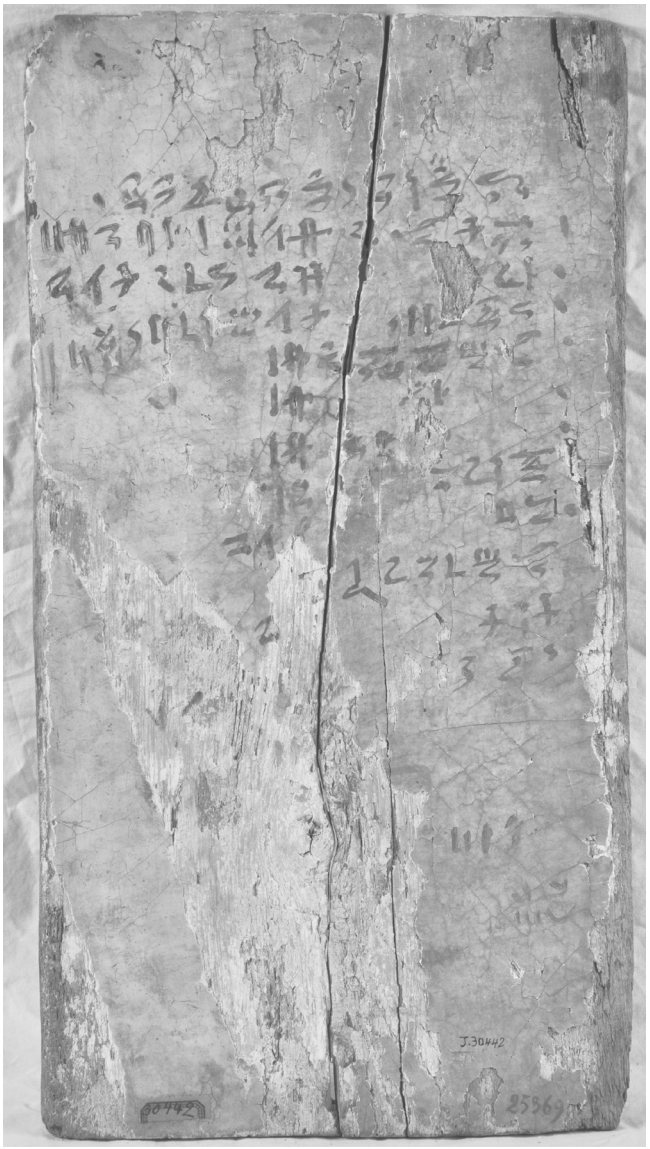


Fig. 1 – Recto of the Cairo wooden board JE 30442-CG 25369-SR 920 © Egyptian Museum of Cairo

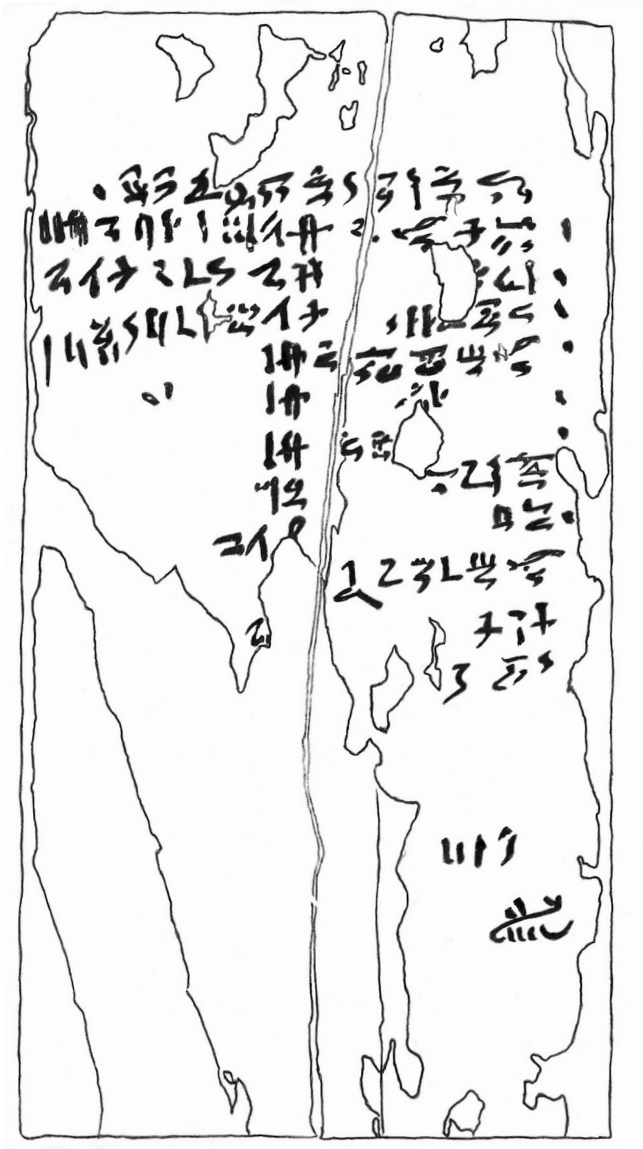


Fig. 2 – Facsimile drawing for the recto of the Cairo wooden board JE 30442-CG 25369-SR 920 © drawing by the author

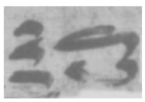
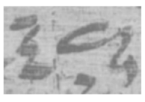
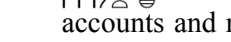
Cairo Board	**Lahun Papyri**			
	GRIFFITH, *Petrie Papyri*, pl. 21	 GRIFFITH, *Petrie Papyri*, pl. 21	GRIFFITH, *Petrie Papyri*, pl. 18	 GRIFFITH, *Petrie Papyri*, pl. 15

Table 1 – Similar writing forms found in the Lahun Papyri

Fig. 3 – Verso of the Cairo wooden board JE 30442-CG 25369-SR 920 © Egyptian Museum of Cairo

those related to the account and list of goods.[7] In most cases the signs Y1 (papyrus roll) + Z2 (three strokes) are inscribed as separated forms. Very similar forms for the first part of the word *rḫ* are also attested in pReisner I ,[8] and in pReisner II .[9]  is one of the main terms used as a title in the accounts and mathematical texts.[10] It introduce the pieces of information given in the document.[11] The common translation for this term is 'list, amount', when it is followed by names, products, and offerings arranged systematically in the text.[12] In Lahun account papyri, this term is utilized in texts as a heading line, followed by different entries and goods. For example, *rḫ.t ḥnw it̬ m*, 'amount of items taken in',[13] *rḫ.t ḳrḥt* 'amount of pottery',[14] *rḫ.t 3ḫt* 'amount of fields',[15] *rḫt ḫtr* 'amount of dues',[16] *rḫt 3tpw* 'amount of cargo'.[17] This term is frequently mentioned in several entries of papyrus Boulaq 18 especially with the term *ḥsb*.[18] It is also used in papyrus Reisner II in accounts related to the ships and the amount of copper tax.[19] In a Middle Kingdom fragmentary wooden board found at Deir el-Bahri in the tomb no. 515, the same spelling of the word is attested as well.[20] Several other expressions with the same translation can be used as a headings, e.g. .[21]

1-b: Most probably this word reads as *ḥnw* 'goods', however it is broken in its middle part. Usually, the spelling for this word starts with the *ḥ* followed by the group consist of M2+N35 then the *nw*-vessel . However, the remaining traces in the current text point only to the sign N35 and do not support the reading of the broken part as herb M2. Accordingly, this word displays an odd spelling that could reads as . Similar spelling, especially for the first part of the word, could be noticed in the Cairo wooden tablet JE 92920 that carries an entry of several goods on the recto alongside two other texts.[22] Haikal translated the word as bunches, however the context supposed another translation to be as 'goods'. Different spellings for this word occurred in contemporary hieratic examples such as the Lahun papyri, and the text of Eloquent peasant.

[7] GRIFFITH, *The Petrie Papyri*, pls 15, 63.1; COLLIER, QUIRKE, *The UCL Lahun papyri*.
[8] SIMPSON, *The Records of a building*, pls 18, 18A.
[9] SIMPSON, *Account of the dockyard workshop*, pls 5, 5A.
[10] MEGALLY, *BIFAO* 81, 297.
[11] HARING, *JESHO* 46/3, 252; DONKER VAN HEEL, HARING, *Writing in a Workmen's Village,* 124.
[12] Wb II, 448; HAYES, *Ostraka and name stones*, 24, no. 87; LESKO, *A Dictionary of Late Egyptian*, 276; WILSON, *A Ptolemaic lexicon*, 590; HASSAN, *BIFAO* 115, 179-229.
[13] COLLIER, QUIRKE, *The UCL Lahun papyri*, 26-7.
[14] COLLIER, QUIRKE, *The UCL Lahun papyri*, 70-1.
[15] COLLIER, QUIRKE, *The UCL Lahun papyri*, 74-5
[16] COLLIER, QUIRKE, *The UCL Lahun papyri*, 76-7.
[17] COLLIER, QUIRKE, *The UCL Lahun papyri*, 106-7.
[18] FAROUK, *Papyrus Boulaq 18*, 133-4.
[19] SIMPSON, *Account of the dockyard workshop*, 27-8. For more information and recent discussions about this papyrus, *cf.* ALLAM, *Hieratischer Papyrus Bulaq 18*.
[20] JAMES, *The Hekanakhte papers*, 97-8, pl. 29.
[21] MEGALLY, *BIFAO* 81, 297; DONKER VAN HEEL, HARING, *Writing in a Workmen's Village,* 110; DONKER VAN HEEL, HARING, *Writing in a Workmen's Village*, 106.
[22] HAIKAL, *ASAE* 70, 312. The tablet of the Cairo Museum JE 92920 was uncovered by Edel in 1973 in the tomb no. 32 at Aswan. It was inscribed on the recto and the verso and dated to twelve Dynasty. For more details, *cf.* HAIKAL, *ASAE* 70, 311-15.

Cairo Board	Lahun Papyri		Eloquent Peasant
	Griffith, *Petrie Papyri*, pl. 18	Griffith, *Petrie Papyri*, pl. 20	Möller, *Hieratische Lesestücke*, vol. I, p. 15

Table 2 – Different spellings for the word *ḥnw* in contemporary sources

1-c: preposition *m-ˁ* is known in the lists and accounts referring to locations of the entries when someone is involved.[23]

1-d: This name was very common during the Middle Kingdom and in many cases was inscribed with *ḥ*-sign directly after the crocodile. However, the scribe of this board dropped this *ḥ*-sign. Several examples from different locations were inscribed with the same spelling for this name.[24] Similar writings of the crocodile are attested in the papyri of Lahun and Boulaq 18 .[25] At the same time, contemporary examples exhibit different forms especially in the writing of *sbk*-sign and for the group of *ḥtp*. The name-lists of the smdt-staff recorded on a wooden tablet from the Middle Kingdom offers different forms of this name, *i.e.* , especially in the first part of the name.[26]

2-a: the possible reading for this word is *ḫty*. The first horizontal sign is inscribed in an odd form, however the closest form of this sign attested in Lahun papyri .[27] Another similar form is also attested in the Ramesseum papyrus that dates to the end of twelve Dynasty .[28] According to the classifier of this word, most probably belongs to the plants and was measured with *ḫ3r*.

2-b: The only possible reading for this term is *ḫ3r m3* could be translated as a 'new sack'. However, it is uncertain interpretation.

2-c: Two different interpretations could be presented to this word. One can simply read it as inst-plant , the plant attested in the list of products at the beginning of the Eloquent Peasant,[29] and in other Middle Kingdom sources .[30] Note that several entries of this board are attested in the Tale of Eloquent Peasant. Most probably the last sign can be read as *ḫ3r*, as a measure for this plant then followed by number 2. The second reading could be isn that means a hide/leather.[31] In this case the last sign could be used as a classifier for the word, as it was used as a determinative in similar words means leather in Deir el-Medina.[32]

3-a: the reading of the broken part after is uncertain. However, it could stand for the word *imw*/*i3m* that means tree/wood.[33] The supposition that it could read as *i3rrt* is not convenient here because the second sign is very clear as *m*-owl, and no traces for r can be noticed as well.[34]

3-b: most probably this sign is not used here as a classifier of the word, but it is used as a unit of measure for the good in the front of it. At the same time, this could also indicate that the product before it is a kind or derived from plants. The possible reading for this sign could stands for *ˁ3bt* ? as a pile of offering?

4-a: the possible reading for this word is *rwy.t* and the remaining part of the broken sign in the mid-

[23] James, *JEA* 54, 51-6.

[24] For these forms of the name of *sbk-ḥtp, cf.* the project of Illin Tomich 'Persons and names of the Middle Kingdom'. https://pnm.unimainz.de/name/2?fbclid=IwAR2g1uJxVD9XCryWK-LzpBpB1iR7IvoOzJcKYjUsMr0LLTzK-zxxtxeBaJ8#322, <accessed 05.10.2020>.

[25] Möller, *Hieratische Paläographie*, vol. I, 242.

[26] Valbelle, *CRIPEL* 13, 123-8, pl. 16.

[27] Möller *Hieratische Paläographie*, vol. I, 169.

[28] Meyrat, *Les papyrus magiques du Ramesseum*, 409.

[29] Allen, *Middle Egyptian literature*, 232-3.

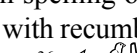
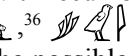
[30] Hannig, *Ägyptisches Wörterbuch,* vol. II, 309, no.2916. The Arabic name of this plant is 'yansoun', يانسون , for more information, *cf.* Manniche, *An Ancient Egyptian Herbal*, 135.

[31] Andreu, Cauville, *RdE* 29, 6.

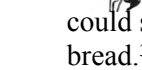
[32] Janssen, *Commodity Prices*, 398-406.

[33] Lesko, *A Dictionary of Late Egyptian*, 29; Faulkner, *A Concise Dictionary*, 20.

[34] Daressy, *Ostraca, CGC 25001-25385*, 96, no. 25369.

dle of the word refers that it could indicates to a bird. The spelling of the word suggest that is a quail chick (G43). The meaning of this word is 'straw, thatch', تبن قش أو. This word is uncommon among the list of goods of that time, as it is not mentioned in the similar lists of Lahun. The spelling also is a bit different from the known spelling of this word. Sometimes it was inscribed with recumbent lion (E23)  ,[35] ,[36]  .[37]

5-a: The possible reading for this part is *ḫ3r pn* 'this sack'. The position of this term at the beginning of entries 5, 10 is odd.

5-b: this word is very difficult, however it could stand for  *nḫn.w* which is a kind of bread.[38] The only problem in this reading is the determinative of the word, where it is usually used the sign of the sandy tract (N18) that is not possible to read it here. Instead, one can read the last sign as (Y1) the papyrus roll that is inconvenient for this word.

6: Most probably the entry of this line reads as *iwf* which written in the short form and measured with *ḫ3r*. Unlike the other goods in this board, both entries in lines 6 and 7 does not started at the beginning of the lines. Most probably the term *ḫ3r pt* (?) that previously mentioned in line 5 pertains to these entries as well.[39] Thus, the scribe preferred to leave it blank instead of repeating it.

7: The product in this line is broken in its first part thus the reading is uncertain.

8-a: the reading of this group still puzzling me so far.

8-b: Two possible readings for this word. The spelling could refer to the common word *ḥm3t* as salt as it attested in the Eloquent Peasant.[40] The other interpretation that it could reads as *ḥm3it* as '*Fenugreek*, or fruits'.[41] Both words have the same spelling in several Middle Kingdom and later sources.[42]

10: *bš3* as malted grain, is a widely known type of cereal that is frequently mentioned in the Lahun accounting papyri in the same form and the same spelling .[43]

11: the typical writing for the known *swt*-plant as a sign for Upper Egypt.[44] Most probably, this plant is mention in this list as a type of goods that was used by the Egyptians. In a New Kingdom letter from the draughtsman Pay to the draughtsman Paraemheb recorded on an ostracon from Deir el-Medina, the *swt*-plant is mentioned as s*wt r ḫnd.w* 'sout plant for plait',[45] and this could be indication to the function of this plant. From the Middle Kingdom onwards, different sources were mentioned this plant in the same spelling.[46]

The Check Points

These black points were used about seven times i.e., 2-7, 9 as check marks. The purpose of these points is not easy to determine in this board, although they could possibly refer to the delivered entries. Generally, these points were utilized for revising and totaling names' lists or accounting texts.[47] They were inserted before or after specific names in the list referring to the receiving his/her part of a certain commodity. Sometimes it could also refer to the absence or the attendance of someone in the list.[48] In one of El Lahun papyri, in a list of goods started with the same heading *rḫt ḥnw*, similar check points were used before some entries.[49] Some of the check points also unitized in the Reisner papyrus I, in some of the lists.[50]

Provenance and Date

As far as I know, no Middle Kingdom hieratic texts were discovered at the site of Gebelein. The well-known manuscripts from this site date to the Old Kingdom.[51] One

[35] Wb II, 408, 2; CHARPENTIER, *Recueil de matériaux épigraphiques*, 428.

[36] GRANDET, *Catalogue des ostraca hiératiques IX*, no. 941; GRANDET, *Catalogue des ostraca hiératiques XI*, no. 10249.

[37] CHARPENTIER, *Recueil de matériaux épigraphiques*, 428.

[38] Wb II, 312, 9. Many thanks to Pierre Tallet who suggested this reading.

[39] Comment of Mathias Müller on this part.

[40] MÖLLER, *Hieratische Paläographie*, vol. I, 12.

[41] Wb III, 94; CHARPENTIER, *Recueil de matériaux épigraphiques*, 468, no. 749; MANNICHE, *An Ancient Egyptian Herbal*, 151; GERMER, *Handbuch der altägyptischen Heilpflanzen*, 94.

[42] GERMER, *Handbuch der altägyptischen Heilpflanzen*, 94.

[43] GRIFFITH, *The Petrie Papyri*, pl. 15. For more information about this product, *cf.* GERMER, *Handbuch der altägyptischen Heilpflanzen*, 65-6.

[44] GARDINER, *Egyptian Grammar*, 482, sign-list M23; CHARPENTIER, *Recueil de matériaux épigraphiques*, 570-1.

[45] GRANDET, *Catalogue des ostraca hiératiques XI*, 132, no. 10249. For more information, *cf.* JANSSEN, *Commodity Prices*, 139, 158.

[46] HANNIG, *Ägyptisches Wörterbuch,* vol. II, 2120, no. 26556; GERMER, *Handbuch der altägyptischen Heilpflanzen*, 113.

[47] EYRE, *The Use of Documents*, 236.

[48] ALLAM, *BEM* 4, 30. *Cf.* HASSAN, *SAK* 45, 131; HASSAN, *Publish and Study group of Hieratic ostraca*, 100.

[49] GRIFFITH, *The Petrie Papyri*, pl. 20, for more details on the writing practices in the Lahun Papyri, *cf.* NASSAR, *JARCE* 55, 115; and for an extensive study, *cf.* EWEIS, *A Social History of Writing*.

[50] SIMPSON, *The Records of a building*, pls 18, 18A.

[51] ROCCATI, *RSO* 45/1-2, 1-10; POSENER-KRIÉGER, *RdE* 27, 211-21; POSENER-KRIÉGER, in GÖRG, PUSCH (eds), *Festschrift*, 318-32; GOEDICKE, *Old Hieratic Paleography*, 16; POSENER-KRIÉGER, in BERGER, CLERC, GRIMAL (eds), *Hommages*, 315-26;

can conclude from the above paleographic notes that the handwriting of the current board is very close to the writings of the papyri found at the site of Lahun. In the same vein, about three entries attested in this board is very similar to that mentioned in the Tale of the Eloquent Peasant. Thus, most probably this board does not belong to the site of Gebelein, however it could be found in Lahun or a close area. Based on paleographical similarities between these texts with Lahun and the tale of an eloquent peasant, this text could safely date to the second half of the twelve Dynasty.

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Not only for a King: *nms*-headdresses on the Objects of the Twelfth to Eighteenth Dynasties

Dinara Hereikhanova

Abstract

This article is devoted to the funerary tradition of using a nms-headdress by non-royal individuals. In visual form, it lasted for about 400 years: from the reign of Amenemhat II to the first regnal years of Thutmosis III. Attention is focused on the iconographic comparison of the nms-headdress on royal and private objects. A comparative analysis showed that the headdress on objects of non-royal origin somewhat differs in colour and shape from the standard royal one, which indicates a thoughtful adaptation of the primordially royal attribute in connection with the development of religious thought. In this article, rare non-royal figurines with the nms-headdresses are first published in full. There are shabtis of Ahmose from the Odessa Archaeological Museum of the NAS of Ukraine (inv. no. 52944) and Sen(i)-em-iah from a private collection. This topic is not limited to this article. The proposed hypotheses require discussion and further study.

During the Middle Kingdom, in the burials of non-royal individuals, images and objects of royal authority began to appear. In the Twelfth Dynasty, the *nms*-headdress emerged on the inner walls of rectangular coffins.[1] From the second half of the Twelfth Dynasty to the beginning of the Eighteenth Dynasty there were anthropoid coffins with the *nms*-headdress. Almost in the same period there were shabtis and mummiform figures with this headdress.

The use of regalia had nothing to do with the usurpation of power by the ruling monarch but was a consequence of the emergence of a new corpus of religious texts – the *Coffin Texts* and the spread of the cult of Osiris. According to the *Pyramid Texts* only the king could be identified with the gods and reach the Duat, which was in the sky among the stars. Thus, to attain the same goal, the non-royal deceased had to achieve some royal status for which he used royal regalia.

As Harco Willems pointed out, this is not 'democratization', but '*rather a socio-cultural trend of proliferation: privileges that had been reserved originally for the king come within the reach of increasingly large segments of the population, in the end being adopted even by the lowermost social strata*'.[2] Using these attributes during the rituals, the deceased was identified with Osiris[3] and Horus[4] thus acquiring divine and royal status.[5] Royal regalia provided a protective function for a non-royal deceased and allowed him to move freely through the Netherworld.

[1] The article is based on the report read at the Second International Scientific Round Table 'Pre-Islamic Near East: History, Religion, Culture' (Kyiv, December 10, 2020).

[2] Willems, *Historical and Archaeological Aspects,* 124.

[3] Regarding the development of the cult of Osiris and the identification of the non-royal deceased with this deity, see Wegner, *The mortuary complex of Senwosret III,* 9-86; O'Connor, *Abydos,* 71-104; Willems, *Chests of Life,* 122-59; Assmann, *Altägyptische Totenliturgien*, vol. I, 39-332.

[4] Willems, *The Embalmer Embalmed,* 367.

[5] About the mummification of the deceased as the coronation, see: Willems, in van Dijk (ed.), *Essays on Ancient Egypt*, 343-72.

№	Spell	Coffins
1	75	T3C; B3C; B1Bo; B1C; B2C; B1P; B6C; M20C; S1C; S2C; M3C; M5C; M23C; M28C; Sq5C; G1T; A1C; B2L
2	312	D1C; B2Bo; B6C
3	486	S1C; B1Bo; B2L
4	660	B1Bo
5	1091	B1L; B2L; B2P
6	1099	B3C; B4C; B1Bo; B2Bo; B1C; B6C; B12C; B9C; B1L; B2L; B3L; B2P
7	1103	B2Bo; B6C; B9C; B1L; B3L; B2P

Table 1 – The *nms*-headdress in the Coffin Texts Spells

There are seven Spells of the *Coffin Texts* in which the *nms*-headdress occurs.[6]

Coffin Texts Spell 312[7] best shows the importance of the *nms*-headdress for the deceased. The first example of this Spell covers the sarcophagus of Beb from Dendera (D1C). This sarcophagus dates to the First Intermediate Period[8] and its inscriptions are among the earliest antecedents of the *Coffin Texts*.[9]

In this text the deceased takes the form of Horus' *bꜣ* and, as his messenger, tries to reach Osiris in the Netherworld (*dwꜣt*). However, a Double Lion (*rwtỉ*), which is called the 'Keeper of the house of the *nms*' (*iry ḥwt n nms*), blocks his path. The deceased is not allowed to pass even though he possesses the form of Horus because he does not have the *nms*-headdress.

Ultimately, only after receiving it, the deceased can move freely to the Netherworld. From this text, we find out that the royal attribute acquires the meaning of a kind of pass.

1. The *nms*-headdress on Rectangular and Anthropoid Coffins

One of the first depictions of the *nms*-headdress emerged on the 'frieze of objects' on the outer coffin of the Nomarch Amenemhat from Deir el-Bersha (B10C)[10] that dated back to the reign of Amenemhat II.[11] This visual innovation[12] is rooted in the offering ceremony of presenting royal insignia to the king that occurs in the *Pyramid Texts* (PT) of Pepi II and Queen Neith (PT Spells 742-756).[13] On the 'frieze of objects' *nms*-headdress often stand near other insignia of royal power such as the White crown (*ḥḍt*), Red crown (*dšrt*), *afnet* (*ʿfnt*) – sometimes beside a row of five cobras or vultures.[14]

From the middle to the late Twelfth Dynasty there were several changes in funerary customs.[15] With the slow fading of the tradition of using wooden models and the development of the shabti-formula, the formation of anthropoid coffins was observed. Simultaneously the gradual disappearance of the inner decorations from rectangular coffins as well as texts began to occur, and under the reign of Amenemhet III they were hardly used.[16] The 'frieze of objects' began to take on a three-dimensional shape[17] and/or become an integral part of anthropoid coffins. There are several non-royal examples of these coffins with the *nms*-headdresses dating back to the Twelfth Dynasty.

The earliest instance is the anthropoid coffin of General (*ỉmy-r mš*) Sepi III[18] from Deir el-Bersha that dates to the reign of Senusert II and Senusert III.[19] It was found lying on its side in the rectangular coffin (B1C) inscribed with the *Coffin Texts* and the *Book of Two Ways*. The anthropoid coffin of Sepi III has blue rounded *nms*-headdress with golden stripes.

Of somewhat later date are the coffins of two brothers, Nakhtankh and Khnumnakht,[20] from Deir el-Rifeh. The

[6] For more details on these Spells, see Goebs, *ZÄS* 122, 155-68.
[7] CT IV, 76h-7f. (312).
[8] See the discussion in Fischer, *Dendera*, 182-4.
[9] It is noteworthy that the word *nms* itself does not appear in the *Pyramid Texts*, see Goebs, *ZÄS* 122, 155-6.
[10] There are some other examples: B4L, M2NY, T3Be, B2P, B16-B17C, B2L, M7C, B1C, R2X.
[11] Willems, *Chests of Life,* 218-21.
[12] Before this period, objects of royal power were not depicted on the inner walls of the rectangular coffins, see Willems, *Historical and Archaeological Aspects,* 136-8.
[13] Willems, *Chests of Life,* 206.
[14] Willems, *Chests of Life,* 220; Goebs, *Crowns*, 26-7.
[15] Bourriau, in Quirke (ed.), *Middle Kingdom Studies*, 3-20.
[16] Grajetzki, *EVO* 39, 31.
[17] Grajetzki, *Tomb Treasures*, 27. Most of the items were mainly royal insignia usually found in court-type burials, see Grajetzki, *Tomb Treasures*, 88-9.
[18] Cairo CG 28084, cl. pl. in Miniaci, in Taylor, Vandenbeusch (eds), *Ancient Egyptian Coffins*, 249, fig. 2.
[19] Willems, *Chests of Life,* 75-7.
[20] Cl. pl. in David, *The Two Brothers*, 50-1,figs 32-3.

anthropoid coffins of these priests were placed in rectangular coffins without inner decorations. Their *nms*-headdress are well modeled and preserved in good condition. The headdress of Nakhtankh is monochrome bronze-green. On the contrary, Khnumnakht has a polychrome *nms*-headdress. It is striped in rotation – red, green, and blue with gold between each of these colours.

The remains of the anthropoid coffin of the Lady of the House (*nbt-pr*), Khnumhotep,[21] from Deir el-Rifeh dated to the Senusret III or even later.[22] The style of her *nms*-headdress is similar to Sepi III and Khnumnakht. It has a rounded shape and painted in rotation – blue, green and red colours.[23]

The following example is for the Lady of the House (*nbt-pr*), Senebtisi from Lisht,[24] which dates to the reign of Amenemhet III.[25] Her headdress, like almost the entire anthropoid coffin, is covered with gold leaf and painted blue; it also has carnelian plaques in its round ends.[26] The headdress of Senebtisi combines the features of a *nms*-headdress with a tripartite wig and a Hathoric wig. No identical example could be found. The closest combination of a *nms*-headdress with wig-like lappets emerges on the colossi of Akhenaten (D9, D10)[27] and on the outer coffin of Tutankhamun.[28] The *nms*-headdress with a Hathoric wig is on female *rishi* coffin of Teti (*r*T06NY).[29]

In the Seventeenth Dynasty the *nms* became the most common attribute among the *rishi* coffins. The *nms*-shaped headdress occurs on both male and female, private and royal *rishi* coffins.[30] The use of *nms*-headdress attested on *rishi* masks from cemetery X at Mirgissa. Only one example (T.123-1) is confirmed[31] although there may be more examples. Poor preservation of the masks does not allow distinguishing *nms* from *khat*-type wig. The headdress in question is decorated in vertical bands separated by white lines, three of which are bronze-green bands and one carmine band.[32]

With the formation of the New Kingdom the image of *nms*-headdress in non-royal persons gradually went out of use. The last examples of *rishi* coffins with *nms* dated back to the beginning of the reign of Thutmosis III and have since disappeared completely.[33] However, the tradition continued to exist in textual form. *Coffin Texts* Spell 312 passed almost unchanged to the *Book of the Dead* forming Chapter 78, which existed from the middle of the Eighteenth Dynasty to the Ptolemaic Period.[34]

On royal objects the *nms*-headdress has a fairly well defined iconography. This type of headdress is usually depicted with gold/yellow and blue stripes, or emerges entirely in gold/yellow colour, both in two-dimensional and in a three-dimensional shape. The most famous example of a bicolour striped headdress is the mask of Tutankhamun. There are also many examples of standard *nms* on the walls of the kings' tombs where the scenes of a king with the gods are frequently shown.[35] Sometimes this headdress appears with blue and white stripes instead of yellow ones.[36] Such a colour scheme can be explained by the desire of the artist or by the very specificity of these colours. White and yellow could be perceived as a single unit.[37] Moreover, these colours could be interchangeable.[38]

Entirely covered by gold leaf, this headdress appears on royal *rishi* coffins.[39] The *nms*-headdress of the yellow colour in a two-dimensional form emerges on the Chapel of Hathor from Deir el-Bahari, showing Thutmosis III within. The same iconography can be seen on the relief depicting Thutmosis I with his mother Seniseneb from the Chapel of Anubis in the mortuary temple of Hatshepsut.

The yellow/gold colour has a close connection with the sun and equally with solar deities. Being the colour of the life-giving river Nile, blue was a symbol of life and resurrection. It was also the colour of cosmic waters and sky.[40] The colour combination of blue and yellow symbolizes the daily rebirth of the sun and may represent the first rays of light of the rising sun emerging above the horizon.[41]

The iconography on the objects of non-royal origin is extremely diverse. On the objects of private individuals, like the headdresses worn by kings, this headdress

[21] Grajetzki, in Dodson, Johnston, Monkhouse (eds), *A Good Scribe*, 101-2, figs 2-4.
[22] *Ibid*, 106.
[23] Petrie, *Gizeh and Rifeh*, 12.
[24] Mace, Winlock, *The tomb of Senebtisi*, 39, fig. 23.
[25] Bourriau, in Quirke (ed.), *Middle Kingdom Studies,* 17.
[26] *Ibid*, 42.
[27] Manniche, *The Akhenaten Colossi*, 38-40; 110-1, figs 2.18 a,b; 2.19a-b; 2.20-21.
[28] It seems to represent an early example of a *nms*-headdress on a life-size statue of King Djoser, whose lappets fall on top of a full, long wig. Manniche, *The Akhenaten Colossi*, 111.
[29] New York MMA 12.181.300a-b. Miniaci, *Rishi Coffins*, 260-1.
[30] Miniaci, *Rishi Coffins*, 27.
[31] Vila, in Vercoutter (ed.), *Mirgissa*, vol. III, 165, 172, 234-5, fig. 31.
[32] *Ibid,* 235.
[33] Miniaci, *Rishi Coffins*, 126-9.
[34] Quirke, *Going Out in Daylight,* 183-7.
[35] KV 43 (Thutmosis IV), KV 57 (Horemheb), KV22 (Amenhotep III).
[36] Robins, in Davies (ed.), *Colour and Painting,* pl. 14, fig. 2.
[37] Wilkinson, *Symbol and Magic,* 112.
[38] *Ibid*, 121 (79).
[39] Nubkheperre Antef (*r*T01BM), Sekhemre Wepmaat Antef (*r*T01P), Seqenenre Djehuty-aa (*r*T01C), according to Miniaci, *Rishi Coffins*.
[40] Wilkinson, *Symbol and Magic,* 107-8, 112, 114.
[41] Goebs, *Crowns,* 91; Goebs, *ZÄS* 122, 168.

Fig. 1 – Detail of the rectangular outer coffin of Sen, London BM EA 30841 (B4L)
© Courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum

Fig. 2 – Detail of the rectangular outer coffin of Gua, London BM EA 30839 (B2L)
© Courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum

is also found in the same colours. For instance, as mentioned above, the *nms*-headdress on the anthropoid coffin of Sepi III is painted blue with gold stripes. On the multiple examples from the 'frieze of objects', the *nms* appear yellow and outlined in a red line[42] (see Fig. 1). There are also images of a white *nms*-headdress, likely in combination with a white wig-cover *khat* / *afnt*,[43] (see Fig. 2) denoting cleanliness.[44]

More common, on the objects of non-royal origin, this headdress is found polychrome. Besides anthropoid coffins of the Priest Khnumnakht and the Lady of the House, Khnumhotep, there are numerous examples of *rishi* coffins, famous for their multicoloured plumages.[45] Different colours such as red, green, blue – symbolize

[42] See Lacau, *Sarcophages*, vol. II, 8, no. 64 (CG 28087); 17, no. 73 (CG 28988); 35, no. 41 (CG 28090); Lacau, *Sarcophages*, vol. I, 112, no. 42 (CG 28037).
[43] Inner coffin of Sepi, Louvre E 10779 B (B2P); outer coffin of Sepi III, CG 28083 (B1C).
[44] Wilkinson, *Symbol and Magic,* 109; Tarasenko, in Anonymous (ed.), *Skhid i dialog tsivilizatsiy*, 363.
[45] Furthermore, 'multicoloured plumage' (*s3b šwt*) is a constant epithet of the Horus Behdety, who appears in the form of a falcon and as a winged disk, see Shonkwiler, *The Behdetite,* 6, 26-7, 61. Images of the solar disk are found not only on royal objects, but also on objects of private individuals, see Hölzl, *Die Giebelfelddekoration von Stelen*, 21-2, 63-8.

light[46] as well as gold.[47] Light and radiance are extremely important for the deceased, because it allowed them to see and navigate in the Netherworld. The antonym in this case is black as darkness – lack of colour.[48] Noteworthy that the black colour on the *nms*-headdress practically does not occur, the only exceptions are black tips on feathers found on *rishi* headdresses.[49]

Having considered the particularity of the depiction of the objects of royal and non-royal origin, it can be noted that the ancient Egyptian artist used the entire palette for painting the *nms*-headdresses on private as opposed to royal images. This can be explained by the desire to provide the deceased with additional protective properties that colours possessed. Probably, there was no such need for the royal images since there was clear rules and standards in their iconography.

Concerning the polychrome *rishi* coffins design of the two Seventeenth Dynasty kings, Sekhemre Heruhirmaat Antef[50] and Kamose Wadjkheperre,[51] it is thought that they were originally made for private individuals and were not intended for the kings.[52]

2. The *nms*-headdress on Shabtis and Mummiform Figures

Although shabtis are one of the most recognizable figurines in ancient Egyptian culture, their origins are still overshadowed. The attempts to understand the nature of shabtis and their predecessors, both in textual and visual tradition were outlined by Hans Schneider in his fundamental three-volume study.[53] But still, in modern Egyptology, the question of what should be considered a real shabti has not been fully resolved. More attention has recently begun regarding this issue.[54] Therefore, I propose to call 'shabtis' only those figurines that have the shabti-formula and separate them from other *saḥ*-figurines.

The shabti-formula originated from the Coffin Texts Spell 472. Only two full examples are known (B2L; B1P). Both are from the Deir el-Bersha region and date to the reigns of Senusert II and Senusert III.[55] Hans Schneider pointed out one more example from Meir[56] that occurred on the badly preserved coffin of Senankh (M47C),[57] presumably dating back to Amenemhat II,[58] but unfortunately is now lost.

Under the reign of Senusert III the local administration was reorganized.[59] Burial equipment, including shabtis, were produced in the Memphite region and in the areas with a strong royal influence. One of the first known statuettes inscribed with the shabti formula comes from Lisht and dates back to the Thirteenth Dynasty. It is a shabti of the King's son (*sꜣ nsw),*[60] Wahneferhotep[61] that was found lying on its left side inside a rectangular wooden model coffin. The head of this shabti is covered by a *nms*-headdress that has two side striped flaps in front that fall over the shoulders[62] with some features of a *ḫꜣt* / *ʿfnt* wig-cover. This wooden statuette, coated with gold foil, had its headdress as well as the hieroglyphic inscription originally coloured blue – now dark-green.[63]

One more object bearing the title King's son[64] comes from Thebes.[65] This refers to the limestone mummiform figure of Intefmose that dates to the reign of Sobekemsaf II.[66] The figurine is poorly preserved; it has six horizontal rows of carved hieroglyphs and a partially preserved vertical column. Nevertheless, the features of the *nms*-headdress are visible on it. This figure has an unusual inscription inviting Intefmose to participate in the Sokar festival.

The wearing of a *nms*-headdresses on the statuettes discussed above, whose owners most likely belonged to the royal family, can be attributed to the funerary tradition started by non-royal persons in the Eleventh Dynasty. To date, the author of this article is not aware of iconographic examples of subsequent periods of wearing this headdress by princes or anyone other than the king.

The *nms*-headdress in combination with the *ḫꜣt* / *ʿfnt* can be found on the Abydene limestone mummiform

[46] Schunk, *Untersuchungen*, 6-9.
[47] Kees, *Farbensymbolic,* 467.
[48] *Ibid*, 416-7; Hornung, *Nacht und Finsternis*, 101.
[49] Miniaci, *Rishi Coffins*, 26.
[50] *r*T02P in Miniaci, *Rishi Coffins*.
[51] *r*T03C in Miniaci, *Rishi Coffins*.
[52] Miniaci, *Rishi Coffins*, 118-9, 121; Dodson, *BiOr* 57, 52.
[53] Schneider, *Shabtis*, vol. I, 8-77.
[54] Nyord, in Miniaci, Betrò, Quirke (eds), *Company of Images*, 341-9; Willems, *The Coffin of Heqata*, 256-9.
[55] Willems, *Chests of Life,* 75-7.
[56] Schneider, *Shabtis*, vol. I, 46-7.
[57] Lacau, *Sarcophages*, vol. I, 153.
[58] Willems, *Chests of Life,* 97-8.
[59] Grajetzki, *EVO* 39, 37.
[60] In the Second Intermediate Period there was a tendency for the spread of the title *sꜣ nsw*, which suggests that the holders of this title were not always considered to be direct descendants of the king, see Schmitz, *Untersuchungen zum Titel*, 184-245. Due to the lack of other archaeological data about the owner of this shabti, which makes it difficult to make an accurate dating, it is impossible to say with certainty whether Wahneferhotep is the son/closest relative of the king or only royal adherent, see Miniaci, in Pernigotti, Zecchi (eds), *IV Colloquio di Egittologia*, 103-4.
[61] MMA 14.3.70.
[62] Arnold, *The Pyramid of Senwosret I*, 39.
[63] *Ibid.*
[64] According to Schmitz, Intefmose was a real king's son, Schmitz, *Untersuchungen zum Titel*, 217-9.
[65] Miniaci, in Pernigotti, Zecchi (eds), *IV Colloquio di Egittologia*, 113, no. 8.
[66] Borrego, in Guidotti, Rosati (eds), *Proceedings*, 55.

Fig. 3 – Shabti of Ahmose with the *nms*-headdress from the Odessa Archaeological Museum of the NAS of Ukraine © OAM, photo by Mykola Tarasenko

figurine of the Overseer of ships of the temple/palace approach (*imy-r ḫʿw n ʿrryt*), Renseneb.[67]

In the Odessa Archaeological Museum of the NAS of Ukraine there is a rare shabti of the non-royal individual named Ahmose with a *nms*-headdress (inv. no. 52944)[68] (see Fig. 3).

This funerary figurine became the cause of interest in this topic. The first detailed description of this object was prepared by the Ukrainian Egyptologist of the Soviet period, Serhiy Volodymyrovych Donich[69] (1900–1958) for the Catalogue of the Egyptian antiquities of the Odessa Archaeological Museum[70] in 1941, but unfortunately it remained unpublished.

In the Catalogue written by Oleg Berlev and Svetlana Hodjash, this shabti gained attention, but the attached photos do not allow proper examination of this non-royal object.[71]

The shabti of Ahmose is made of limestone, 22 cm height. The two front lappets of the *nms*-headdress have characteristic horizontal stripes. This statuette has a short beard and empty hands crossed right over left. The shabti formula is written in six horizontal columns. There are traces of black pigment in the recesses of the horizontal lines and in some of the hieroglyphs. The shabti formula on the figurine from Odessa is inscribed in partly truncated hieroglyphs.

The tradition of using mutilated inscriptions originated from the Old Kingdom and is found in the *Pyramid Texts*.[72] Sometime later, at the end of the Middle Kingdom, this tradition regained popularity and the revival of using incomplete hieroglyphs first found in the north at Dahshur is then found in Abydos.[73] The purpose of such

[67] Whelan, *RdE* 65, 152-3; Mariette, *Catalogue Général*, 48, no. 384.

[68] It is unknown how this shabti reached this museum, but it is possible that it was included in the Odessa collection of Egyptian antiquities in the 40s-50s of the Nineteenth century. This statuette could be brought by travelers or during the Russian Empire anti-plague expeditions, which went from Odessa to Egypt. See Latysheva, in Anonymous (ed.), *Kratkie soobshhenija*, 125-6.

[69] Smirnov, *Rekviyem XX veka*, part. II, 124-46.

[70] Donich, *Catalogue of Egyptian monuments*, 41.

[71] Berlev, Hodjash, *Catalogue of the Monuments*, 81-2, no. 2, pl. 106.

[72] Lacau, *ZÄS* 51, 2-49.

[73] Miniaci, *RdE* 61, 113-4. The most pronounced example of

incomplete writing was to protect a deceased from the harm that signs could magically do. Egyptians feared that in favorable circumstances they might 'get out of control' and take the form of independent beings. Thus, snakes were depicted without tails, birds and humans without legs, so that hieroglyphs would not leave this text, thereby making this formula ineffective. Furthermore, living their own lives, they could not eat all offerings intended for the deceased.[74] After the royal residence moved from Itjtawy to Thebes at the end of the Thirteenth Dynasty this system of incomplete hieroglyphs gradually declined. The idea, which spread from northern Egypt to the south, gradually lost its meaning, and finally, at the end of the Seventeenth Dynasty, the Egyptians entirely abandoned the use of this form and moved to the usual complete form.[75] The shabti of Ahmose is an indicator of an intermediate stage. The main characteristic is the absence of legs on the birds, and here, unlike the earlier examples, the human figures remain intact.

Serhiy Donich paid attention to the incomplete writing of hieroglyphic signs on the shabti and described their features in the unpublished Catalogue of the Egyptian collection of the Odessa Archaeological Museum (see Fig. 4).

Transliteration

Fig. 4 – Hieroglyphic text on the shabti of Ahmose written by Serhiy Donich

(1) *sḫḏ*[76] *sš ỉrḥms ḏd.f i š3w3b*
(2) *ty*[77] *ip.tw sš ỉrḥms r k3wt*
(3) *irt im m ḫrt-nṯr m s r ḫrt.f*
(4) *r srdt sḫwt r smḥy*[78] *wḏbw*
(5) *r ḫnt š(ʿ)w*[79] *n ỉ3btt n*
(6) *ỉmntt mk*[80] *wi k3*[81]*.k*[82]

Translation

(1) The illuminated Scribe,[83] Ahmose says: "O shabti,
(2) (if) one assigned[84] the scribe Ahmose for works,
(3) which are wont to be done there in the necropolis as a man at his duties:
(4) to cultivate the fields, to irrigate the riparian lands,
(5) to transport by boat the sand from the East to
(6) the West. 'Behold, I am (here)', you shall say!"

There is no accurate analogue of this shabti formula writing, but the closest one is on the shabti of Nehi.[85] Given such a partially incomplete form of hieroglyphic writing on the shabti of Ahmose, it can be dated to the second half of the Seventeenth Dynasty, approximately the period of the reign of Sekhemre-Wepmaat Intef.

The shabti of Sen(i)-em-iah is in a private collection[86] (see Fig. 5). The statuette is made of limestone, 32.7 cm height. This shabti has a short beard, empty crossed hands, and has its nose is broken off. Traces of red pigment are visible in the recesses of the horizontal lines separating the hieroglyphic text. The front of the *nms*-headdress is without striations, however, they are visible on the rear. The craftsman displayed the stripes on the headdress by polishing the limestone.

There are no titles given on this shabti for Sen(i)-em-iah. There are two persons with this name. One of them is the owner of the tomb TT 127 on the hill of Sheikh Abd

the use of incomplete hieroglyphs occurs on Abydene shabti of Renseneb (London BM EA 49343).
[74] Miniaci, *RdE* 61, 114.
[75] Miniaci, *RdE* 61, 127-8.
[76] From the end of the Second Intermediate Period, shabti may contain this notion, see Schneider, *Shabtis*, vol. I, 131.
[77] The word was broken and wrapped onto the next line. Such form of writing firstly occurs on Second Intermediate Period stick-shabtis, see Schneider, *Shabtis*, vol. I, 137-8.
[78] Sign *mḥ* (GSL V22) in the word 'irrigate' is without tails, because of which it does not differ from the sign *r* (GSL D21).
[79] The hand sign (GSL D36) is omitted. Here is used a less common version of the word 'sand' through sign *w* (GSL G43).
[80] Instead of usual for this non-enclitic particle of the owl sign *m* (GSL G17), here used (GSL Aa13).
[81] The word 'think (about)' is written as *kw*, possibly to avoid the image of a bird of prey *3* (GSL G1).
[82] The last sign of an inscription *k* without a handle that does not differ from *nb*.
[83] For the Second Intermediate Period to the early Eighteenth Dynasty it was common to avoid titles on funerary objects. In this case, *sš* is not a title, but a generalized name for the group referring to the lower class of officials, to which, apparently, Ahmose belonged. '*Here it is used to the exclusion of his main title or titles, obviously with the intention to stress the fact that the owner is an educated man, whose statuette, if inwardly illumined, is capable of reading the spell incised on it*', Onasch, *ZÄS* 113, 27-8. See also Berlev, Hodjash, *Catalogue of the Monuments*, 82.
[84] Wb I, 66 ('zuweisen').
[85] Schneider, *Shabtis,* vol. II, 30; vol. III, 8.
[86] This shabti was sold at Christie's (Lot 449) in 2019. The information about this shabti is taken from Christie's, *Antiquities*, 43.

Fig. 5 – Shabti of Sen(i)-em-iah – Private Collection. Photo © Christie's Images/Bridgeman Images

el-Qurna, Western Thebes. He lived during the reign of Hatshepsut and the first years of Thutmosis III. Another one was the *wab*-priest of Khonsu, known from an unpublished limestone seated statuette[87]. This object is inscribed with the *ḥtp dỉ nsw*-formula and dates back to the end of the Seventeenth Dynasty or the very beginning of the Eighteenth Dynasty[88].

If the shabti of Sen(i)-em-iah could be correlated with one of them, then most likely it is with the *wab*-priest of Khonsu.

Transliteration

(1) *ḏd.f i šȝbty*[89] *ipn*
(2) *ir ip.tw Sn-m-iʿḥ*[90]
(3) *m kȝwt irt im m ḫrt-nṯr*
(4) *m s nb r ḫrt.f r srd*
(5) *sḫwt r mḥ wḏbw*
(6) *r ḫnt šʿy n Ỉȝbtt*
(7) (*n*) *Ỉmntt mk wi sp 2 kȝ*[91]
(8) *.k Snỉ*[92]*- m-iʿḥ*[93]

[87] National Museum of Ireland (30/002) Dublin, inv. no. E72:105.

[88] It is noteworthy, that in this version of the formula, besides the king and Osiris, an offering is given also by Horus Behdety (*Ḥr Bḥdty nṯr ʿȝ*). See http://www.globalegyptianmuseum.org/detail.aspx?id=2731, <accessed 22.09.2021>.

[89] About the meaning and use of this word, see Schneider, *Shabtis* I, 136-7.

[90] The hieroglyphic sign 𓈙 (GSL N12) in this form was used from the end of the reign of Ahmose I and at least until the end of the reign of Hatshepsut, see Vandersleyen, *Les guerres d'Amosis*, 71-2. The seated human determinative (GSL A1) is applied twice.

[91] Instead of *ȝ* (GSL G1) *m* (GSL G17) is used.

[92] Here *Sn* is written with a hieroglyph 𓇋 (GSL A2) that conveys the sound *i*, which is absent in the first version of the spelling of the name.

[93] The determinative 𓀀 (GSL A1) is absent.

Translation

(1) He speaks: O these shabtis,
(2) if one assign Sen-em-iah
(3) for works, which are wont to be done there in the necropolis
(4) as every man at his duties: to cultivate
(5) the fields, to irrigate the riparian lands,
(6) to transport by boat the sand from the East
(7) to the West. 'Here I am, here I am' you
(8) shall say, Seni-em-iah.

On the left side of this shabti a vertical text with a dedication formula is written: *in sn.f sˁnḫ rn.f Pȝ-km* – '*by his brother, who makes his name live, Pa-kem*'.

Such dedications are characteristic of the stick shabtis of the Seventeenth-early Eighteenth Dynasties.[94] Considering the stylistic and textual features, the most probable date for this figurine is the period of the reign of Amenhotep I.

3. The Rear of the *nms*-headdress on Non-royal Objects

The rear of the *nms*-headdresses on the objects I have considered above have different and unusual shapes. According to the description,[95] the rear of the headdress of Senebtisi has the usual shape with a 'tail' as can also be found on the rear of a shabti of king Ahmose (see Fig. 6a). The *nms*-headdress of Sepi III[96] (see Fig. 7) is gathered at the back with a ribbon in a somewhat loose form than found on the previous example.

Hans Schneider pointed out that the relationship of shabtis to anthropoid coffins is very close thus, for the interpretation and date of shabtis, their iconography should be taken into account.[97] According to the date, the shabti of Ahmose relates to the *rishi* coffin. Concerning the headdress of this shabti, its form is much broader than that of a typical shape of tail-like *nms*-headdress and there is some attempt to narrow the flat termination. (see Fig. 6b) The rishi coffins with *nms*-headdress also have a similar 'broad' shape of *nms*-headdress on the rear.[98] I suppose that this kind of shape could have formed due to the change of the body position in burials.[99] In the middle of the Twelfth Dynasty, when the anthropoid coffins were just beginning to appear, they lay on the side in a rectangular coffin, turning their gaze on the eye panel on the exterior of the coffin. In this position, there were the anthropoid coffins of General Sepi III and coffin of the Lady of the House, Senebtisi. From the end of the Thirteenth Dynasty increasingly frequent cases of coffins in supine positions appear. From the Seventeenth to early Eighteenth Dynasties the overwhelming majority of coffins were in this position. Perhaps, for practical purposes, the back of the headdress was not made in detail and only schematically demonstrated the features of the *nms*. Therefore, for the non-royal objects of this period, which, as well as some *rishi* coffins and the shabti of Ahmose from the Odessa Archaeological Museum and also the mummiform figure of *sȝ nsw* Intefmose,[100] a wide shape of the *nms*-headdress on the rear is characteristic.

The shabti of Wahneferhotep (see Fig. 8) and anthropoid coffins of the Two Brothers (see Fig. 9) have a slightly different form. Their *nms*-headdresses are somewhat shorter and have an even wider shape than in the category discussed above.

The shabti of Sen(i)-em-iah has a wide *nms*-headdress without any attempt at narrowing. Perhaps his headdress is a combination of a *nms*-headdress with a striated tripartite wig.[101] In this case it is noteworthy that the striated tripartite wig, which can be found on coffins begining from the early Eighteenth dynasty,[102] is blue with yellow striations and is very similar to the colouring of the standard *nms*-headdress.

The reason for such a variety of shapes of the rear of the *nms*-headdress requires further detailed study.

4. Conclusion

Having considered the tradition of using the *nms*-headdress by non-royal individuals both in text and visual form, it can be concluded that this headdress was an important component of the development of the religious and funerary tradition and cannot be regarded as a blind usurpation of the royal regalia. The *nms*-headdress on objects of non-royal origin is distinguished by a variety of colours: almost all primary colours are actively used, with the exception of black, which remained less desirable. The colour palette of royal objects, on the contrary,

[94] About stick shabti, see Whelan, *Mere Scraps*, 1-51.
[95] Mace, Winlock, *The tomb of Senebtisi*, 42-3.
[96] Lacau, *Sarcophages*, vol. I, pl. 20.
[97] Schneider, *Shabtis*, vol. I, 65, 246-51.
[98] I managed to find only two examples of the 'broad' shape of the *nms*-headdress due to a lack of accessible visual materials. There are *rishi* coffins to be found in the British Museum (EA 52950) and (EA 6653). Gianluca Miniaci informed me that such a shape also can be found on other *rishi* coffins.
[99] This hypothesis is based on Bourriau, in Willems (ed.), *Social Aspects of Funerary Culture*, 1-20.
[100] Borrego, in Guidotti, Rosati (eds), *Proceedings*, 54, fig. 3.
[101] Niwinski, *21st Dynasty coffins*, 11.
[102] For example, there are very early Eighteenth Dynasty coffins that belong to Priest and Scribe Disure at the Rosicrucian Egyptian Museum in San Jose (RC 1678); coffin of Harmose, which dates from the co-regency of Hatshepsut and Thutmosis III to be found in New York (MMA 36.3.172).

Fig. 6a – Detail of the limestone shabti of King Ahmose, London BM EA 32191 – © The Trustees of the British Museum

Fig. 6b – Detail of the limestone non-royal shabti of Ahmose from the Odessa Archaeological Museum of the NAS of Ukraine (inv. no. 52944) © OAM, photo by Mykola Tarasenko

Fig. 7 – The *nms*-headdress of the anthropoid coffin of Sepi III, Cairo CG 28084, from Lacau, *Sarcophages*, vol. I, pl. 20

Fig. 8 – Back of the shabti of Wahneferhotep, MMA 14.3.70 © 00 Creative Commons

Fig. 9 – On the background, anthropoid coffins of the Two Brothers view from the back © The Manchester Museum

is uniform, consisting of gold / yellow and blue striates, or emerges entirely in gold / yellow colour.

The tradition of using the *nms*-headdress by non-royal persons did not last long and is only found on a small number of items – particularly unique of which are the non-royal shabtis with the *nms*-headdresses. Only three such examples are known at this time. These are the shabtis of Wahneferhotep from the Metropolitan Museum of Art, Ahmose from the Odessa Archaeological Museum of the NAS of Ukraine and Sen(i)-em-iah from a private collection.

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The Acquisition of a Coffin – Tracing the (Art) History of the Coffin of Neby (MFA 04.2058): From Dayr al-Barsha to Beni Hassan to Boston

Lubica Hudáková

Abstract

The Middle Kingdom coffin of the 'lady of the house' Neby (MFA 04.2058) proves to be an interesting research subject for both the art history as well as the provenance research. Even though discovered by John Garstang in the tomb BH 294 at Beni Hassan, the decoration of the coffin clearly shows that it must have been produced in the Dayr al-Barsha workshop(s), thus shedding some light on the interregional trade in burial equipment in the time of the Twelfth Dynasty. The coffin's layout and colouring, the distribution and content of the inscriptions as well as the rendering of the elaborate façade and wedjat*-eyes are almost identical with the coffin of the 'general' Sepi II found by Georges Daressy at Dayr al-Barsha, indicating that the same master copy was used for both coffins. In addition, the coffin's late provenance delivers insights into the practices related to the division of finds in Egyptian archaeology at the beginning of the twentieth century.*

The products of funerary industry represent one of the most numerous object groups within the collections of ancient Egyptian antiquities. Decorated coffins from all periods of Egyptian history in particular attracted the attention of collectors from the very beginning of archaeological endeavours in Egypt and can be found in virtually every museum. Many of them are unprovenanced and can only be tentatively attributed to a certain place of origin on the basis of their artistic style and/or phraseological, epigraphical and palaeographical features. In respect of coffins from the Middle Kingdom, a comparative analysis seems straightforward since their typology has been thoroughly studied.[1] However, it is in fact not the case because most of the individual coffins remain unpublished and images of them are inaccessible. The situation only gradually improves thanks to the expansion of museums' online catalogues.

The Lower Necropolis of Beni Hassan plays an extraordinary role in the funerary archaeology of the Middle Kingdom because the site yielded a huge number of items, including coffins, all of which were found during two archaeological seasons in 1902/3 and 1903/4 directed by John Garstang. Even though their find spot is undisputed, the coffins are hardly accessible for study because the excavation report published by Garstang in 1907 only provides a short and very selective overview of them.[2] Furthermore, due to Garstang's lavish division of the finds, the whereabouts of numerous coffins have been widely unknown until recently.[3] Almost 100 coffins and coffin fragments have been located in museums all over the world in the course of the ongoing project *Painted for Eternity* and are currently being studied from an art-historical perspective.[4]

[1] Willems, *Chests of Life*; Lapp, *Typologie der Särge*.

[2] Garstang, *Burial Customs*, 164-83.

[3] The first attempt to compile the artefacts from Beni Hassan, mainly pottery and inscribed material, was made by Sara E. Orel who located almost 50 coffins and coffin fragments in the museum collections all over the world. See Orel, *Chronology*, 611-20.

[4] See Hudáková, Jánosi, Siffert, *Sokar* 40, 74-93.

Their examination affirms the long-standing theory that for the most part of the Middle Kingdom the objects of funerary industry were produced locally.[5] The presence of local traditions is distinctive, especially in the early Middle Kingdom, in the cemeteries of the capitals as well as in the provincial cemeteries with the tombs of local governors such as Asyut, Dayr al-Barsha and Meir.[6] At Beni Hassan, the Lower Necropolis lies just beneath the so-called Upper Necropolis with 39 rock-cut tombs, 12 of which were decorated or at least inscribed and represent the burial places of local rulers and the highest officials responsible for the administration of the 16th Upper Egyptian nome.[7] Together with the nearly 900 tombs of the Lower Necropolis, the demand for tomb equipment was certainly high enough for local carpenter/painter workshop(s) to operate in the area. Scenes representing such craftsmen at work in the rock-cut tombs corroborate the theory of its/their existence.[8]

The Beni Hassan coffins have many features in common pertaining to their artistic style, epigraphy and palaeography that enable us to see them as the product of a local workshop or local tradition.[9] There is, however, at least one coffin that stands out and demonstrates that coffins were also the subject of interregional trade – the coffin of the 'lady of the house' Neby (see Figs 2-3, Pls XLII-XLV).[10]

1. *Provenience* – the Place of Discovery[11]

The coffin of the 'lady of the house' Neby is nowadays kept in the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston (MFA 04.2058).[12] It was given to the museum by the Beni Hassan Excavation Committee in 1904. Part of the correspondence between Garstang and the representatives of the museum is still preserved in the Archives of the Garstang Museum of Archaeology, University of Liverpool, confirming the find spot of the coffin and the circumstances of its transfer to Boston (s. below). Fortunately, even the exact tomb where the coffin of Neby was found is known.

Garstang's monograph did not aim to provide a detailed archaeological record of the tombs and, except for a handful of tombs found intact, it lacks a comprehensive description of the individual burials and burial equipment. There is, however, a list of inventories published in the appendix of the book that enables the reconstruction of the tombs' content.[13] Even though incomplete and selective,[14] the list often includes comments on museums/collections that received the finds. Yet another clue is the published list of titles and personal names attested on coffins (and other inscribed objects).[15] Furthermore, Garstang noted the tomb number on the objects excavated (including the coffins) and these numbers also make it possible to ascribe finds to individual tombs. In the case of coffins and coffin fragments, it is thus often possible to crosscheck the two lists with the tomb number written on the actual object in order to verify its origin.

The coffin of Neby was marked with the number '294 ①' on the head end (see Pl. XLIV)[16], indicating that it was discovered in tomb BH 294 and was probably the first coffin removed from the tomb. According to Garstang's appendix, tomb BH 294 indeed belonged to Neby, Nakht, Hornakht and Nakhtankh, whose names and titles are also associated with this tomb in the list of personal names published in the book.[17] The items

[5] For the discussion on the coffin production in the Middle Kingdom see Grajetzki, *EVO* 39, 25-44; see also Lapp, *Typologie der Särge*, 40; Bourriau, in Quirke (ed.), *Middle Kingdom Studies*, 3-20.

[6] See e.g. Zitman, *The Necropolis of Assiut*, 363-71. For recent research on a Middle Kingdom wood workshop in the Cusae region see Eschenbrenner-Diemer, in Jiménez-Serrano, Morales (eds), *Middle Kingdom Culture*, 119-44.

[7] For an overview see Shedid, *Die Felsgräber von Beni Hassan*, 2-3; Kanawati, Woods, *Beni Hasan*.

[8] The manufacture of a wooden coffin is represented in the tombs of Khety and Amenemhat, see Kanawati, Evans, *The Tomb of Amenemhat*, pls 22b, 91; Newberry, *Beni Hasan*, vol. II, pl. 13; Kanawati, Woods, *Beni Hassan*, figs 111, 113. The process of decorating a coffin is not shown, but in the tomb of Baket III and Khety one can find representations of craftsmen painting wooden shrines, see Newberry, *Beni Hasan*, vol. II, pls 4, 13; Kanawati, Woods, *Beni Hassan*, figs 128, 130-1.

[9] The research on the Beni Hassan artistic tradition is part of the project *Painted for Eternity* and is a work in progress. Garstang as well as Orel already argued for the existence of a local workshop, see Garstang, *Burial Customs*, 48; Orel, *Chronology*, 306, 432-3.

[10] I would like to thank Carolyn Cruthirds, Coordinator of Image Licensing, for her assistance in producing the images and for permission to reproduce them in the present article.

[11] For the discussion on the definition of the terms provenience and provenance see Joyce, in Feigenbaum, Jackson Reist (eds), *Provenance: An Alternate History of Art*, 48-60.

[12] Freed *et al.* (eds), *The Secrets of Tomb 10A*, fig. 26; Brovarski, in D'Auria, Lacovara, Roehrig (eds), *Mummies and Magic*, 118-9 (no. 45); https://collections.mfa.org/objects/134290/coffin-of-the-lady-of-the-house-neby?ctx=7d8886fd-3bc1-4801-8697-74bf287c1507&idx=0, <accessed 28.07.2021>.

[13] Garstang, *Burial Customs*, 211-44.

[14] Compare Seidlmayer, *Gräberfelder*, 218; Orel, *Chronology*, 24-6; Bommas, *SAK* 41, 46-8.

[15] Garstang, *Burial Customs*, pls VII-VIII.

[16] The note is barely visible in the photograph, it is situated in the left upper corner of the undecorated panel between the inscriptions.

[17] Garstang, *Burial Customs*, 223, pl. VIII.

Fig. 1 – Excavation photograph showing the coffin of the 'lady of the house' Neby (MFA 04.2058) in the tomb BH 294
© Image courtesy of the Garstang Museum of Archaeology, University of Liverpool, Neg. B.212

listed in the inventory encompass the 'coffin of Neby', with the remark 'Boston Univ. Mus.', as well as 'portions of inscribed coffins' that might have belonged to the three other named individuals.[18] An excavation photograph kept in the Archives of the Garstang Museum of Archaeology shows the coffin of Neby in situ on top of a pile of coffins, *i.e*. in its original context[19] (see Fig. 1). The three other coffins shown in this photograph are listed by Orel as BH40, BH41 and BH42.[20]

The information provided once again confirms that the coffin of Neby kept in Boston is the one used for a burial in the Beni Hassan necropolis. Apart from the coffins, several other objects were excavated in the tomb: remains of a head rest, two shells, small earthenware dish, wooden handle, mask and inscribed front of cartonnage, hawk-headed wooden scoop, bronze figure, painted pottery dish, and pieces of a faience vase.[21] The tomb apparently possessed an upper chamber since Garstang indicated a superstructure on his plan of the necropolis.[22] According to the plan, it was located in the northern half of the necropolis, in the area to the west of the unfinished and undecorated rock-cut tomb VIII.[23]

[18] Garstang, *Burial Customs*, 223.
[19] Neg. B.212, Garstang Museum of Archaeology, University of Liverpool. Reproduced in Orel, *Chronology*, pl. 3.17.
[20] Orel, *Chronology*, 344, 354, 618-9.
[21] Garstang, *Burial Customs*, 223, figs 141, 143. Orel (*Chronology*, 545) was able to identify two objects from the tomb in the museum's collections – a faience bowl (E.2288 and E.2288A, Ashmolean Museum, Oxford) and a throwing stick (E 7168, Garstang Museum of Archaeology, University of Liverpool). For the lack of pottery see also: Orel, *Chronology*, 439-40.
[22] Orel, *Chronology*, 235 n. 29; Garstang, *Burial Customs*, pl. III. Garstang only mentioned two Middle Kingdom rock-cut chambers in his book, at least one of them possessed a statue niche (Garstang, *Burial Customs*, 51-2, fig. 38). See Hudáková, Jánosi, Siffert, *Sokar* 40, 78-80.
[23] For tomb VIII see Newberry, *Beni Hasan*, vol. I, 7, pl. 2.

2. Decoration[24]

The coffin of Neby (BH15[25]/BH1Bo[26]) was grounded on both the exterior and interior sides, and at least the exterior was painted with a brown ochre background. Only the exterior sides were decorated. All sides of the coffin feature a simple ornamental frame made up of a thick blue band and a white band of common width running along the vertical borders of the sides.[27] The white band is delimited by black lines. Just below the rim, all sides of the coffin bear a horizontal inscription line, which extends along their entire length/width. From above as well as from below, the inscription lines are framed by three bands (white, blue and white). The lowermost white band is, however, not continuous since at regular intervals it is interrupted by the upper end of the vertical columns, the frames of which run from the blue band downwards. There are two columns on the head and foot end, and four columns on the front and back side of the coffin, corresponding to Willems's coffin type IV.[28] The frames of the columns are the same as those of the lines – three bands in the following sequence: white, blue, white.[29] All bands framing the inscriptions are provided with black delimiting lines.

All texts are written with ornamental hieroglyphs painted blue, featuring the standard orientation – the texts on the front side and foot end face right, whereas those on the back side and head end face left.[30] It is not entirely clear whether the hieroglyphic signs were applied directly onto the background paint. On the back side of the coffin, the line as well as the columns show quite large areas of yellow ochre, which clearly differ from the brown shade of the background paint.[31] On the other hand, the ochre shade of the lines and columns on the front side and on the head end appears to be slightly darker than the background colour. The text bands on coffins are sometimes accentuated by giving them a lighter or darker background and the text bands on Neby's coffin might have been treated in this way before applying the inscriptions. The shade of this layer of paint may differ on the respective sides of the coffin.[32]

2.1. The Inscriptions[33]

Front side (see Pl. XLII)
The horizontal inscription line reads as follows:

> *ḥtp di nsw Wsir nb Ḏdw ḥnt.i-imn.tit nṯr ꜥ3 nb 3bḏw di=f pr.t-ḫrw t ḥnḳ.t kȝ.w 3pd.w iḫ.t nb.t nfr.t ꜥnḫ.t nṯr im rꜥ nb n im3ḫ.<yt>* [spatium ca. 9 cm]*` nb.t pr Nbí* (title and name inserted later) *mȝꜥ<.t> ḫrw*[34]
>
> 'An offering which the king and Osiris, the lord of Busiris, the foremost of the West, the Great God, the lord of Abydos, give: may he give an invocation offering of bread, beer, oxen and fowl, all things good and pure on which the god lives, every day, for the honoured one, "lady of the house"[35] Neby, true of voice'

The column inscriptions contain the standard *im3ḫ.y*-phrase:[36]

> *im3ḫ.<yt> ḫr Imsti* [spatium ca. 8 cm]*` nb.t pr Nbí* (title and name inserted later) *mȝꜥ<.t> ḫrw*
>
> 'The one honoured by Imseti, "lady of the house" Neby, true of voice'
>
> *im3ḫ.<yt> ḫr Šw* [spatium ca. 9.8 cm]*` nb.t pr Nbí* (title and name inserted later) *mȝꜥ<.t> ḫrw*
>
> 'The one honoured by Shu, "lady of the house" Neby, true of voice'
>
> *im3ḫ.<yt> ḫr Gb* [spatium ca. 10 cm]*` nb.t pr Nbý* (title and name inserted later) *mȝꜥ<.t> ḫrw*
>
> 'The one honoured by Geb, "lady of the house" Neby, true of voice'

[24] The analysis of the decoration is based on high-resolution photographs provided by the museum.
[25] Willems, *Chests of Life*, 36.
[26] Willems, *Historical and Archaeological Aspects*, 250-1. All other sigla used in the article are based on this updated list published by Willems.
[27] The white paint almost entirely disappeared on the head as well as on the foot end.
[28] Willems, *Chests of Life*, 136-61.
[29] The columns next to the borders of the coffin's sides only feature this tripartite frame inwards. Outwards, they make use of the general ornamental frame of the sides.
[30] Compare Willems, *Chests of Life*, fig. 1.
[31] A small area of yellow ochre is also preserved in the inscription line on the foot end, below the name of the coffin owner.
[32] This difference in colour is visible on the fragments of the coffin of Ab-kemet from tomb BH 183 (Bern Inv. E/1904.305.0263 and Inv. E/1904.305.0264, Bernisches Historisches Museum; Manchester Museum 2740B; 471-D2, National Gallery of Victoria, Melbourne).
[33] For a copy of the inscriptions see Orel, *Chronology*, fig. 3.29.
[34] The project members would like to thank Claus Jurman for his suggestion on how to demonstrate the later addition of the title and name in the transliteration of the text.
[35] Ward, *Index*, 99 (no. 823). The title is frequently attested on Beni Hassan coffins (Garstang, *Burial Customs*, pls VII-VIII). See Orel, *Chronology*, 263, n. 92.
[36] For the usual disposition of the deities on type IV coffins see Willems, *Chests of Life*, fig. 11.

im3ḫ.<yt> ḫr Dw3-mw.t=f [spatium ca. 9.8 cm]*nb.t pr <N>by* (title and name inserted later) *m3ʿ<.t> ḫrw*

'The one honoured by Duamutef, "lady of the house" Neby, true of voice'

Back side (see Pl. XLIII)
The horizontal inscription line reads as follows:

ḥtp di nsw Inp.w ḫnt.i-zḥ-nṯr tpy-ḏw=f im.i-wt nb t3-ḏsr ḳrs.t nfr.t m iz={f}<s> nfr n ḥr.t-nṯr <n> im3ḫ.y<t> [spatium ca. 11.9 cm]*nb.t pr Nby* (title and name inserted later) *m3ʿ<.t> ḫrw*

'An offering which the king and Anubis, foremost of the God's Booth, who is on his mountain, who is in *w.t*, the lord of the Holy Land, give: a good burial in her good tomb in the necropolis, for the honoured one, "lady of the house" Neby, true of voice'

Similar to the front side, the column inscriptions contain the standard *im3ḫ.y*-phrase:

im3ḫ.<yt> ḫr Ḥʿpj [spatium ca. 7.7 cm]*nb.t pr Nbi* (title and name inserted later) *m3ʿ<.t> ḫrw*

'The one honoured by Hapi, "lady of the house" Neby, true of voice'

im3ḫ.<yt> ḫr Tfn.t [spatium ca. 14.4 cm]*nb.t pr Nby* (title and name inserted later) *m3ʿ<.t> ḫrw*

'The one honoured by Tefnut, "lady of the house" Neby, true of voice'

im3ḫ.<yt> ḫr Nw.t [spatium ca. 15 cm]*nb.t pr Nby* (title and name inserted later) *m3ʿ<.t> ḫrw*[37]

'The one honoured by Nut, "lady of the house" Neby, true of voice'

im3ḫ.<yt> ḫr Ḳbḥ-sn.w=f [spatium ca. 11.5 cm]*nb.t pr Nby* (title and name inserted later) *m3ʿ<.t> ḫrw*

'The one honoured by Qebehsenuef, "lady of the house" Neby, true of voice'

Head end (see Pl. XLIV)
The horizontal inscription line reads as follows:

im3ḫ.<yt> ḫr Nṯr ʿ3 [spatium ca. 9.5 cm]*nb.t pr Nbi* (title and name inserted later) *m3ʿ<.t> ḫrw*

'The one honoured by the Great God, "lady of the house" Neby, true of voice'

The column inscriptions do not contain the standard formulation (*im3ḫ.y*-phrase) but a speech of the goddess Nut. It reads:

(1)*ḏd mdw in Nw.t rdi.n=i n=k Nb.t-ḥw.t* (2)*ḫr tp=k rmi=s* [*t*]*w s3ḫ=s ṯw*

'(1)Words spoken by Nut: I have placed Nephthys for you (2)under your head, so that she may beweep [you], that she may glorify you'

Foot end (see Pl. XLV)
The horizontal inscription line reads as follows:

im3ḫ.<yt> ḫr Nṯr ʿ3 [spatium ca. 9.5 cm]*nb.t pr Nbi* (title and name inserted later) *m3ʿ<.t> ḫrw*

'The one honoured by the Great God, "lady of the house" Neby, true of voice'

Similar to the head end, the column inscriptions contain a speech of the goddess Nut:

(1)*ḏd mdw in Nw.t rdi.n=i n=k 3s.t* (2)*ḫr rd.wi=k rmi=s ṯw s3ḫ=s ṯw*

'(1)Words spoken by Nut: I have placed Isis for you (2) under your feet, so that she may beweep you, that she may glorify you'

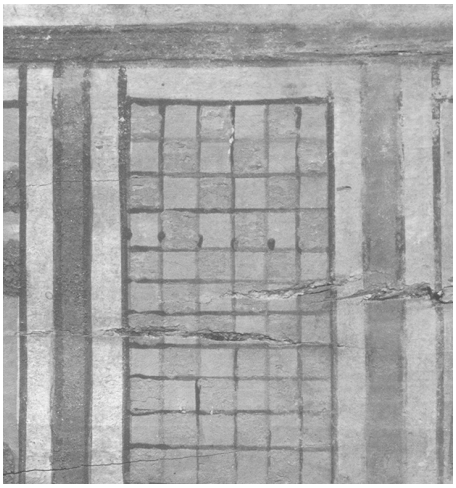

Fig. 2 – Coffin of the 'lady of the house' Neby. Part of the northern panel on the front side, featuring black dots within the chequerboard pattern to mark the distribution of the vertical lines. Photograph © Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

[37] At the very end of the column are traces of a sign, most probably Y1 (papyrus rolled up, tied, and sealed).

Fig. 3 – Coffin of the 'lady of the house' Neby. One of the four columns on the front side, with the title and name of Neby added later. Photograph © Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

2.2. The northern panel of the front side (see Pl. XLVI)

The arrangement of the inscription lines and columns results in a total of three panels on each of the long sides and one panel on each of the short ends. They were left undecorated except for the northern panel of the front side, *i.e*. the panel situated in front of the face of the deceased interred in the coffin. It bears the representation of an elaborate façade in combination with the representation of *wedjat*-eyes. The position of this motif and the presence of *wedjat*-eyes are usually considered to be a convincing argument to denominate/interpret the elaborate façade or even the entire panel as a false door.[38] Its presence assigns the coffin to Willems's type IVb, and the use of the speech of the goddess Nut on the short ends (see above) even allows for a further subdivision – the coffin corresponds with the type IVbb.[39]

The panel is divided into four parts using the same frame that surrounds the lines and columns (white, blue and white bands, delimited by black lines): 1) a panel with the *wedjat*-eyes, 2) a panel with the representation of the elaborate façade/false door situated thereunder, and 3+4) column-like segments to the right and to the left of these, entirely filled with a chequerboard pattern. It is possible that the brown ochre colour does not represent the colour of the background paint; all four parts of the panel might have been additionally painted before applying further decoration, similar to the inscription lines and columns (s. above).

The wedjat-eyes

The *wedjat*-eyes are of a hybrid shape: the shape of the eyes and eyebrows is derived from human eyes, whereas the curved lines underneath correspond to the markings of the eyes of a falcon. The contours of the actual eye are black and the iris seems to be dark brown. The black pupil and the black line of the limbal ring (or the outline of the iris, respectively) are clearly distinguishable. The sclera is painted white, and the canthi are painted red. The eyebrows, the cosmetic line and the falcon markings are blue.

[38] The motif is repeatedly called false door in Willems, *Chests of Life*, as well as in Lapp, *Typologie der Särge*. However, the interpretation of this motif still awaits an in-depth analysis. In Old Kingdom tombs, there is a difference between the false door and an elaborate false door (also called palace-façade false door, German *Prunkscheintür*), and it is the latter motif that reappears on coffins. The term *Prunkscheintür* is, however, problematic as well, since the proper meaning of the motif is still not fully understood (Arnold, *Ancient Egyptian Architecture*, 89-90). With type VI coffins, the motif was copied onto every panel on the coffins' exterior, and with its multiplication the proper designation and definition of the motif becomes even more complicated. The terms used in Egyptological literature to describe this type of decoration are innumerable: 'serekh-façade' (Willems, *Chests of Life*, 62), 'Scheintürfassade' (Lapp, *Typologie der Särge*, 236, 243, 252); 'false door ornamentation' / 'palace-façade ornamentation', to be differentiated from 'serekh façade' / 'serekh wall' / 'Djoser wall ornament' (Willems, in Jiménez-Serrano, Morales (eds), *Middle Kingdom Palace Culture*, 462-81; thus not consistent with his previous terminology in *Chests of Life*). For the purpose of this article, the neutral term *elaborate façade* was chosen. In two-dimensional representation, the motif of an elaborate façade apparently combines 1) the niched architecture (sequence of recesses and projections) that was popular in the Predynastic and Early Dynastic *mudbrick* architecture (Kaiser, in Helck, Westendorf (eds), *LÄ* IV, 511-3), with 2) the pre-historic *timber/reed* architecture covered/decorated with brightly coloured mats – the so called 'Zeltpalast' (Ricke, *Beiträge*, 32-6; Müller, in Anonymous (ed.), *Ägypten, Dauer und Wandel*, 10-21). The First Dynasty mudbrick tomb of Merka at Saqqara seems to demonstrate this mixture in three dimensions by having painted images of colourful mats upon its niched façade (Emery, *Great Tombs*, vol. III, pls 2, 6-8).

[39] Willems, *Chests of Life*, 136-7, 160-1.

The elaborate façade

The representation of the elaborate façade consists of a sequence of projections and recesses with a door.[40] In general, the scheme was created using three vertical elements – the recess with the door (including all architectural elements above it) as well as the projections to the right and to the left of the recess. There is no entablature, but the frame of three bands (white, blue, white), which separates the elaborate façade from the *wedjat*-eyes, may be understood as such.

Recess: The recess contains the representation of a brown ochre door. There is a red vertical stripe in the middle (probably representing the gap between the door leaves) and a red vertical stripe on the right as well as on the left (probably representing the edges of the door). The red horizontal stripe above the door, separated from the door leaves with the help of a black delimiting line, may be understood as a crossbeam. Two door bolts are indicated in black.

Further up, there is a representation of three vertical triple grooves with blue projections in-between. The so-called triple grooves consist of a red stripe (representing the back wall of the actual niche), which is framed by two white stripes filled with the leopard-skin-motif (also known as chain motif)[41]. The blue oblongs situated between them may be interpreted as projections. The whole element is topped by a red vertical stripe. Above it is a vertical white oblong filled with a lozenge pattern – there is a red lozenge in the middle of the oblong, surrounded by a larger lozenge in black. Towards the right and left is a sequence of half-lozenges alternating in colour (red and black).

Projections: On both sides, the recess is framed by a projection, both of which are built up of five elements and are of exactly the same design. In the lower area, each projection features three facing walls and two triple grooves in-between. The facing walls usually feature an elaborate geometrical pattern representing woven mats, but in this case they are simple tall vertical oblongs painted blue. The method of stretching the mats tight by a cord running through a series of loops and round a horizontal rod is not depicted.[42] Further up, white oblongs alternate with rectangles in red and blue.

The triple grooves situated between the facing walls consist of a red stripe (representing the back wall of the actual niche) framed by two white stripes filled with the leopard-skin-motif and topped by a red oblong. Further up, red oblongs alternate with rectangles/vertical oblongs (from bottom to top: green rectangle – brown ochre vertical oblong – white rectangle). The brown ochre vertical oblong (twice as high as the rectangles) contains the motif of two bound papyrus plants painted black. The umbels are rendered in such a manner that the corners of the umbel appear to touch each other, forming a circle. Four lines below the umbels represent the cording. According to Edna R. Russmann, the motif symbolises a transom window.[43] The white rectangle above this motif is filled with a criss-cross pattern using red diagonal lines.

Every single rectangle, oblong and stripe within the representation of the elaborate façade is provided with a black delimiting line, applied at the very end.

The column-like segments

The column-like segments to the right and to the left of the representations of *wedjat*-eyes and elaborate façade are filled with a chequerboard pattern of $6 \times 47+x$[44] squares made with the use of black lines to outline alternating green and brown ochre squares.

2.3. Some observations on the draft drawing and execution

In general, the decoration of the coffin of Neby appears to have been carefully executed. The layout of the lines, the alignment of the hieroglyphic signs as well as the rendering of the elaborate façade and the *wedjat*-eyes are very accurate. The precision manifests itself in the fact that the drafting lines are hardly discernible on all sides of the coffin and correlate with the final execution of the decoration. They were apparently rather thin and pale and cannot be detected with the naked eye due to the final layer of paint that covers them. Black drafting lines used to mark the run of the colour bands are visible in some areas,[45] and semi-transparent white paint was in all probability used to draft the *wedjat*-eyes and the elaborate façade. These latter drafting lines are especially visible in respect of the *wedjat*-eyes. Within the elaborate façade, vertical drafting lines can be recognised in the area of the door leaves – they are the extension of

[40] The motif has never been studied in detail and the terminology to describe its individual elements is still open for discussion. For some terms see Dieter Arnold's description of the surface articulation of the limestone mastaba of Senwosretankh at Lisht-South (Arnold, *Middle Kingdom Tomb Architecture at Lisht*, 16-8).

[41] See van Walsem, in Amenta, Guichard (eds), *Proceedings of the First Vatican Coffin Conference*, 557-71.

[42] Compare e.g. Figs 5-6. Compare Emery, *Great Tombs*, vol. III, pls 6-8; Quibell, *The Tomb of Hesy*, pls 8-9.

[43] Russmann, *JARCE* 32, 117-26.

[44] Only 46 rows are preserved within the chequerboard pattern to the left of the *wedjat*-eyes. Since the base of the coffin is missing, it cannot be excluded that the decoration extended further down, and the number of rows was originally higher.

[45] E.g. the head end – the vertical line next to the beginning of the inscription line.

the lines marking the oblongs/triple grooves represented above the door. Horizontal white drafting lines can still be seen within the two oblongs on the left that contain the motif of two bound papyrus plants.

An interesting detail concerns the layout of the chequerboard pattern in the column-like segments next to the elaborate façade. In both segments, the craftsman marked the distribution of the vertical lines with the help of seven black dots that can be found in the upper as well as in the lower area (see Fig. 2). By using a straight edge, it would have been easy to draw the lines parallel to each other. The distribution of the horizontal lines is also quite even, but not perfectly uniform.[46]

The inscriptions seem to have been drafted in black paint, but this layer of paint is only sporadically discernible with the naked eye.[47] The craftsman/craftsmen bestowed great care on the alignment of the signs. Tall narrow signs are elongated over the entire height of the inscription line, and low broad signs over the entire width of the columns. In the inscription lines, if two or more signs are placed on top of each other, the upper one is always aligned with the upper frame and the lower one with the lower frame.

2.4. The prefabrication

The coffin very well demonstrates the custom of a coffin's prefabrication. It was apparently not made on demand but manufactured and decorated in advance. All texts were applied except for the name of the purchaser, the space for which was left blank. The fact that the title and the name were added later is obvious since the blank space was not large enough to accommodate all the signs properly. They often appear very squat and considerably smaller than those of the remaining text (see Fig. 3). Their size and arrangement had to be adapted to the size of the space available in the individual lines and columns.[48] Even the personal name of the coffin owner is written alternately with one or two M17 signs (flowering reed), *i.e*. Nebi or Neby. When enough space was available, the second variant was apparently preferred.[49]

Furthermore, the pigment paint used for the title and name clearly differs from the paint used for the other signs. Though blue, the shade is lighter, and it seems to have been thinner (*i.e*. of lower viscosity/density) or less adhering since large areas have flaked off (e.g. on the head end and front side).[50] Finally, even though the coffin was purchased for/by a female, there is not a single instance of *ỉm3ḫ.y* featuring a feminine ending. The coffin was prefabricated for a male client in mind.

Neby's coffin does not represent a singular case in this respect, the custom was already noticed by Garstang[51] and examination of the coffins and coffin fragments from Beni Hassan has revealed several cases up to now.[52] The custom is, however, not restricted to Beni Hassan; it is also attested at other sites.[53]

3. *Provenance* – Itinerary of the Object

In art history, the term provenance usually describes the history of an object since its discovery – its chain of ownership. In archaeology, however, the same term covers the time span from the creation of an artefact up to its present location, being a history of circulation, with the find spot (provenience) representing solely one place of the object's itinerary.[54] Quoting Rosemary A. Joyce, '*the provenience is a fixed point, while provenance can be considered an itinerary that an object follows as it moves from hand to hand*'.[55] The find spot (place of discovery/provenience) may, but does not need to, be identical with the artefact's place of origin – the place where the object was created is very often different to

[46] For the use of black dots to mark the run of the ornamental frame or lines framing the inscriptions see also Lapp, *Die Särge des Mittleren Reiches*, 4, pl. 4.3-4.

[47] See e.g. the sign V30 (wickerwork basket) in the inscription line above the *wedjat*-eyes.

[48] On the front side, the epithet *m3ʿ ḫrw* is written without the sign U1 (sickle) in three instances – in the inscription line and in the edge columns. This was apparently done intentionally so that enough space remained available for the name to be added later.

[49] For the name compare Ranke, *Personennamen*, vol. I, 187.5, 192.21, 192.22. Compare: https://pnm.uni-mainz.de/2/name/2471, <accessed 18.08.2021>.

[50] Pigment analysis would be necessary to shed light on this issue.

[51] Garstang, *Burial Customs*, 47-8: '*It would seem as though the various objects necessary for a funeral could be chosen from amongst a readymade stock in an undertaker's workshop. In many instances in which the formulae upon the coffins were depicted in decorative hieroglyphs, a space had been left for the name of the dead to be filled in later. Rarely was this done in the decorative style of the hieroglyphic writing; more frequently it was hastily written in ink in a careless hand, while in some cases the blank had not been filled at all, and the coffin remained nameless*'.

[52] For the space left blank compare e.g. BOLMG 1904.17.31, Bolton Museum; LM 56.20.715, World Museum, National Museums Liverpool. For the name being added later compare e.g. ROM 910.8.1, Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto; PMAG 1983.12.3, Perth Museum and Art Gallery.

[53] Compare e.g. the coffin of Mentuhotep/Buau from Thebes (CGC 28027, Egyptian Museum Cairo, Lacau, *Sarcophages*, vol. I, 66-74).

[54] See Joyce, in Feigenbaum, Jackson Reist (eds), *Provenance: An Alternate History of Art*, 48-60.

[55] Joyce, in Feigenbaum, Jackson Reist (eds), *Provenance: An Alternate History of Art*, 48.

the place where it was deposited in antiquity and excavated by archaeologists. Furthermore, by taking the geology into account, the early provenance can even be extended up to the origin/acquisition of the raw materials that precedes the actual manufacture of an object.[56] Applying these concepts on the coffin of Neby one can try to reconstruct at least some stations of its itinerary. The provenience of the coffin is undisputed (see above), but the provenance research has much to offer.

3.1. The early provenance – the place of manufacture

Neither the wood nor the pigments of Neby's coffin have yet been analysed, so that nothing can be said about its geological provenance. The place of the coffin's creation, however, requires a thorough investigation. In his study on the typology of Middle Kingdom standard class coffins, Harco Willems already noticed that Neby's coffin does not fit into the Beni Hassan corpus but rather resembles coffins from the nearby necropolis at Dayr al-Barsha and seems to have been '*made by an artisan from this latter site*'.[57] His observation was based on some palaeographic and epigraphic similarities and the nature of the column texts, the pieces of evidence being scattered over some footnotes.[58] A closer look at these arguments reveals some discrepancies and helps to identify the coffin's true counterpart.

As already stated above, the coffin of Neby corresponds with coffin type IVbb, this sub-classification being based on 1) the presence of four text columns on the long sides and two text columns on the short ends, 2) the representation of the elaborate façade with *wedjat*-eyes on the front side, and 3) the nature of the column texts of the short ends that contain a speech of the goddess Nut.[59] The speech of the goddess Nut was characteristic of the coffins from Dayr al-Barsha where it also appears on type III and type V coffins.[60] The use of the text on Neby's coffin is indeed a strong argument towards its embedding into the tradition of Dayr al-Barsha. Even though the text was also widespread at Meir,[61] its popularity (or even awareness of it) at Beni Hassan seems to have been very limited. It reappears only once on the fragment of a short end kept in Nottingham.[62] Thereon, however, a shortened version of the speech occupies a single column, whereas the second column contains the standard formulation (*im3ḫ.y*-phrase). Furthermore, the coffin fragment originates from a type VI coffin, featuring the representation of the elaborate façade all around.

Taking palaeographic and epigraphic details into consideration, Willems related the coffin of Neby to the Dayr al-Barsha coffins of group D (and E), dated to the reign of Senwosret II – Senwosret III.[63] These were the writing of Busiris with two *ḏd*-columns (R11), the writing of Abydos with the cow's skin sign (F28) instead of the chisel sign (U23), and the writing of land (in the title 'lord of the Holy Land') with the tongue of land sign (N21) instead of the irrigation canal (N23).[64]

Keeping the above-mentioned criteria in mind, Willems considered the Dayr al-Barsha coffins of Nefri (CGC 28088)[65] and Bik (MFA 15-5-532.1-7)[66] to be the closest parallels to Neby's coffin, apparently because they were '*the only other subtype IVbb coffins*'.[67] His observations can now be re-evaluated and carried a step forward. The coffin of Bik is fragmentary and unfortunately still unpublished, so that an in-depth comparison with Neby's coffin is not possible.[68] Furthermore, it was not listed in Willems's Dayr al-Barsha group D along with the coffin Nefri, apparently because it was not found in a shaft associated with the tomb of Djehutihotep (see below).[69] On the other hand, the coffin of Nefri belongs

[56] So-called geological provenance, compare Joyce, in Feigenbaum, Jackson Reist (eds), *Provenance: An Alternate History of Art*, 54-5.
[57] Willems, *Chests of Life*, 161.
[58] Willems, *Chests of Life*, 68, n. 47a, 77, n. 95, 134, n. 49, 160-1.
[59] Willems, *Chests of Life*, 160-1.
[60] Willems, *Chests of Life*, 131-5, 160-1. See also Lapp, *Typologie der Särge*, 79, 221 (§520).
[61] It appears to have been quite common on type III coffins. See Willems, *Chests of Life*, 135; Lapp, *Typologie der Särge*, 100 (§ 233), 221 (§520).
[62] NCM 1904-473, Nottingham City Museums and Galleries. See Hudáková, Jánosi, Siffert, *Sokar* 40, 90, fig. 27. The coffin fragment is datable into the Second Intermediate Period.
[63] Willems, *Chests of Life*, 68, 75-7, 160-1.
[64] Willems, *Chests of Life*, 77, n. 95. For the hieroglyphic signs see Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammar*, 438-548.
[65] Siglum: B16C. See: Lacau, *Sarcophages*, vol. II, 10-20.
[66] Siglum: B7 (Willems, *Chests of Life*, 35), now B9Bo (Willems, *Historical and Archaeological Aspects*, 246-7).
[67] Willems, *Chests of Life*, 68, n. 47a.
[68] The long sides, the base, pieces of a short end as well as some other fragments are kept in the Museum of Fine Arts Boston, see https://collections.mfa.org/objects/365741/end-board-of-the-coffin-of-bik?ctx=41ff9b69-5e27-499e-ba2d-1bb8cb4632c3&idx=0, <accessed 05.08.2021>.
[69] Willems, *Chests of Life*, 75-7. According to the museum's website (see the previous footnote) the coffin was found in tomb 12B excavated by the Harvard University-Museum of Fine Arts Expedition under the direction of George A. Reisner. For the exact location of shaft 12B compare the map of the necropolis produced by the Harvard University-Museum of Fine Arts Expedition, published in Terrace, *Egyptian Paintings*, 12. The shaft is situated to the east of the tomb of Nehri I (shafts 19A and 19B on Reisner's map are part of this tomb, see Long, de Meyer, Willems, *SAK* 44, 215-9). For an up-to-date map compare Willems, *Historical and Archaeological Aspects*, fig. 10 (Reisner's shaft 12B is not indicated).

to group D and represents a type IVbb coffin, but there is indeed an important difference when compared to Neby's coffin. The coffin does not feature the speech of the goddess Nut in its full form, instead it rather combines it with the *im3ḫ.y*-phrase in three of four columns on the short ends, and the introduction *ḏd mdw in Nw.t* is missing altogether.[70] It can thus hardly be considered the closest parallel to the coffin of Neby.

To shed more light on the Dayr al-Barsha tradition, it is necessary to give a summary of Willems's Dayr al-Barsha coffins of group D. The group encompasses the coffins that were found in five shaft tombs situated in front of the rock-cut tomb (or the burial apartment respectively) of the governor Djehutihotep (17L20/1A, also known as tomb 2).[71] Their position, and the fact that they lie in one row and have the same orientation as the tomb of the governor and his burial shaft strongly indicate that their owners belonged to his entourage.[72] Moreover, the architecture of Djehutihotep's tomb suggests that the shafts can only have been made after the work on his tomb began, and since he was in office under the reigns of Senwosret II and Senwosret III, the shafts would have been constructed sometimes within this time frame,[73] thus providing an approximate date for the coffins found therein as well.

The tombs were discovered 1897 by Georges Daressy who published a brief article on the finds.[74] Even though all five shafts were indicated on his plan, Daressy only described the shafts labelled D (Sepi I), E (Sepi II and Sepi III)[75] and F (Nefri), and noted that shaft G belonging to Gua was opened after his departure.[76] The fifth shaft remained unlabelled. All five shafts were also indicated on the plan published by M. Ahmed Bey Kamal who excavated the site in 1900, being numbered 11 to 15 (from east to west).[77] After Daressy's excavations, the burial equipment, including the coffins, was dispersed to various institutions. The Egyptian Museum Cairo received the coffins of Sepi III from shaft E/14 (CGC 28083 and CGC 28084)[78] and Nefri from shaft F/13 (CGC 28087 and CGC 28088).[79] The coffins of Sepi I from shaft D/15 were donated to the Louvre in Paris (E 10779 A and B).[80] The coffin of Sepi II from shaft E/14 (BM EA55315)[81] was purchased together with the coffins of Gua from shaft G/12 (BM EA30839 and BM EA30840)[82] by the British Museum in 1899.[83] In the same year, the museum also obtained the coffins of Sen (BM EA 30841 and BM EA 30842)[84] long thought to have been found in the fifth shaft (shaft 11 after Kamal, see below).[85]

In 2003 the Belgian Mission (KU Leuven) located four of the five shafts and numbered them according to their grid system; in 2004-2005 the fifth shaft was located and shaft 16L19/1 (the second from the west, corresponding to Daressy's shaft E/14) was cleared, revealing solely one burial chamber instead of two as published by Daressy (Sepi II and Sepi III).[86] It thus became clear that

[70] Lacau, *Sarcophages*, vol. II, 10. For the combination of both texts see Lapp, *Typologie der Särge*, 79 (type 3).

[71] Pommerening, Willems, in Claes *et al.* (eds), *Remove that Pyramid!,* 871-98. For possible fragments of the coffin belonging to Djehutihotep himself compare Willems *et al*., *MDAIK* 62, 309; Willems, *Historical and Archaeological Aspects*, 151, n. 94, 245 (siglum: B10B).

[72] Willems, *Chests of Life*, 75-7.

[73] Willems, *Chests of Life*, 77.

[74] Daressy, *ASAE* 1, 22–43.

[75] Shaft E contained two burial chambers, with the burials of two generals named Sepi. Daressy named the general from the northern shaft Sepi II and the one from the southern shaft Sepi III. See Daressy, *ASAE* 1, 28–40.

[76] Daressy, *ASAE* 1, 23, 42.

[77] Kamal, *ASAE* 2, 15. This new plan was also prepared by Daressy, see Pommerening, Willems, in Claes *et al.* (eds), *Remove that Pyramid!,* 873-4.

[78] Siglum: B1C. CGC 28084 is a mummy-shaped coffin. See: Lacau, *Sarcophages*, vol. I, 170-200, pls XI, XX, XXIV, XXV. For the term mummy-shaped coffins or *Mumienhülle* see Siffert, in Strudwick, Dawson (eds), *Ancient Egyptian Coffins*, 22-9.

[79] Sigla: B16C and B17C. See: Lacau, *Sarcophages*, vol. II, 1-20; Lacau, *Sarcophages*, vol. I, pls XII, XXVII.

[80] Sigla: B1P and B2P. See https://collections.louvre.fr/en/ark:/53355/cl010020141; https://collections.louvre.fr/en/ark:/53355/cl010019062, <accessed 10.08.2021>. See Rigault *et al.*, in Perrot, Pietri, Tanré-Szewczyk (eds), *L'objet égyptien*, 333-56; Rigault, *Égypte, Afrique & Orient* 48, 6-7.

[81] Siglum: B5L. See https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/Y_EA55315, <accessed 10.08.2021>. Sepi II most probably also possessed a mummy-shaped coffin, see Daressy, *ASAE* 1, 29 ('*La momie, réduite en miettes, devait être enveloppée dans une gaine en cartonnage jaune, le dessous des pieds étant seul en bois. Le masque sans doute doré avait disparu mais les voleurs avaient négligé la barbe, courte et carrée du bout, en bois peint en bleu*').

[82] Sigla: B1L and B2L. See https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/Y_EA30839, https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/Y_EA30840, <accessed 10.08.2021>.

[83] Note that the coffin of Sepi II has the registration number 1899,0708.171, and the coffins of Gua have the registration numbers 1899,0708.168 and 1899,0708.169. This information is available in the online catalogue of the British Museum, see the preceding footnotes.

[84] Sigla: B3L and B4L. See https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/Y_EA30841, https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/Y_EA30842, <accessed 10.08.2021>. They have the registration numbers 1899,0610.11 and 1899,0610.12; it seems that they have been registered slightly earlier than the coffins of Sepi II and Gua.

[85] Compare Willems, *Chests of Life*, 76-7. See also Pommerening, Willems, in Claes *et al.* (eds), *Remove that Pyramid!,* 876-7.

[86] Willems *et al*., *MDAIK* 65, 381-3, figs 2, 5. See also the previous report Willems *et al*., *MDAIK* 62, 313-4, 317-8, figs 2, 4.

Fig. 4a-d – Coffin of the 'general' Sepi II. Findspot: Shaft 17L10/2, Dayr al-Barsha. Wood, Length × width × height: 213 × 52 × 78.5 cm. British Museum, London. Acquired 1899, BM EA 55315 © The Trustees of the British Museum. All rights reserved. (a): Front side; (b): Back side; (c) Head end; (d) Foot end

Daressy's attributions of the tomb owners to the individual shafts were not correct and had to be re-examined. The five shafts were reinvestigated by Harco Willems (Dayr al-Barsha Project, KU Leuven), in collaboration with Tanja Pommerening (Johannes Gutenberg-Universität Mainz, now Philipps-Universität Marburg), and the results have been recently published.[87] The team was able to correct Daressy's published account and reassign the burial assemblages to the five shafts, from east to west: 17L10/3 (Nefri), 17L10/2 (Sepi II and Sepi III), 17L10/1 (Sepi I), 16L19/1 (unknown child?),[88] and 16L19/2 (Gua, and unknown woman?). It turned out that Sen was in all probability not buried in any of these shafts, even though his coffins must have been made in the same workshop(s).[89]

3.1.1 The coffins of Neby and Sepi II juxtaposed

Howsoever, the whereabouts of the coffins belonging to the individuals buried in the five shafts are known, and the availability of images in the online catalogues of the museums now enables a more detailed study to be made of their decoration and the possibility to revise their typological classification published by Willems.[90] The examination reveals that the outer coffin of Nefri (CGC 28088) is not the only subtype IVbb coffin in this group, the classification also applies to the coffin of general Sepi II (BM EA55315). In Willems's publication, the coffin was marked as type 'Vbb?', *i.e*. having solely one column down the middle on the head and foot ends,[91] but in fact it features two columns on each end and belongs to type IVbb, just like the coffin of Neby found at Beni Hassan (see Figs 4a-d; Pl. XLVII). This is, however, not the only feature these two coffins have in common. When comparing their decoration, it becomes immediately apparent that the coffins are almost identical. The general layout and colouring, the distribution and content of the inscriptions as well as the rendering of the elaborate façade and *wedjat*-eyes on the northern end of the front side are virtually the same. The similarity is so remarkable that one is forced to assume that the coffins were in all probability decorated by the very same craftsman. Willems already noted that the coffin of Neby might have been made by a craftsman from Dayr al-Barsha (see above), but the striking resemblance to the coffin of Sepi II leaves no doubt that this was the case.

The measurements

The similarity of the two coffins is already apparent from their measurements. In today's condition, the coffin of Neby is ca. 214 cm long, 51.4 cm wide, and 51.4 cm high.[92] The coffin of Sepi II is 213 cm long, 52 cm wide and 78.5 cm high.[93] The difference in their height is only related to the fact that the lid and the battens that once supported the base of Neby's coffin are no longer preserved.[94] The almost identical measurements might indicate that the two coffins were made at the same time from the very same material, maybe even from the same tree or the same part of the tree trunk. This assumption is highly hypothetical, but the analysis of the coffins of Sepi I, now kept in the Louvre, showed the immense potential of archaeodendrometry in this respect.[95] The analysis demonstrated that both coffins of Sepi I were mostly made of cedar wood and at least the long and short sides of the inner coffin were made from two different parts of the same tree trunk.

The general layout and inscriptions

As for the decoration, the similarity of the two coffins is not restricted to their typological analogousness.

Not only are the layout of the individual sides the same, but also the form and colouring of the ornamental frames framing the sides of the coffins as well as the inscription lines and columns. It should be noted that the text bands on the coffin of Sepi II are accentuated

[87] Pommerening, Willems, in Claes *et al.* (eds), *Remove that Pyramid!,* 871-98. See also https://www.aegyptologie.uni-mainz.de/dayr-al-barsha-die-graeber-des-nefri-gua-sepi-iiii-und-seni/, <accessed 10.08.2021>. For an up-to-date plan of zone 2 as well as a 3D reconstruction of Djehutihotep's tomb and the area in front of it see also Willems, *Historical and Archaeological Aspects*, figs 10, 16.

[88] Fragments of a very small coffin were found in shaft 16L19/1 (siglum: B11B). See Pommerening, Willems, in Claes *et al.* (eds), *Remove that Pyramid!,* 891-5, fig. 14.

[89] Pommerening, Willems, in Claes *et al.* (eds), *Remove that Pyramid!,* 893-5.

[90] Willems, *Chests of Life*, 20-1, table 2.

[91] Willems, *Chests of Life*, 21. The meaning of the question mark is not clear, probably no photographs of the head and foot end were available at that time.

[92] See https://collections.mfa.org/objects/365741/end-board-of-the-coffin-of-bik?ctx=41ff9b69-5e27-499e-ba2d-1bb8cb-4632c3&idx=0, <accessed 10.08.2021>. The measurements published in Brovarski, in D'Auria, Lacovara, Roehrig (eds), *Mummies and Magic*, 118-19, cat. no. 45 are wrong (115 x 61 x 75 cm).

[93] See https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/Y_EA55315 <accessed 10.08.2021>. Slightly different measurements (212.5 x 53.5 x 67.5 cm) were published in Davies, in Davies, Schofield (eds), *Egypt, the Aegean and the Levant*, 147.

[94] Information on the thickness of the boards is unfortunately not available.

[95] Rigault, Thomas, in Miniaci *et al.* (eds), *The Arts of Making in Ancient Egypt*, 217-8, fig. 6; Rigault *et al.*, in Perrot, Pietri, Tanré-Szewczyk (eds), *L'objet égyptien*, 338-45. I would like to thank Delphine Driaux for making the latter publication accessible to me.

by giving them a light background, providing evidence that this might have been the case on Neby's coffin as well, even though it is barely visible today (see above).

Even the distribution and content of the inscriptions is almost identical, with only minor variations. In the offering formula on the front side of Sepi II's coffin, incense has been added to the *pr.t-ḫrw* while the part *ꜥnḫ-.t nṯr ỉm rꜥ nb* has been omitted, and the formula closes with the formulation *n kꜣ n* (for the Ka of), to the disadvantage of Sepi II's title that was omitted (see Fig. 4a). The offering formula on the back sides of both coffins is identical, but on Sepi II's coffin the final *ỉmꜣḫ.y* is missing, probably because the craftsman did not want to omit Sepi II's title again (see Fig. 4b). On the head end as well as on the foot end of Sepi II's coffin, the speech of Nut ends with *n ḏ.t* (see Figs 4c-d), which is not attested on Neby's coffin, probably because of lack of space. An interesting detail concerns the omission of the initial *ỉ* in *ỉmꜣḫ.y* in the inscription line on the front side as well as in the text columns on the front and back side on Neby's coffin. The writing of the terminal *mꜣꜥ ḫrw* also varies considerably, but this seems to be related to the fact that Neby's coffin was prefabricated whereas the coffin of Sepi II was apparently made for him and the writing of *mꜣꜥ ḫrw* was adopted according to the space available after his name at the end of each line or column.

The difference between a coffin made on demand and a prefabricated coffin is also apparent in the treatment of the owner's title in the columns. In the first case, the craftsman only painted Sepi II's title when the space was large enough to accommodate the signs of both the name and the title in a proper manner, and his decision concerning the offering formulas might have been influenced by the importance attached to the individual parts of the sentence (see above). It is also evident that the terminal *mꜣꜥ ḫrw* was considered more important than the title, since it was never left out in favour of the title. In the latter case, Neby's title and name were added later and they are always present. It seems that the craftsman was instructed to add them into the space available, and were considered one entity since he fitted them in every line and column, even if each time he was forced to group them anew.

Despite the textual differences, the epigraphy and palaeography of the individual words and even signs of the formulae and phrases are so strikingly similar that there is hardly any doubt that the same person decorated both coffins. The palaeographic and epigraphic peculiarities of the Dayr al-Barsha coffins of group D mentioned above appear on both coffins (Busiris with two *ḏd*-columns (R11), Abydos with a cow's skin (F28) instead of a chisel, the writing of land (in the title 'lord of the holy land') with a tongue of land (N21) instead of the irrigation canal).[96] The craftsman was most probably working with the same master copy (*Vorlage*). Overall, the individual signs are extremely similar and grouped in exactly the same way on both coffins.

The northern panel of the front side

The observations made in respect of the inscriptions also pertain to the rendering of the elaborate façade and the *wedjat*-eyes (see Pls XLVI-XLVII). Most probably because of humidity, the colours on Neby's coffin have discoloured and are no longer as bright as those on Sepi II's coffin, but when juxtaposed the resemblance of the coffins' decoration is more than obvious. The form, colouring and the overall execution of the *wedjat*-eyes is so similar that when superimposed they are virtually identical. The only difference pertains to the size of the iris, red scanthi and the contour of the actual eye that are slightly bigger/thicker on Neby's coffin.

The rendering of the elaborate façade beneath the *wedjat*-eyes is almost identical as well, featuring only minor variations. On Neby's coffin, there are two door bolts instead of one, but the plain rendering of the door with two door bolts is indeed typical for the Dayr al-Barsha coffins of group D.[97] Apart from that, the series of three vertical triple grooves with blue projections in-between situated above the door is not as tall as on Sepi II's coffin, because an additional vertical oblong was added above it. It was filled with a lozenge/half-lozenge pattern and the white rectangles represented in the same row to the right and to the left of it were filled with a criss-cross pattern. But here again, these additions appear repeatedly on other Dayr al-Barsha coffins of group D.[98] It is noteworthy that so far only a single version of the lozenge/half-lozenge pattern has been detected on a Beni Hassan coffin.[99]

Last but not least, the form of the leopard-skin-motif and of the motif of two bound papyrus plants also correspond with the Dayr al-Barsha tradition. The leopard-skin-motif is characterised by the use of very short black strokes that look almost like dots.[100] In contrast,

[96] See also Orel, *Chronology*, 371-4.

[97] Preserved e.g. on the outer coffin of Sepi III (CGC 28083, interior) and both coffins of Sepi I (Louvre E 10799 A and B, interior). See also the inner coffin of Sen (BM EA30842, interior).

[98] For the lozenge/half-lozenge pattern see e.g. the outer coffin of Sepi III (CGC 28083, interior) and the coffins of Gua (BM EA30839 and BM EA30840, interior). For white (and other coloured) rectangles filled with criss-cross pattern see e.g. the outer coffin of Sen (BM EA30841, interior).

[99] E 512, Garstang Museum of Archaeology, University of Liverpool (above a miniature door).

[100] Compare the coffins of Gua (BM EA 30839 and BM EA 30840, interior) and Sepi I (Louvre E 10799 A and B, interior).

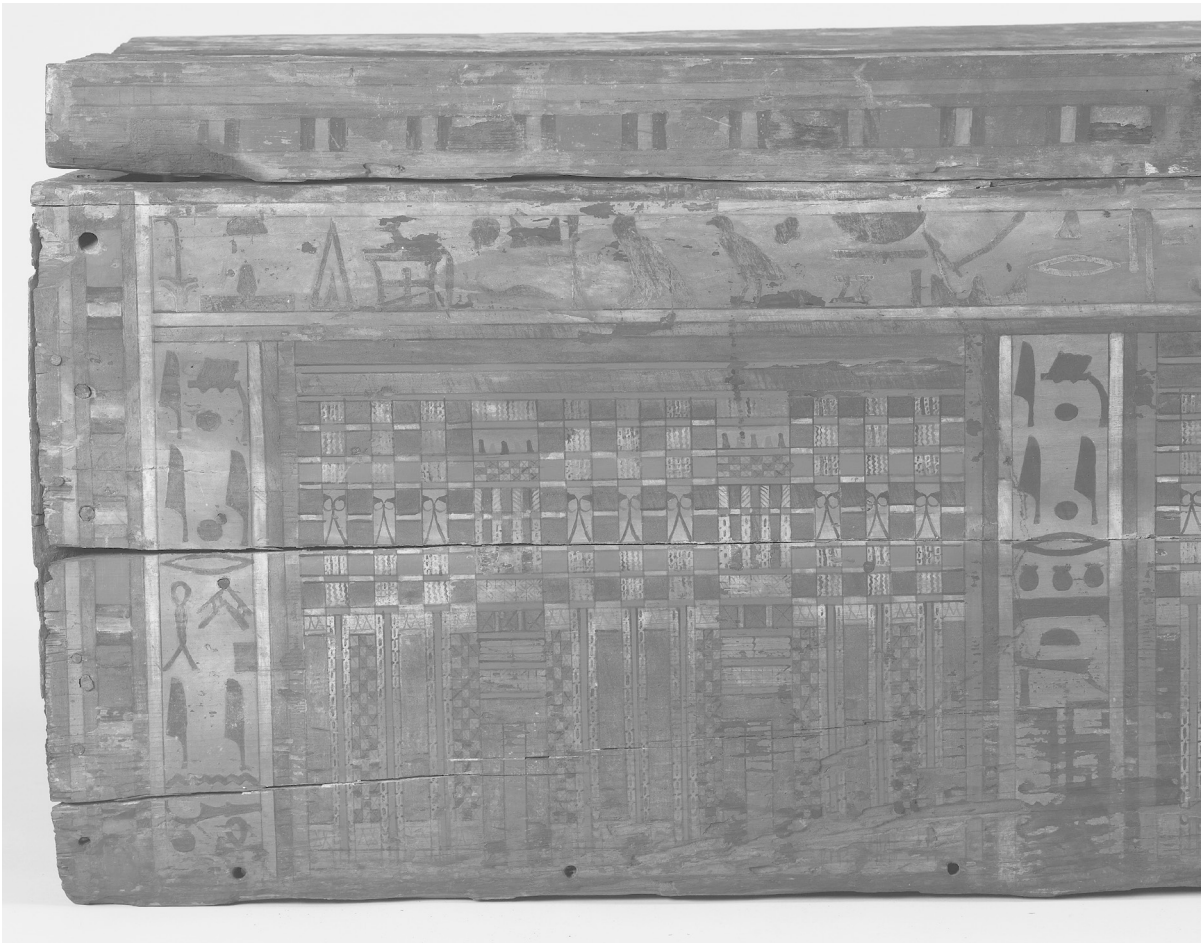

Fig. 5 – Coffin of Nakhtankh, Beni Hassan, probably from tomb BH 284, detail: the northern panel on the back side World Museum, National Museums Liverpool, LM 55.82.112. Photograph © World Museum, National Museums Liverpool

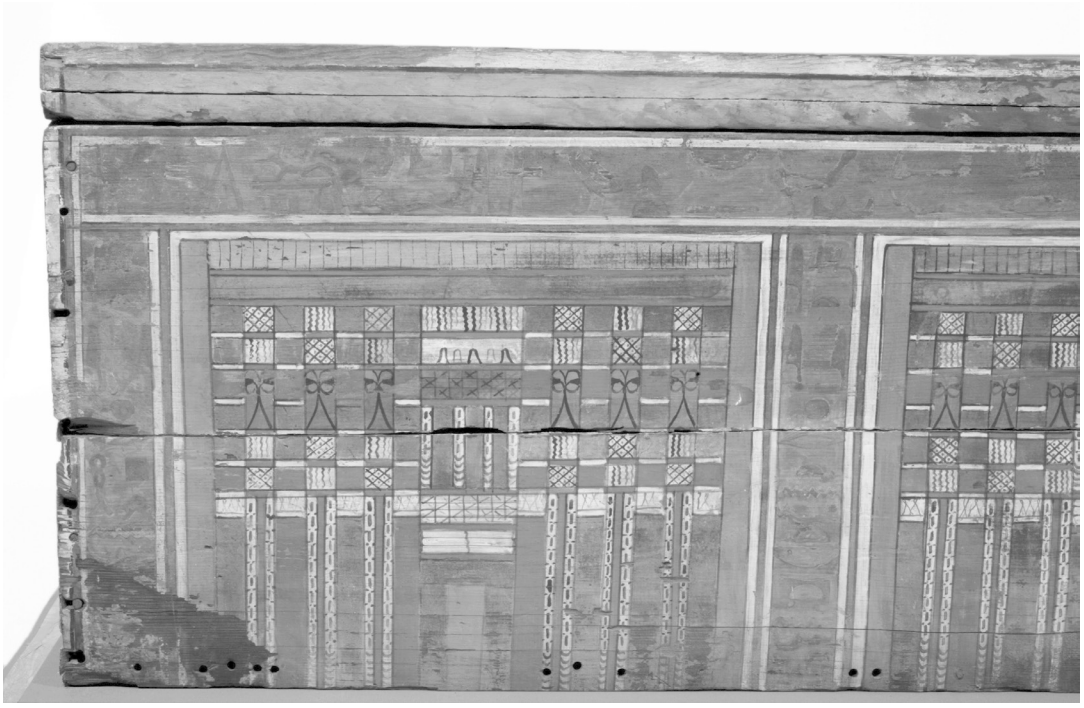

Fig. 6 – Coffin of the 'lady of the house' Nakht, Beni Hassan, tomb BH 23, detail: the northern panel on the back side. Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, E.68.1903. Photograph © The Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge

on the Beni Hassan coffins the central strokes are usually much longer, covering more of the white paint (see Figs 5-6).[101] The motif of two bound papyrus plants is even more suggestive of a particular craftsman or workshop. Its rendering on the coffins of Neby and Sepi II is quite truthful, with even the cording of the bundle indicated on Neby's coffin. There is hardly any parallel for such a reproduction on the Beni Hassan coffins of type IV and VI, where the plants are often hardly discernible as such.[102] In some instances, only the lower half of the umbels was actually indicated (see Fig. 5).[103] In other examples the upper part of the so-called papyrus window was filled with a V-shaped line,[104] but only in some of them are the ends of the V-shaped line more rounded and seem to join the actual plants (see Fig. 6).[105]

Finally, on Neby's coffin the column-like segments to the right and to the left of the elaborate façade and *wedjat*-eyes are filled with a chequerboard pattern, whereas on the coffin of Sepi II these segments were left empty. There does not seem to be a parallel for this, but the chequerboard pattern was popular all over Egypt. Some coffins from the Dayr al-Barsha group D also show these segments without decoration[106] or filled with a polychrome lozenge pattern.[107]

The observations outlined above show that the decoration of Neby's coffin does not match with the artistic tradition of the Beni Hassan coffins. This also applies to the very accurate rendering of the elaborate façade in general. Great care was bestowed on the layout, including the distribution of the individual lines and the precise execution of the geometrical patterns. Even the colouring clearly stands out. The almost turquoise shade of green paint used within the elaborate façade and the column-like segments on Neby's coffin seems to be unparalleled within the Beni Hassan corpus.[108] Pigment analysis of Neby's coffin and those of the Dayr al-Barsha group D would likely offer important insights into the materials available in the workshop.[109]

The date of manufacture

The analysis of Neby's coffin has revealed that it must have been decorated at Dayr al-Barsha, in the same workshop or even by the same craftsman as the coffin of Sepi II. Taking the identical measurements into account, it even seems likely that both coffins were carpentered at the same time. It is thus tempting to assume that the carpenter's workshop and the painter's workshop were closely associated. Furthermore, the striking resemblance of the coffins speaks against Janine Bourriau's assumption that Neby's coffin may be the product of a coffin painter from Dayr al-Barsha travelling to Beni Hassan.[110]

Since the general Sepi II with outmost probability belonged to the entourage of the governor Djehutihotep (in office under Senwosret II – Senwosret III), both coffins can hardly postdate the reign of Senwosret III.[111] Furthermore, it can be assumed that they represent the latest coffins of the Dayr al-Barsha group D, since they are type IVbb coffins and the only ones from the group that no longer feature any interior decoration.[112] Even the design of the elaborate façade points in this direction – in contrast to most of the other coffins of the group, it is rather simplified and is not distinguished by an extensive subdivision and profuse use of geometrical patterns.[113] The trend from an intricate and complex elaborate façade towards a more clear-cut design can also be observed in Beni Hassan.[114]

[101] Compare e.g. E.67.1903 and E.68.1903, Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge; LM 55.82.112 and LM 55.82.113, World Museum, National Museums Liverpool; MU1771, Australian Museum, Sydney; E 512, Garstang Museum of Archaeology, University of Liverpool.

[102] Quite clear representations of the bound papyrus plants are preserved on the type I coffins that are earlier (Eleventh Dynasty – beginning of Twelfth Dynasty). See e.g. JE 37569, Egyptian Museum Cairo.

[103] LM 55.82.112, World Museum, National Museums Liverpool. See also E.67.1903, Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge.

[104] Some instances in E.68.1903, Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge; MU1771, Australian Museum, Sydney.

[105] Some instances in E.68.1903, Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge. See also MRAH E5037, Royal Museums of Art and History, Brussels; E 512, Garstang Museum of Archaeology, University of Liverpool.

[106] See e.g. the inner coffin of Sen (BM EA30842, exterior).

[107] See e.g. the outer coffin of Sepi III (CGC 28083, exterior), the coffins of Sepi I (Louvre E 10799 A and B, exterior).

[108] For an analysis of green pigments on Middle Kingdom coffins and stone fragments kept in the British Museum compare Middleton, Humphrey, in Davies (ed.), *Colour and Painting in Ancient Egypt*, 12-13. They observed the most distinctively green pigments on stone fragments from Dayr al-Barsha. For green paint of turquoise shade on the inner coffin of Sepi I (Louvre E 10799 A) see Rigault *et al.*, in Perrot, Pietri, Tanré-Szewczyk (eds), *L'objet égyptien*, 347-8.

[109] For the pigments identified on the inner coffin of Sepi I (Louvre E 10799 A) see Rigault *et al.*, in Perrot, Pietri, Tanré-Szewczyk (eds), *L'objet égyptien*, 346-8.

[110] Bourriau, in Quirke (ed.), *Middle Kingdom Studies*, 5, n. 7. This is how Bourriau interpreted Willems' statement (*Chests of Life*, 161) that Neby's coffin was '*made by an artisan from this latter site*' (*i.e.* Dayr al-Barsha).

[111] Willems, *Chests of Life*, 68, 75-7. See also Orel, *Chronology*, 345-50, 371-4, 623.

[112] See also Willems, *Chests of Life*, 76, n. 83.

[113] A simplified version of the elaborate façade can only be found on the inner coffin of Sen (BM EA30842, exterior).

[114] See e.g. ROM 910.8.1, Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto; NCM 1904-473, Nottingham City Museums and Galleries.

3.2 The itinerary after manufacture and before interment

There are no indications that the coffin of Sepi II was prefabricated; it was apparently made on demand and the name and title were added along with the inscriptions. Judging from the similarity of their decoration, the coffin later to be obtained by/for Neby might have been decorated at approximately the same time as the coffin of Sepi II for any customer who would show interest. The subsequent events of the coffin's itinerary are, however, impossible to reconstruct. It can only be guessed whether the coffin was obtained by Neby herself or by her relatives after her death. The question why is even more hypothetical. Could it be that no coffin was available in the Beni Hassan workshop? There are indications that in the late Middle Kingdom, local centres did not produce funerary items in such high numbers as before, probably because of the decline of the local courts and the decreasing number of wealthy customers.[115] It is, however, also conceivable that Neby had some family ties or other connections in Dayr al-Barsha and preferred to obtain a coffin from there; Dayr al-Barsha only lies some 25 km south of Beni Hassan. Concerning the Beni Hassan corpus of coffins, Neby's coffin so far represents a singular case of an 'imported' object, and also provides important evidence to show that products of funerary industry were subject to interregional trade at that time.

The question arises if the title and name of Neby were added at Dayr al-Barsha or Beni Hassan. It was already outlined above that the pigment paint used for the title and name clearly differs from the paint used for the other signs – the shade is lighter and it seems to have been of lower viscosity. However, this would not necessarily mean that the finalisation took place in the Beni Hassan workshop, the coffin might have been deposited in the Dayr al-Barsha workshop for some time and when the craftsman added the name later on, he might have used a slightly different mixture of paint than the one used before. Only pigment analysis could help answer this question.

The early provenance of Neby's coffin closes with the funeral and its deposition in tomb BH 294. The excavation photograph B212 kept in the Archives of the Garstang Museum of Archaeology shows the coffin of Neby on the top of a pile of coffins[116] (see Fig. 1). It is thus clear that the tomb was used more than once, but no further information is provided in Garstang's monograph. It is not clear if and to what extent tomb robbers disturbed the burials and the burial equipment and whether the coffin of Neby was moved sometime after its deposition in antiquity and before its discovery by Garstang.

[115] Grajetzki, *EVO* 39, 37-42.

[116] Neg. B.212, Garstang Museum of Archaeology, University of Liverpool. Reproduced in Orel, *Chronology*, pl. 3.17.

3.3 The late provenance – the transfer to the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

The exact day(s) when Garstang's team found and excavated the tomb BH 294 and discovered the coffin of Neby is not known. On the basis of the tomb number it can be assumed that it happened in the first archaeological season in 1902/3, during which 492 tombs were already examined.[117] The late provenance of Neby's coffin encompass the circumstances of its transfer from Beni Hassan to the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston where it is kept today. This part of its itinerary is closely related to colonial fieldwork practices and Garstang's own policy of artefact distribution.[118] Garstang's archaeological endeavours relied on so-called excavation committees, the members of which (also called shareholders or patrons) co-financed the excavations. In return for their financial support, the shareholders (private persons or representatives of museums) received a portion of the finds. The export of finds made during excavations was possible since 1884 when the system of 'partage' was introduced.[119] In the case of Beni Hassan, the exact procedure was documented in an agreement entitled 'Beni Hasan Excavations, 1902-3', the copy of which is kept in the Archives of the Garstang Museum of Archaeology. After sorting the most spectacular finds and those from intact tombs for the Egyptian Museum in Cairo, the remaining artefacts were considered '*absolute and sole property of the shareholders*' and were supposed to be divided into '*approximately equal and representative groups, which may be revised or altered by the Committee. Lots shall be drawn to decide the order of selection*'.[120] With seven shareholders in the first year and eight in the second, a great number of artefacts must have left Egypt. However, the finds, especially pottery, were so numerous that in addition Garstang decided to publish a note in *The Times* with the title 'Gift of Egyptian Antiquities to Museums'.[121] Instead of giving the 'surplus' over to Egyptian authorities to store in a local museum or leaving it at the site, he offered '*a set of ancient Egyptian pottery, typical work of the XIth Dynasty*' to any public museum or institution in the United Kingdom and its Colonies that were '*open free of charge to the public*'. The response was enormous and more than 150 letters were received. In 1904 Garstang published an

[117] This is mentioned by Garstang in the preliminary report published in 1903, see Garstang, *Man* 3, 97.

[118] For an overview see Hudáková, Jánosi, Siffert, *Sokar* 40, 82-6; Orel, *Chronology*, 12-24.

[119] See e.g. Stevenson, *Scattered Finds*, 6-7.

[120] Copy of the agreement *Beni Hasan Excavations, 1902-3*, Garstang Museum of Archaeology, University of Liverpool, page 2.

[121] Printed on 18th February 1904, reprinted in several newspapers in and outside Britain.

(incomplete) list of institutions that were granted '*various duplicates of pottery and other antiquities*'.[122] It is now clear that besides pottery more than 30 museums also received some wooden objects, including coffins or coffin fragments.

The Museum of Fine Arts in Boston is one of the institutions that responded to the advert and five letters documenting the exchange between the representatives of both parties are preserved in the Archives of the Garstang Museum of Archaeology. The correspondence shows that Albert M. Lythgoe, the curator of Egyptian Art at the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston at that time, read the advert in *The Egyptian Gazette* and sent a letter to Garstang dated 3rd of March 1904, showing interest in the Beni Hassan pottery for the museum. The letter was sent from Girga, as Lythgoe was member of the Phoebe A. Hearst Expedition to Naga ed-Deir, directed by George Reisner, and headed by Arthur C. Mace.[123] Garstang must have responded very quickly since Lythgoe's next letter is dated 6th of March 1904. It is apparent that besides pottery Garstang also offered him a coffin and Lythgoe gladly accepted it.[124] He instructed Garstang to send the objects to Cairo to a certain J.W. Crogdon who would send them on to Boston. The objects must have arrived in Boston at the end of May/beginning of June 1904. Edward Robinson, the director of the Museum of Fine Arts at that time, wrote to Garstang on the 23rd of May and the 2nd of June, expressing his gratitude for the artefacts.

The Museum of Fine Arts in Boston is one of only six museums that responded to Garstang's advert and were granted an almost complete coffin.[125] It is not clear what the exact motivations were for this decision, but in general all six institutions are large museums of national or even international importance, and in addition, Garstang apparently knew some of the individuals who contacted him on behalf of the museums such as Albert M. Lythgoe (for Boston), Jean Capart (for Brussels) and Friedrich Wilhelm Freiherr von Bissing (for Würzburg). It is thus reasonable to assume that personal or professional connections also played a role in the distribution. However, the research into the correspondence in the Archives of the Garstang Museum is still ongoing, there are indications that other museums were also offered a complete coffin but either refused or only received coffin fragments.

Closing Remarks

The history of coffin MFA 04.2058 is an important source for investigating both the interregional trade in burial equipment in the second half of the Twelfth Dynasty as well as practices related to the division of finds in Egyptian archaeology at the beginning of the twentieth century. Its art history is even more intriguing. There are hardly any two coffins whose decoration is similar to the extent observed on the coffins of Sepi II and Neby. There is no doubt that they follow the same master copy and would have been made in quick succession. The minor differences in the inscriptions may be linked to the space available in the lines and columns, but the adaptations in the rendering of the elaborate façade indicate that the craftsman had a certain freedom to act independently by choosing specific geometrical patterns, or by adding or discarding some elements and motifs. But still, he retained the tradition of his workshop by making use of its repertoire, since all adaptations and their execution conforms to the local customs.[126] It will probably never be possible to find out why a coffin prefabricated at Dayr al-Barsha reached a customer to be buried at Beni Hassan, and why Garstang decided to offer this particular coffin to the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston. In any case, the coffin was acquired at least twice in its history.

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[122] Garstang, *ASAE* 5, 226-7.

[123] Davies, *The Phoebe A. Hearst Expedition to Naga ed-Deir*, 1-9.

[124] Unfortunately, the letters from Garstang are not preserved, nor is there any correspondence in the departmental records of the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston. I would like to thank Denise Doxey for looking into the records and the archive of the museum. It thus remains unknown how Garstang communicated his offer.

[125] The other museums are the King's Museum, University of Aberdeen (ABDUA 22156), Royal Museums of Art and History in Brussels (MRAH E5037), Australian Museum in Sydney (MU1771), Royal Ontario Museum in Toronto (ROM 910.8.1) and Martin von Wagner Museum in Würzburg (H 1196, coffin destroyed in World War II).

[126] Compare also the observations on the decoration of the outer and inner coffin of Sepi I (Louvre E 10799 A and B) made by Nathalie Couton-Perche who identified two different artists from the same workshop decorating these coffins, see Rigault *et al.*, in Perrot, Pietri, Tanré-Szewczyk (eds), *L'objet égyptien*, 349-54.

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Minor Contributions to Middle Kingdom Prosopography

Alexander Ilin-Tomich

Abstract

The paper discusses several dossiers of officials and one family dossier from the Twelfth and Thirteenth Dynasties. It presents new evidence on the great steward Senbi the younger and the treasurer Ameny and discusses the distinction of these two high officials from their namesakes. Funerary bed Cairo TR 19.11.27.4 can be firmly dated to the reign of Senusret I through the identity of its owner, a Theban priest. Other notes concern with minor officials: scribe of the altar Wiau, overseer of goldsmiths Neferher, overseer of builders Dedu, as well as scribes in charge of the seal Ameny and Neferhotep. Members of a further family group, attested on stelae Cairo JE 91249 and Cairo CG 20643, do not record any titles.

Rich prosopographical data amassed over the years form a valuable framework enabling a meaningful study of information provided by private inscriptions from the Middle Kingdom, which in many cases are otherwise but loosely anchored in terms of chronology, geography, and social ranks. With private inscribed monuments, rock inscriptions, and seals being the most numerous kinds of written sources from Middle Kingdom Egypt, dossiers of officials attested in several sources have proved crucial for the study of Egyptian administration and inter-regional dynamics of the period. Since the publication of *The Terrace of the Great God at Abydos* by William Kelly Simpson,[1] prosopographical data from the Middle Kingdom has been systematically collected. In 1984, the comprehensive compendium by Detlef Franke[2] appeared, which has since been complemented by a regional prosopography of Middle Kingdom Nubia by Brigitte Gratien,[3] a catalogue of the highest officials by Wolfram Grajetzki,[4] a collection of other addenda by Grajetzki and Danijela Stefanović,[5] and a selection of female dossiers by Stefanović.[6] This paper presents several additions to already established dossiers and some that have been previously overlooked.

1. Great Steward *Snbj šrj* and his Entourage

On February 2 1883, American Egyptologist Charles Edwin Wilbour was visiting Abydos and went to breakfast at the house of Seleeb, the local inspector of antiquities. According to a letter Wilbour sent to his family, the breakfast was remarkable for '*the biggest turkey I have seen carved this year*'.[7] On the same day, Wilbour copied

[1] Simpson, *The terrace of the great god at Abydos*.
[2] Franke, *Personendaten aus dem Mittleren Reich*.
[3] Gratien, *Prosopographie des Nubiens et des Égyptiens en Nubie avant le Nouvel Empire*.
[4] Grajetzki, *Die höchsten Beamten der ägyptischen Zentralverwaltung zur Zeit des Mittleren Reiches*.
[5] Grajetzki, Stefanović, *Dossiers of Ancient Egyptians*; further complemented by Ilin-Tomich, *BiOr* 71/1-2, 139-45.
[6] Stefanović, *Dossiers of ancient Egyptian women*.
[7] Wilbour, *Travels in Egypt,* 205.

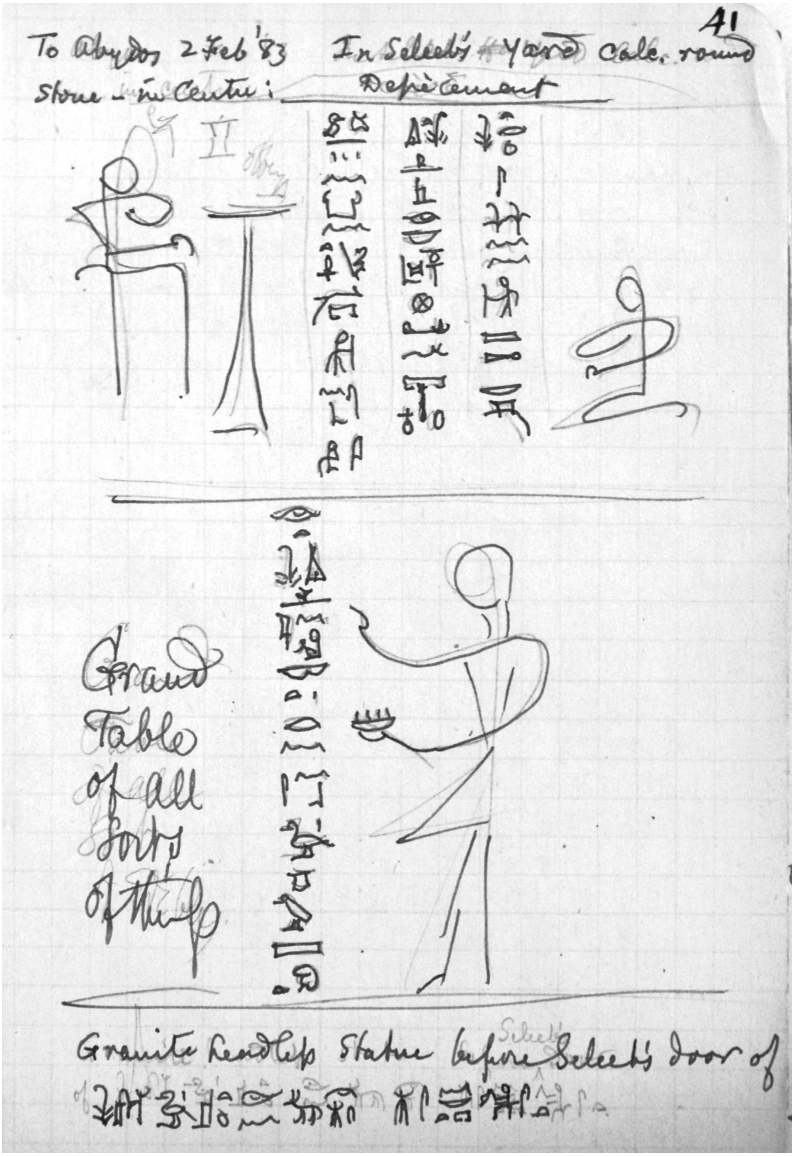


Fig. 1 – Brooklyn Museum Archives, Wilbour Archival collection: Notebooks [5.1.004]: 2D, 03/29/1882-02/21/1883, page 41

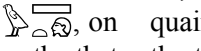
into his notebook inscriptions from a 'round' stone in Seleeb's yard. The object, originally a limestone Thirteenth Dynasty stela, later apparently cut to a circle shape[8] remains unpublished. The sketch in Wilbour's notebook 2D, 41 (see Fig. 1), now in the Brooklyn Museum Archive, appears to be the only copy available for study. The surviving part of the stela names just three officials. All of them are known from other sources, making the round stone a valuable piece in the prosopographical jigsaw puzzle of the Late Middle Kingdom. The principal figure sitting on a chair before a table of offerings with an ointment jar before his nose was *ḥtmw-bjtj, jmj-r3 pr wr* 'sealbearer of the king, great steward' *Snbj šrj* (Senbi the younger), known from other sources, such as stela Hermitage 1084[9] and offering table Marseille 252.[10] Opposite the great steward kneels the *rḫ-nsw* 'royal acquaintance' *Snn* (Senen). He can be identified as the person with the same name and title, attested on the stela Hermitage 1084 (which also names Senbi the younger) and in several other sources.[11] The third person on the round stone, depicted offering a censer, is introduced by

[8] As suggested by Wilbour's characterisation of the stone as 'round'. Among examples of Middle Kingdom stelae secondarily reduced to a round form are Berkeley 6-19869 and Torino S.18124.

[9] References to publications of Egyptian stelae and other memorial monuments are mostly omitted in this paper. They can be found in the appendix to Ilin-Tomich, *From workshop to sanctuary* and from mid-August 2021 also in the online Database 'Persons and Names of the Middle Kingdom', https://pnm.uni-mainz.de/inscriptions, <accessed 14.03.2022>.

[10] Grajetzki, *Two treasurers of the late Middle Kingdom*, 44; Grajetzki, Stefanović, *Dossiers of Ancient Egyptians*, dossier 201; Siesse, *La XIII^e dynastie*, 242.

[11] Franke, *Personendaten aus dem Mittleren Reich*, dossier 682; Grajetzki, Stefanović, *Dossiers of Ancient Egyptians*, dossier 214; Siesse, *La XIII^e dynastie*, 214-6.

the phrase *jrt ḥtp-dj-nsw jn* 'the performance of the *ḥtp-dj-nsw* formula by'. He was the *jrj pḏt Rn(=j)-snb(w), sꜣ Gwšt-tp* 'bowman Renisonb, the son of Gushettep'. Here, the stroke after the sign for *sꜣ* suggests that the son's name precedes that of the parent. Oleg D. Berlev observed that during the Middle Kingdom, the *sꜣ*-sign with the stroke was used in direct filiation 'Son *sꜣ* Father'.[12] The same sign without the stroke was used in reverse filiation '*sꜣ* Father, Son' (with the *sꜣ* sign placed after the father's name out of *transpositio honoris*). In this case, the name of the person's mother appears in the filiation formula. The bowman *Rn(=j)-snb* can be added to the dossier of *jrj-pḏt Rn(=j)-snb ms.n Gwšt-tp mꜣʿt-ḫrw* 'the bowman Renisonb, born to Gushettep, true of voice (fem.)', attested on stela Louvre C 39 and possibly on scarab Berlin 32536 (Martin 829).[13] Marcel Marée added the third attestation,  , on stela fragment Fitzwilliam E.SS.16.[14] It is noteworthy that the column of inscription before the figure of Renisonb is precisely the same on the Wilbour stone and the Fitzwilliam piece, as is his posture. One possibility is that the stone seen by Wilbour was split into several pieces, one of which ended up in the Fitzwilliam Museum. The Fitzwilliam piece is said to have probably entered the museum from the excavations of the Egypt Exploration Fund at Abydos. This supposition does not necessarily preclude that the piece was purchased on the spot rather than excavated there. However, Wilbour made no note of the figure standing behind Renisonb – *wbꜣjjt Sꜣt-Rʿ* '(female) food server Satre' – shown on the Fitzwilliam fragment. Thus, it appears more likely that the two fragments belonged to the same offering chapel.

The reading of Renisonb's mother's name, which is spelt the same way in all the three sources (Wilbour notebook 2D, 41; Louvre C 39; and Fitzwilliam E.SS.16), is unclear. Franke read it as *Gwꜣt-tp,* citing Cairo CG 20127 ( ) as a parallel.[15] Marée and Martin read the name as *Gwꜣt*.[16] However, as the *š* is clearly spelt out in all the three sources, it appears logical to follow Clère in reading the root *gwš* in this name.[17] Nevertheless, it would be more appropriate to read it as *Gwšt-tp* 'she crooked of head' rather than simply *Gwšt* 'squint-eyed', as the root *gwš* does not quite justify using the head-sign as a classifier. (However, Clère essayed to justify this use of the head-sign as a replacement for the eye classifier).

The piece seen by Wilbour contributes new information on the prosopographical network of top officials from the mid-Thirteenth Dynasty, centred around the figures of the two treasurers Senebsumai and Senbi.[18] Senebsumai's term in office spanned from around the reign of the early Thirteenth Dynasty king, Amenemhat Sonbef,[19] to shortly before Senbi's term.[20] Senbi took office in the reign of Neferhotep I and remained treasurer under Sobekhotep IV.

All three persons on Wilbour's piece are known from other early to mid-Thirteenth Dynasty sources. However, Renisonb is not otherwise attested in the same inscription as the other two officials. On stela Louvre C 39, Renisonb is shown in the entourage of the royal acquaintance Senbi, born to *T-n=j*, who is identified with the treasurer Senbi, born to *T-n=j*. Grajetzki suggested that Senbi was a 'royal acquaintance' early in his career and that Louvre C 39 thus predated the period when Senbi was appointed treasurer.[21] The great steward Senbi the younger, appearing on the Wilbour piece, is known to be a contemporary of Senebsumai; the two high officials are named together on Hermitage 1084. The royal acquaintance Senen is attested on the Hermitage stela as a member of Senebsumai's entourage next to Senbi the younger. However, he also appears on two monuments of the treasurer Senbi. His prominence evidently grew; he is shown as an equal to Senbi (Cairo CG 20614) and as his senior (Liverpool WM M.13661).[22] One hypothesis is that the great steward Senbi the younger, whom Senen and Renisonb accompany on the Wilbour fragment, later became the treasurer Senbi (abandoning the epithet 'the younger'). It is the treasurer Senbi whom Renisonb accompanies on Louvre C 39 and who appears together with Senen on Cairo CG 20614 and Liverpool WM M.13661.

There is a principal objection against this theory. The treasurer Senbi's mother was *T-n=j*, whereas the great steward Senbi the younger can be likely identified as the royal acquaintance Senbi the younger, born to *Jwwj*, who appears on Wien ÄS 168. This identification is supported by the mention of the great steward Senbi, born to *Jww* (without the epithet 'the younger'), on statue Hermitage

[12] Berlev, *Палестинский Сборник* 9, 13-42.
[13] Franke, *Personendaten aus dem Mittleren Reich*, dossier 355.
[14] Marée's conclusion cited by Martin, *Stelae from Egypt and Nubia in the Fitzwilliam Museum,* 37.
[15] Franke, *Personendaten aus dem Mittleren Reich*, dossier 355; so also Stefanović, *Dossiers of ancient Egyptian women*, dossier 389.
[16] Martin, *Stelae from Egypt and Nubia in the Fitzwilliam Museum*, 37.
[17] Clère, *RdE* 3, 112 (43); Ranke, *Die ägyptischen Personennamen* II, 323 (7); see also Meeks, *BiOr* 54/1-2, 53 (109).
[18] Grajetzki, *Two treasurers of the late Middle Kingdom*.
[19] As suggested by the evidence of an early Thirteenth Dynasty stela workshop, Ilin-Tomich, *From workshop to sanctuary*, XVII; and the similarity of some of Senebsumai's scarabs with those of Amenemhat Sonbef and preceding kings, as elaborated in Ilin-Tomich, *Egyptian name scarabs from the 12th to the 15th Dynasty* (forthcoming).
[20] As indicated by the fact that the careers of several officials spanned from Senebsumai's term to that of Senbi.
[21] Grajetzki, *Two treasurers of the late Middle Kingdom*, 26.
[22] Grajetzki, *Two treasurers of the late Middle Kingdom*, 45.

5010. The name (bar the epithet) and the filiation on the Hermitage statue are the same as on Wien ÄS 168. Additionally, the name (bar the epithet) and the title are the same as on the other monuments of Senbi the younger.[23]

Another possibility is that the owner of the Hermitage statue is the older brother of Senbi the younger, born to the same mother and holding the office of the great steward before him. It is not uncommon that the epithet 'the younger' is used to designate the younger of the two like-named siblings.[24]

Finally, another person coming into sight is the great steward Amenemhat-Nehysenbi (*Jmn-m-ḥ3t Nḥjj-snbj*), born to *Jwj*, who left a rock inscription near Aswan,[25] a statue in Tod,[26] a series of scarabs,[27] and a scarab impression.[28] The title and the mother's name are the same as on the Hermitage statue; the name is different but contains the same element *Snbj*, suggesting that these persons could belong to the same family. This made Siesse consider the Hermitage statue as a monument of Amenemhat-Nehysenbi with the name shortened to Senbi.[29]

There is not sufficient evidence to solve all the questions raised by the different dossiers of high officials named Senbi: great steward Senbi the younger without filiation (Hermitage 1084; Marseille 252; and Wilbour MSS 2D, 41); great steward Senbi born to *Jww* without epithet (Hermitage 5010); royal acquaintance Senbi the younger, born to *Jwwj* (Wien ÄS 168); the great steward *Jmn-m-ḥ3t Nḥjj-snbj*, born to *Jwj*; and the royal acquaintance and treasurer Senbi, born to *T-n=j*. Nothing suggests that the name *Nḥjj-snbj*, which itself was the second element of a double name, can be reduced to *Snbj*. Therefore, the view can be retained that the first three were the same man,[30] distinct from Amenemhat-Nehysenbi and from the royal acquaintance Senbi, who later became treasurer.

Based on the available evidence, the stone seen by Wilbour can be dated to the early to mid-Thirteenth Dynasty, approximately late in the age of the treasurer Senebsumai. This dating is established thus: Senbi the younger is attested together with Senebsumai, and Renisonb is attested together with Senbi, born to *T-n=j*, when the latter held the title of a royal acquaintance, and thus presumably had not yet become the treasurer. However, the implied career path of Senbi remains hypothetical.

It should finally be noted that the tenures of treasurers Senebsumai and Senbi are among the most important points in the chronology of the Thirteenth Dynasty, and it is through the dossiers of officials linked to both treasurers, such as those appearing on the Wilbour piece, that the relative chronological positions of the two treasurers is established. Other data, suggesting that Senebsumai assumed the office as early as the reign of Amenemhat Senbef and Senbi — under Neferhotep I, favour a non-direct succession of the two treasurers with a temporal interval between the two, for otherwise the tenure of Senebsumai is too long or the reigns of the many kings during his tenure are too short. Yet, the careers of officials such as Senen favour a direct succession from Senebsumai to Senbi.

2. Treasurer Ameny

Treasurers (*jmj-r3 ḫtmt*) holding rank titles were prominent officials at the royal residence. The treasurer Ameny (*Jmnjj*), born to *Jtj* ( ), is known from a statue found at Ezbet Rushdi. There he is called *jrj-pʿt; ḥ3tj-ʿ; ḫtmw-bjtj; smr-wʿtj; ḥrj sšt3 ḥwt-nṯr* (*?*) *Šmʿw; sm3jj Ḥr ḥrj-jb ʿḥ; jmj-r3 ḫtmt* 'iripat; hatia; sealbearer of the king; sole companion; keeper of secrets of the temple (?) of Upper Egypt; associate of Horus, who is in the palace; treasurer'.[31] It was proposed that he could also own a stone sarcophagus, later reused in Tanis in the Third Intermediate Period.[32] However, that identification remains weakly substantiated, as the sarcophagus does not mention Ameny's mother.[33] Another identification appears more plausible. The south side of stela Sinai 105[34] in Serabit el-Khadim (year 30 of Amenemhat III) mentions a high official named Ameny, born to Iti ( ), who bears a string of two rank titles and an epithet *ḫtmw-bjtj; smr-wʿtj; smjw n=f ḫrt t3wj* 'sealbearer of the king; sole companion; (the one) to whom the condition of both lands is reported'. This inscription is followed by the damaged principal title *jmj-r3* [...]*t* (). There are few titles ending in *-t* that could follow such a pompous string of rank titles. Possible options are *jmj-r3 ḫtmt* 'treasurer'[35]

[23] Grajetzki, *Two treasurers of the late Middle Kingdom*, 44.
[24] Ranke, *Die ägyptischen Personennamen* II, 11.
[25] Petrie, *A season in Egypt*, no. 267-8; de Morgan *et al*., *Catalogue des monuments et inscriptions de l'Égypte antique* I, 39 (172).
[26] Siesse, *La XIII^e dynastie*, 239 fig. 39.
[27] Grajetzki, Stefanović, *Dossiers of Ancient Egyptians*, dossier 109.
[28] Gratien, *Mirgissa*, vol. V, no. 3-93 (Q 400).
[29] Siesse, *La XIII^e dynastie*, 239.
[30] Grajetzki, *Two treasurers of the late Middle Kingdom*, 44; Bolshakov, Quirke, *The Middle Kingdom stelae in the Hermitage*, 56 n. k, 57.
[31] Adam, *ASAE* 56, 214-5; Verbovsek, *'Als Gunsterweis des Königs in den Tempel gegeben…'*, 353-4.
[32] Montet, *Les constructions et le tombeau d'Osorkon II à Tanis*, 81-2, pl. XLVII.
[33] Grajetzki, *Die höchsten Beamten der ägyptischen Zentralverwaltung zur Zeit des Mittleren Reiches*, 54.
[34] Gardiner, Peet, *The Inscriptions of Sinai*, 108-10, pl. XXXIV.
[35] This restoration is favoured by Lebedev, *Слуги фараонов вдали от Нила*, 578, 582.

jmj-r3 3ḥwt, 'overseer of fields' *jmj-r3 rwjjt* 'overseer of the portal', or *jmj-r3 ḫnrt* 'overseer of the *ḫnrt'*.

The name, mother's name, and the high status implied by the rank titles favours the restoration *jmj-r3* [*ḫtm*]*t* 'treasurer' and identifying this Ameny with the treasurer Ameny known from the Ezbet Rushdi statue. This identification implies a date in the late reign of Amenemhat III or under Amenemhat IV for the statue (is in line with indications of a late Twelfth Dynasty date such as the filiation formula *jr.n*+mother's name;[36] the spelling of *šs mnḫt* with a ligature, attested since Senusret III;[37] and of *jḫw 3pdw* with food and plural classifiers, attested since the late Twelfth Dynasty).[38] This date also matches the proposed date of the sarcophagus found in Tanis approximately in the late reign of Amenemhat III (as the inscriptions suggest that it was originally installed in Hawara – near the second pyramid of Amenemhat III).[39] Grajetzki noted that the identification of the owner of the sarcophagus as any of the different treasurers named Ameny is not excluded. Hence, a brief review of evidence on treasurers named Ameny is needed.[40]

A fragment of a limestone block of Ameny (without filiation) figured at least twice in sales catalogues in 2004 and 2005.[41] This Ameny held the titles [...]*; ḥ3tj-ʿ; ḫtmw-bjtj; smr-wʿtj; r3-Nḫn mʒʿ;* [...]*; ḫntj t3wj=fj; jmj-r3 ḫtmt* '[...], hatia, sealbearer of the king; sole companion, true mouth of Nekhen, [...] presiding over his (?) both lands, treasurer'. This string of titles clearly makes him a high court official. The spelling of the title *jmj-r3* 'overseer' with phonetic signs indicates a date under the Twelfth Dynasty.[42] The end of the name is damaged, and it cannot be excluded that the person was not Ameny but held a longer name, such as Amenyseneb.[43]

A treasurer named Ameny – son of the steward (*jmj-r3 pr*) Ay (*Jjj*) and the lady of the household Baket (*B3kt*) – is known from a statue found in Kerma (Boston 14.725).[44] The statue clearly dates from the Thirteenth Dynasty through the use of the red-crown sign S3 for the word *ḥjtj*, the sign Q2 in the name of Osiris, and the filiation formula *jr.n*+father's name *ms.n*+mother's name,[45] as well as through its style according to a study by Simon Connor.[46]

The case of Ameny, born to Satpepy, attested on a fragmentary stela from Abydos (OIM E7248),[47] is questionable. The inscription is damaged, and it is unclear whether the surviving title [*jmj*]-*r3 ḫtmt* was the full title 'treasurer' or just a part of a longer title of a minor treasury official, subordinate to the treasurer. In addition, no rank titles are preserved. It is thus likely that this Ameny was not a high official at all. The stela fragment dates from the late-Twelfth Dynasty, as indicated by the use of the title *nbt pr* 'lady of the household'[48] and the spelling of the title *jmj-r3* 'overseer' with phonetic signs.[49]

Clearly, the treasurer Ameny named on the Ezbet Rushdi statue, Tanis sarcophagus, and in the Sinai inscription cannot be identical to the one known from the Kerma statue, as the former three sources date from the late Twelfth Dynasty, and the latter one from the Thirteenth Dynasty. The name of the mother on the Ezbet Rushdi statue and in the Sinai inscription coincide. Additionally, the date of the Sinai inscription and the Tanis sarcophagus closely match. Therefore, it is highly probable that the three inscriptions mention the same person, the treasurer Ameny, active in the late reign of Amenemhat III. The limestone block known from sales catalogues possibly belongs to the tomb of the same person. However, conclusive evidence is lacking. If it were the case, it would mean that the yet unlocated tomb of Ameny in the Hawara region was plundered twice; firstly in antiquity when the sarcophagus was moved to the eastern Nile Delta and secondly in modern times when the block that was offered for sale in New York was hacked out. The other treasurer Ameny, son of Ay, was active under the Thirteenth Dynasty.

[36] Postel, in Servajean, Régen (eds), *Verba manent*, vol. II, 331-54; Ilin-Tomich, *From workshop to sanctuary*, 24-6.
[37] Berlev, *Краткие сообщения Института народов Азии* 46, 66; Ilin-Tomich, *From workshop to sanctuary*, 4-5.
[38] Ilin-Tomich, *From workshop to sanctuary*, 35-7.
[39] Schwab, *Die Sarkophage des Mittleren Reiches*, 161-3, 286-7 (133); Grajetzki, *Court officials of the Egyptian Middle Kingdom,* 59-60.
[40] Grajetzki, *Die höchsten Beamten der ägyptischen Zentralverwaltung zur Zeit des Mittleren Reiches*, 54; Grajetzki, *Court officials of the Egyptian Middle Kingdom*, 143.
[41] Arte Primitivo, *Classical Egyptian and Asian Antiquities. Auction 27 ... June 28th, 2004*, no. 147; Arte Primitivo, *Fine Antiquities and Asian Art. Auction 30 ... March 21st, 2005*, no. 146.
[42] Ilin-Tomich, *Egyptian name scarabs from the 12th to the 15th Dynasty* (forthcoming).
[43] A treasurer Amenyseneb is known from Abydos block Glasgow D.1929.14 (?) Petrie, *Tombs of the courtiers and Oxyrhynkhos*, pl. XXVIII (top left), and a sealing from Mirgissa, Gratien, *Mirgissa*, vol. V, no. 3-65 (Q 260).
[44] As read in the original publication. Recently, Siesse, *La XIII^e dynastie*, 206, n. 416 proposed reading the title as 'deputy treasurer'.
[45] Ilin-Tomich, *From workshop to sanctuary*, 13, 8-9, 24-6.
[46] Connor, *Être et paraître*, 278 (Boston 14.725), 320 (Kerma 20).
[47] Petrie, *Abydos*, vol. I, 43, pl. LX (3).
[48] Ilin-Tomich, *From workshop to sanctuary*, 5 with references to further studies.
[49] Ilin-Tomich, *Egyptian name scarabs from the 12th to the 15th Dynasty* (forthcoming).

3. The Date of Funerary Bed Cairo TR 19.11.27.4

In March 1884, a unique funerary bed topped by a shrine was discovered by the well-known antiquities trader and German consular agent Mohareb Todros in a tomb in Sheikh Abd el-Qurna. The bed entered Cairo Museum under TR 19.11.27.4. Valdemar Schmidt and Harco Willems published photos of its long sides.[50] Willems announced a forthcoming complete publication, which seemingly never materialised. In the *Topographical Bibliography*, the funerary bed is dated to the Thirteenth Dynasty.[51] Patricia Rigault and Elisabeth Delange assign it to the Twelfth–Thirteenth Dynasties.[52] Willems dates it to the Twelfth Dynasty, most likely based on the offering formula and other inscriptions.

Wilbour, who witnessed the delivery of the bed to the then director of the Antiquities Service, Gaston Maspero, was sure that it '*will when set up be a good feature in the Museum*',[53] and this is still the case. The piece is not entirely published, but visitors to the Egyptian Museum's first floor can see that the owner of the funerary bed Ity (*Jtjj*), born to *S3t-Sbk*, held not only the title *ḥm-nṯr* 'god's servant' (seen on the photograph published by Willems) but also another priestly title of *jtj-nṯr* 'divine father'. Hence, he can be securely identified as the *jtj-nṯr* 'divine father' and *ḥrj-sšt3 n Jmn-Rˁ m st=f nb*(*t*) 'master of secrets of Amun-Re in all his places' Ity (*Jtjj*), born to *S3t-Sbk*, known from stela BM EA 586. The title, the name, and the mother's name match. Furthermore, the Theban origin suggested by the title of the priest of Amun-Re matches the place where the funerary bed was found. The stela is dated to year 14 of Senusret I, thus providing a secure date for the funerary bed.

4. Scribe of the Altar *Wj3w*

Grajetzki and Stefanović established[54] that the owner of a stela stemming from the collection of Luigi Vassalli and published by Francesco Ballerini,[55] the *sš wḏḥw* 'scribe of the altar' *Wj3w* also appears on scarab Berlin 32462.[56] According to the ink notice (now washed away) of the former owner, Ralph Blanchard, this scarab may come from Memphis. As pointed out by de Meulenaere, this dossier should be added to by stela Cairo CG 20671 from Abydos.[57] Both stelae share feature the 'late' spelling of the offering formula (on the Cairo stela, on the Italian stela), the unusual full spelling[58] of the title and the names of *Wj3w*'s parents – the *nbt pr* 'lady of the household' (title only on the Italian stela) *Ḥnwt* and the *ˁnḫ n ṯt ḥq3* 'officer of the crew of the ruler' (title only on the Italian stela) *S-n-wsrt*. The spelling of the offering formula suggests a post-Thirteenth Dynasty date for the stelae.[59] On the contrary, the scarab has a typical Thirteenth Dynasty set of features (C5-type head, I-type back, and d9-type side)[60] and no indications pointing to a later date. If the identification of the scarab owner with the stela owner is accepted (which relies solely on the coincidence of the name and titles), the person can conceivably be dated to the late Thirteenth Dynasty or the early Second Intermediate Period.

5. Overseer of Goldsmiths *Nfr-ḥr*

Although inscriptions on the Middle Kingdom stelae in Cairo published by Hans Ostenfeldt Lange and Heinrich Schäfer are arguably the best-studied private sources from that period, some matches are yet to be made within this corpus. The overseer of goldsmiths (*jmj-r3 nbjjw*) *Nfr-ḥr*, born to *Wsrt-ṯw*, the owner of an extravagant stela-chapel Cairo CG 20704, should with all probability be identified with *Nfr-ḥr*, son of the goldsmith (*nbjj*) *Jn-jtj=f*, married to *Wsrt-ṯw* on stela Cairo CG 20285. Although *Nfr-ḥr*'s title is not mentioned on the latter stela, the name of the person, the name of the mother, and the relation to goldsmithery – indicated by the person's title on Cairo CG 20704 and by his father's title on Cairo CG 20285 – make the identification highly plausible. Cairo CG 20285 belongs to Freed's Workshop 10 and thus dates from the reign of Amenemhat II.[61]

[50] Schmidt, *Sarkofager, mumiekister, og mumiehylstre i det gamle Ægypten*, 71, fig. 369; Willems, in van Dijk (ed), *Essays on ancient Egypt in honour of Herman te Velde*, 359, n. 56; 372, fig. 7.
[51] PM I, 672.
[52] Rigault, Delange, *RdE* 60, 109.
[53] Wilbour, *Travels in Egypt*, 286.
[54] Grajetzki, Stefanović, *Dossiers of Ancient Egyptians*, dos. 69.
[55] Ballerini, *Bessarione* 7, 235-6; PM VIII 803-034-166.
[56] Martin, *Egyptian Administrative and Private-Name Seals*, no. 402; Kaplony, *Siegel und Skarabäen in der Sammlung Georges Michaelides*, no. 3.
[57] de Meulenaere, *BiOr* 43, 77.
[58] Another example of the plene writing in the Late Middle Kingdom is scarab UC 11380, Martin, *Egyptian Administrative and Private-Name Seals*, no. 728; On the spelling, see also Quirke, *Titles and bureaux of Egypt*, 106. For a general discussion of the title, see: Binder, in Binder, McFarlane, Woods (eds), *Egyptian culture and society*, vol. I, 1-13.
[59] Ilin-Tomich, *From workshop to sanctuary*, 16.
[60] According to the typology proposed in Tufnell, *Scarab seals and their contribution to history in the early Second Millennium B.C*. The scarab was examined in the museum.
[61] Freed, in der Manuelian (ed), *Studies in honor of William Kelly Simpson*, vol. I, 327-34.

6. Overseer of Builders *Ddw*

A further possible identification among Cairo stelae concerns the overseer of builders Dedu. The *jmj-rꜣ jqdw* 'overseer of builders' *Ddw*, son of *Sꜣt-Mnṯw*, appearing on stelae Cairo CG 20130 (where *Sꜣt-Mnṯw* is designated as the wife of his father *Nj-sw-Mnṯw*) and Cairo CG 20609,[62] is likely the same person. The use of the filiation formula *jr.n*+mother's name and the introduction of the recipient of the offering formula with *n jmꜣḫjj* suggest a date in the mid- to late Twelfth Dynasty for both stelae.[63] Furthermore, Cairo CG 20609 can likely be added to Rita Freed's Workshop 10 from the reign of Amenemhat II.[64] Besides, Gloria Rosati argues that other instances of phrases similar to *n mrwt rwḏ rn=f* '(made this stela) so that his name is firm', occurring on Cairo CG 20130, are datable to the period from Senusret I to Amenemhat II.[65] On the balance of these arguments, a date under Amenemhat II appears to be the most plausible for this dossier.

7. A Family Group on two Stelae

When written sources do not record administrative titles, identifying namesakes is problematic. Nevertheless, in some cases, the number of coinciding names and relations between persons is sufficient to suggest that the two sources represent the same family with members who did not hold or record any titles. This is true for stelae Cairo CG 20643 (origin unknown) and Cairo JE 91249[66] (from Abydos).

Both stelae feature a certain *Ḫnmw-nḫt*, born to *Sꜣt-kꜣ*, his wife (relationship not indicated on Cairo JE 91249) *Rn=f-ʿnḫ*, and their children *Ḫnmw-ḥtp* and *Sꜣt-kꜣ*[67] (designated as born to *Rn=f-ʿnḫ*), as well as a certain *Nḫt-ʿnḫ* born to *Ttj* and *Ḥr-ḥtp* born to *Jnj*. Not a single person on these stelae bears a title, and the social standing of these persons is unclear. The small size of the stelae (Cairo JE 91249 is 22 cm high and Cairo CG 20643 is 31 cm high) suggests that they did not occupy high positions in the administration. The owners of Cairo CG 20643 should originate from Northern Upper Egypt or Lower Egypt, as suggested by the names *Rn=f-ʿnḫ* and *Jpj*.[68] Hence, utilising the filiation formula *jr.n*+mother's name should exclude a date after Twelfth Dynasty, whereas the chessboard pattern suggests a date not earlier than the reign of Senusret III.[69] On balance, the two stelae must date from the late Twelfth Dynasty.

8. Scribe in Charge of the Seal Ameny

Papyrus UC 32167 of the Petrie Lahun papyri is a transfer deed concerning four women of Western Asiatic origin (*ʿꜣmt*), drawn up in year 29 of an unmentioned king by a scribe in charge of the seal of the bureau of issuing people (*sš ḥrj-ḥtm n ḫꜣ n dd rmṯ*) named Ameny (*Jmnjj*), son of a certain Amenemhat (*Jmn-m-ḥꜣt*).[70] Judging from the high regnal year and the dates of other papyri assigned by Petrie and Griffith to Lot I, the king in question can only be Amenemhat III.[71] A man of the same name, bearing a shorter version of the same title (*sš ḥrj ḥtm* 'scribe in charge of the seal'), appears on stela Cairo CG 20455 from Abydos. The man on the stela is called a brother of the stela owner (also Ameny), who was the son of the scribe in charge of the seal Amenemhat. Hence, the title (albeit shortened), the name, and the father's name of Ameny from the Abydos stela matches those of Ameny from the Lahun papyrus. It is most likely that both documents refer to the same person. It would mean that the stela is to be dated from the late years of Amenemhat III. Detlef Franke proposed equating its owner, great of the southern tens (*wr mḏ šmʿw*) Ameny, to a person of the same name and title attested (without filiation or further personal details) in a rock-inscription in Amada, close to an inscription of Senusret III. This identification would imply a Senusret III date for the stela.[72] However, this link cannot be considered sound because it only relies on a common name and title without further corresponding details. Therefore, it should now be abandoned in favour of a late Amenemhat III date.

[62] Lange, Schäfer, *Grab- und Denksteine des Mittleren Reichs*, vol. II, 248-249 (at the time of the publication the inscription was better preserved than seen in the following publication); Trapani, in Hawass, Brock (eds), *Egyptology at the dawn of the twenty-first century*, vol. III, 414-6.
[63] Ilin-Tomich, *From workshop to sanctuary*, 24-6, 31.
[64] Ilin-Tomich, in Grajetzki, Miniaci (eds), *The world of Middle Kingdom Egypt*, vol. I, 147.
[65] Rosati, *Oriens Antiquus* 19, 276.
[66] Simpson, *Inscribed material from the Pennsylvania-Yale excavations*, 41-2, fig. 69 (C 12).
[67] Named after her grandmother.
[68] Ilin-Tomich, *From workshop to sanctuary*, 55-7.
[69] Postel, in Servajean, Régen (eds), *Verba manent*, vol. II, 331-54; Ilin-Tomich, *From workshop to sanctuary*, 5, 24-6.
[70] Collier, Quirke, *The UCL Lahun papyri: religious, literary, legal, mathematical and medical*, 118-19; Collier, in Silverman, Simpson, Wegner (eds), *Archaism and innovation: studies in the culture of Middle Kingdom Egypt*, 210, 237, fig. 3, 240, fig. 6; Eyre, *The use of documents in pharaonic Egypt*, 265.
[71] Collier, in Silverman, Simpson, Wegner (eds), *Archaism and innovation: studies in the culture of Middle Kingdom Egypt*, 220.
[72] Franke, *Das Heiligtum des Heqaib auf Elephantine*, 60, n. 189.

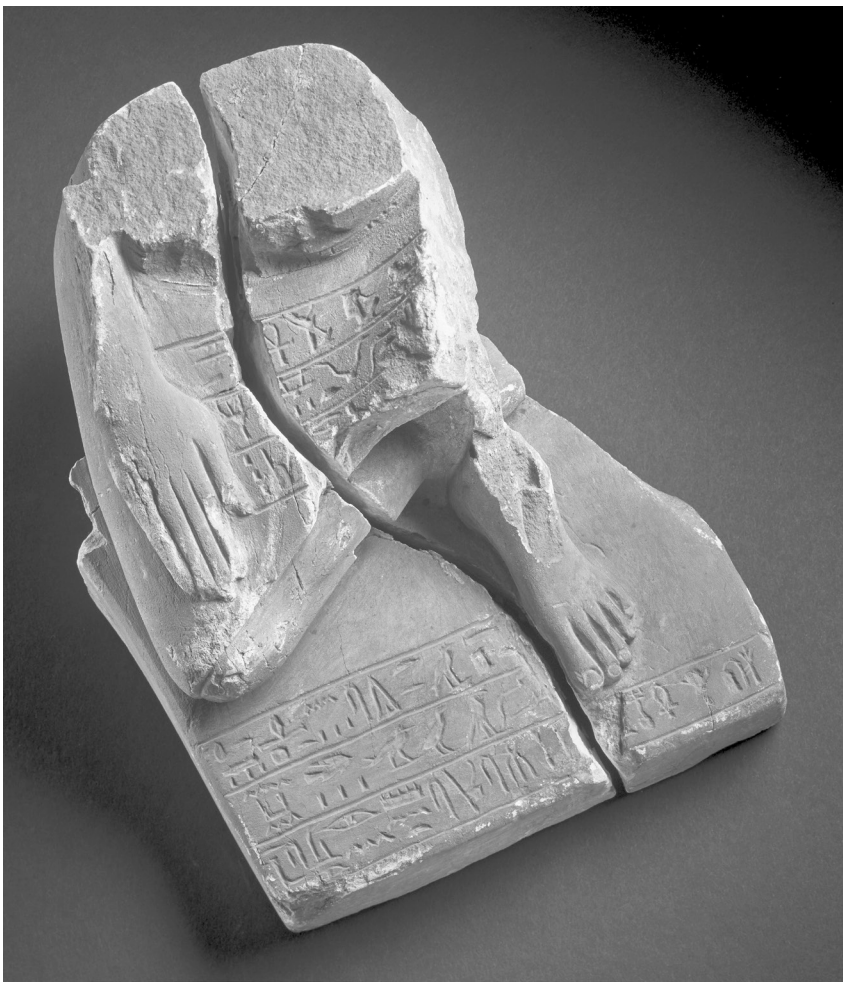


Fig. 2 – Statue BM EA90565. Limestone, 11×20×16 cm. © The Trustees of the British Museum.

9. Scribe in Charge of the Seal Neferhotep

Another official bearing the same short title of the scribe in charge of the seal, Neferhotep (*Nfr-ḥtp*), son of the scribe of the mat (*sš n tmȝ*) Deduamun Resseneb (*Ddw-jmn/Rs-snb*), is known from at least two Abydene stelae. These stelae form Simpson's ANOC group 16 (Cairo CG 20056 and Cairo CG 20240).[73] Unlike Ameny, who was active in the north of Egypt at Lahun, Neferhotep served the Theban administration, as is evidenced by the title of his mother, wab-priestess of Khonsu at Thebes (*wʿbt nt Ḫnsw m Wȝst*) Senebtisi Semenet (*Snb.tj=sj/Smnt*).[74] Simon Connor recently included an unpublished statue of the scribe in charge of the seal Nefer[...], son of Semenet and Resseneb, in his catalogue of Middle Kingdom statuary (BM EA90565).[75] The statue's owner and his parents can be identified with Neferhotep and his father and mother, known from the Cairo stelae. The London statue depicts the owner in an asymmetrical squatting pose and names him (fig. 2, line 6) as *sš ḥrj-ḫtm Nfr-*[*ḥ*]*t*[*p*] *mȝʿ-ḫrw ms.n Śmnt jr.n Rs-snb* 'scribe in charge of the seal Neferhotep, true of voice, born to Semenet, made by Resseneb'. The photograph clearly shows that the owner's name can be safely reconstructed as *Nfr-ḥtp* because the *t*-sign is still visible: .

A Thirteenth Dynasty date of the statue is evident from the use of the red-crown sign (Gardiner S3) with the phonetic value *n* and of the sign Gardiner Q2 in the name of Osiris as well as the use of the epithets *nb* (*?*) *ʿnḫ tȝwj* 'lord of Ankhtawy' and *ḥqȝ ḏt* 'ruler of the eternity' and the filiation formula *ms.n* (mother), *jr.n* (father).[76] Both Abydene stelae can be dated to the same period.

Simpson also included a third Abydene stela in this group, Cairo CG 20246, which only names a certain Neferhotep bearing the same title but not his parents. Franke proposed to include stela Aswan 1382, belonging to scribe in charge of the seal of the sector of Head of South (*sš ḥrj ḫtm n wʿrt tp-rsj*) Neferhotep, in this

[73] Simpson, *The terrace of the great god at Abydos*, ANOC 16; Franke, *Personendaten aus dem Mittleren Reich*, dossier 321 and dossier 399.

[74] Stefanović, *Dossiers of ancient Egyptian women*, dossier 365.

[75] Connor, *Être et paraître*, 347 the bibliographical references cited by Connor are erroneous and in fact refer to another statue (BM EA848).

[76] Ilin-Tomich, *From workshop to sanctuary*, 13, 9, 27, 24-6.

dossier.[77] The name of Neferhotep's wife on Aswan 1382 (*Nnj*) does not match the name of the wife named on Cairo CG 20056 (*Bbj-snb*), and his parents are not named on Aswan 1382. Hence, both Cairo CG 20246 and Aswan 1382 can only hypothetically be associated with Neferhotep, known from Cairo CG 20056, Cairo CG 20240, and BM EA90565. It may well be that one or both of these monuments refer to another scribe in charge of the seal of the same name, which was quite popular in Southern Upper Egypt during the Thirteenth Dynasty.[78]

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[77] Franke, *Das Heiligtum des Heqaib auf Elephantine*, 80.
[78] Ilin-Tomich, *From workshop to sanctuary*, 48.

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Processing Sites in the Funerary Landscape: Observations on Ancient Egyptian Offering Trays and 'Soul Houses'

Esmeralda Lundius

Abstract

The paper is based on a sample of 89 pottery trays and 29 soul houses analysed and categorised from museum collections as part of a research project on offering tables and similar material. With their limited timeframe between the FIP (2160-2055 BC) and MK (2055-1650 BC) and prevalence in the ancient Egyptian provincial areas, these objects may indicate local socio-religious practices and notions. By observing differences in design components, placement within a funerary context, as well the geographical area in which they were manufactured, conclusions are drawn on the often-neglected complexity and multifaceted nature of pottery trays and soul houses. The ancient Egyptian agricultural landscape mirrors how topology has been transformed by human interaction, a commonly represented element in offering tables and similar material. In the case of their pottery counterparts, "active" sites of production such as gardening units, butchering areas, grain pro-cessing sites, irrigation systems and reproductive systems are particularly emphasised in their design and iconography. Like stone offering tables, pottery offering trays and soul houses reflect actual land-scapes, the importance of water and its ritual use and indicate how ritual utensils mirror everyday life, connecting it with the cycles of the Cosmos.

1. Introduction

Deciphering Egyptian funerary ritual involves a study of numerous aspects of ancient Egyptian beliefs and practices. It has been argued that in ancient Egypt death was considered to be the most ritualised of all phases of human existence, the final rite of passage.[1] In spite of this have grave goods up until now generally been defined as if they were static objects, even if they may have been imbued with countless meanings and functions, especially in ancient Egypt where dichotomies were common, and contradictions seem to be present in all different aspects of faith.[2] The following analysis indicates the multiple uses and concepts connected with two utensils associated with ancient Egyptian funerary ritual and their surrounding context: offering trays and 'soul houses'. The paper is based on a total of 89 pottery offering trays and 29 'soul houses', analysed and categorised from museum collections in Europe, the US and Egypt.[3] It is far from being a complete sample though it nevertheless indicates some outstanding features of these artefacts and their association with ancient Egyptian funerary practice. Examples from this sample will be highlighted in order to illustrate the significance and use of offering trays and soul houses in relation to funerary ritual and their surrounding context, emphasising their role as multifaceted utensils. This will in turn indicate a growing need for a more personalised funerary ritual concerning Osirian beliefs whilst moving away from a more rigid, abstract, and institutionalised form of religious practice.

[1] Baines, in Shafer (ed.), *Religion in ancient Egypt*, 144.
[2] O'Neill, *Setting the scene*, 26; Meskell, in Insoll (ed.), *The Archaeology of Identities*, 35.

[3] A database is presented as part of the PhD thesis project. It contains 387 objects subdivided into three sheets: offering tables, offering trays, and soul houses. An additional 90 offering tables were studied and categorized separately as part of The Asyut Project. The objects described in the following paper are based on the offering trays (89) and soul houses (29) in the overall sample in the Access 2016 database.

Pottery offering trays and 'soul houses' seem to appear in significant numbers during the First Intermediate Period and then decline in the archaeological record by the late Middle Kingdom.[4] They occur mainly in Middle and Upper Egyptian contexts, though this may be due to lack of excavation in northern Egypt. These objects are similar to stone offering tables, especially due to their incorporation of canals, basins and spouts/watery features, indicating a ritual use of liquids. Several of these utensils also incorporate depictions of meat cuts, bread loafs and various types of vessels. Differences between these design components may be due to the placement of the objects within a funerary context, as well the geographical area in which they were manufactured and their specific local socio-religious connotations. The ancient Egyptian agricultural landscape is not only a reflection of the actual geography, *i.e.*, the Nile and the western mountains, but also mirrors how topology has been transformed by human interaction. Like stone offering tables, pottery offering trays and soul houses reflect actual landscapes, the importance of water and its ritual use and indicate how ritual utensils mirror everyday life, connecting it with the cycles of the Cosmos.

1.1. The geographical and historical context

Ancient Egyptian ideology stemmed from a complex and contrasting landscape, which found itself in a constant state of flux due to the seasonal flooding of the Nile. This natural occurrence was controlled by establishing order, while adapting it to active and inactive elements. In Middle Egypt, the Nile flows closer to the eastern edge of the valley creating a wide floodplain in the west. An ancient canal from the Nile River called Bahr Jusuf flowed along the western side, while the eastern valley is edged by low hills and limestone outcrops in the desert mountains.[5] Near Salamut, for example, the mountain ranges move closer to the Nile creating the iconic cliff faces, containing wadis cutting through the mountains. On the western side, the floodplain is flanked by hills and sand dunes.[6] Prehistoric settlements favoured the 'mouths' into the mountains (*inwt*), as well as mountains and limestone cliffs (*sḫnwt*), usually on the eastern side of the Nile. Agricultural activities, as well as sites for animal grazing, were usually limited to the low areas at the edges of the floodplain, preferably on the 'new lands' created by the annual flood.[7] Agricultural areas were classified according to their proximity to water sources since the floodwaters were collected in 'alluvial basins' (*ḫnmw*).[8] By the Middle Kingdom, water was so vital for agriculture and transportation that even the name of the Nineteenth Nome located near Bahr Jusuf, *špr-mrw* translates as 'close to the waterway'.[9]

Most studies of ancient Egyptian landscapes mostly concern Upper Egyptian sites as well as the Nile valley in relation to the desert mountains. However, most ancient Egyptian depictions are of watery landscapes and by the end of the fourth millennium BC, more depictions are of the Nile Delta region in Lower Egypt rather than what may be the floodplains of the Nile valley. These designs have been incorporated in temple and tomb architecture, especially within ritual settings.[10] This very notion may be reflected in the rural material culture in Middle and Upper Egyptian sites.

By the end of the Old Kingdom, the provinces became increasingly powerful, and the presence of important necropolis areas increased from Memphis further to the south. Although the Memphite area region was still considered to be the power-centre in the First Intermediate Period, growing influence was also present in Upper Egypt,[11] at places such as Mo'alla. This time-period has been described in the past as a period of decline, however, according to more recent studies, it is rather a 'period of contrasts' due to the mixture of old traditions with new as well as a growing local, provincial material culture and influence.[12]

The civil war between Heracleopolis and Thebes, as well as instability of the centralised power at Memphis, caused provincial regions to become more influential.[13] The growing influences of the provinces resulted in an enrichment of provincial centres, evidenced by the numerous necropoleis dating to this period. Large monuments appear to be missing dating back to the First Intermediate Period, but smaller private monuments are more numerous than ever before, expressing a unique localised material culture.[14] By the Eleventh Dynasty, political reunification was taking place in the south, making Thebes the centre of a small but influential kingdom.[15] Nevertheless, this did not halt the development of local styles in every region in Egypt during this time. Kings as well

[4] For more on the categorisation of offering trays as well as interpretations regarding their original provenance see Mi, *Rivista del Museo Egizio* 4.
[5] Gillam, in Geisen (ed.), *Ritual Landscape*, 160.
[6] Gillam, in Geisen (ed.), *Ritual Landscape*, 160.
[7] Gillam, in Geisen (ed.), *Ritual Landscape*, 162; Bunbury, *The Nile and Ancient Egypt.*
[8] Gillam, in Geisen (ed.), *Ritual Landscape*, 162.
[9] Gillam, in Geisen (ed.), *Ritual Landscape*, 165.
[10] Baines, in Geisen (ed.), *Ritual Landscape*, 176.
[11] Seidlmayer, in Shaw (ed.), *The Oxford History of Ancient Egypt,* 108-36.
[12] Grajetzki, *The Middle Kingdom of Ancient Egypt*, 8.
[13] Seidlmayer, in Shaw (ed.), *The Oxford History of Ancient Egypt,* 108-36.
[14] Grajetzki, *The Middle Kingdom of Ancient Egypt*, 9.
[15] Seidlmayer, in Shaw (ed.), *The Oxford History of Ancient Egypt,* 108-36.

as nobles decided to be buried in *saff* tombs directly cut into the towering cliff faces in Middle and Upper Egypt rather than mastabas or self-standing pyramids as they had done in earlier periods. Chapels such as the Heqaib sanctuary in Elephantine were also erected for kings and other important officials of the time emphasizing a more personal approach to ritual practice.[16] Funerary material started to change as well, giving rise to wooden models placed inside the burial chamber indicating new and innovative art production and therefore not a decline in craftsmanship. These objects have been found in necropoleis which were new at the time, with no pre-existing Old Kingdom material culture. In Memphis, art production never stopped during the First Intermediate Period.

Most of the material culture from ancient Egypt comes from arid contexts, especially in the low desert regions and plains located at the edge of the Nile floodplains.[17] Better preservation is guaranteed in the desert cliffs on either side of the Nile valley, creating a bias in the archaeological record. Patterns of modern-day settlements and rural centres have also influenced the recording of findings, since some villages and urban centres are situated on ancient settlements near the floodplains, while desert areas are well-preserved and modern constructions have usually not infringed on ancient sites.[18] However, these areas are usually composed of ancient burial sites and important ritual centres, creating a bias of material from ancient cultural centres away from rural individuals and agricultural centres.[19]

2. Agricultural Landscapes and Practices

The design of pottery offering trays and soul houses may reflect agricultural processing sites, as well as the surrounding landscape and associated agricultural activities. It may be argued that there is an emphasis on activities such as cereal processing, irrigation practices, gardening, and husbandry in rural Middle and Upper Egyptian sites.[20] Such elements are frequent in funerary contexts across ancient Egypt, expressed in various ways depending on the time-period and socio-religious setting.

Offering trays and similar objects which originate from First Intermediate Period and Middle Kingdom contexts located in Upper Egypt may have forms and features reminiscent of rural contexts, reflecting processing sites as well as agricultural activities in the landscape (see Table 1). These forms are present in the sample, mostly consisting of 'Horseshoe Form' and 'Tomb Form' trays (see Graph 1). Petrie's description of 'Horseshoe' trays refers to trays and soul houses shaped like horseshoes with an open end and usually containing canal formations in the centre.[21] These trays may actually be shaped like winnowing baskets used during cereal processing. 'Tomb Form' trays, as described by Angela Tooley[22] refer to offering trays and soul houses divided into sections for specific offerings, or covered areas resembling shrines or tomb-like structures. These trays may not only be reminiscent of tombs and associated tomb courtyards but may also be communal processing areas in domestic or rural contexts.

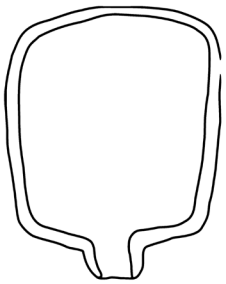
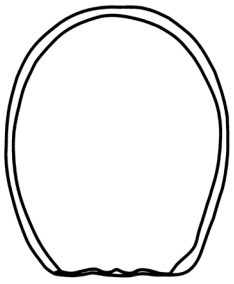
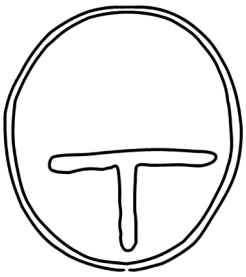
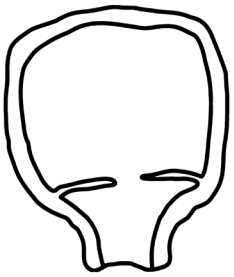
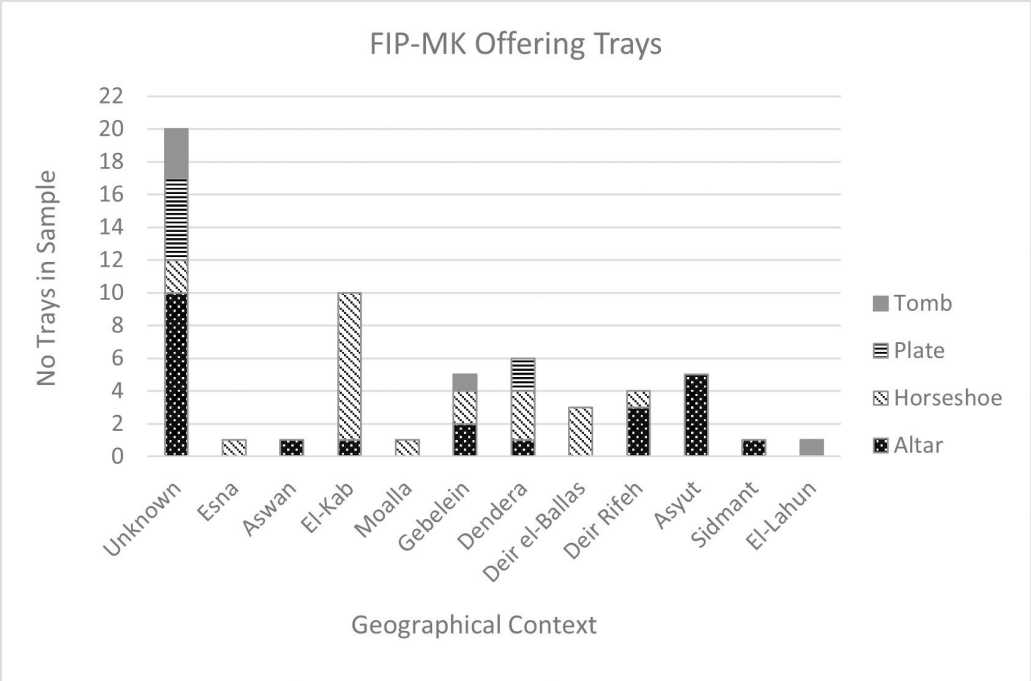
Altar	Horseshoe	Plate	Tomb
			
Based on *8757* Museo Egizio Firenze, unknown orIgin (5.6x23.5x30.4).	Based on UC38982 Petrie Museum UCL, MK El-Kab (6.9x24.4x30.5).	Based on *EA43555* British Museum London, unknown origin (3.9x26.1x30.5).	Based on E274 Manchester Museum, MK El-Lahun (26x30.8x24.8)/

Table 1 – Four main types of offering tray design present in the sample

[16] Grajetzki, *The Middle Kingdom of Ancient Egypt*, 13.
[17] Baines, in Geisen (ed.), *Ritual Landscape*, 177.
[18] Baines, in Geisen (ed.), *Ritual Landscape*, 178.
[19] Baines, in Geisen (ed.), *Ritual Landscape*, 178.
[20] See Moeller, *The Archaeology of Urbanism in Ancient Egypt,* 8; Allen, *Explorations in Economic History* 34/2, 135-54.
[21] Petrie, *Gizeh and Rifeh,* 14-17.
[22] Tooley, *Middle Kingdom Burial Customs.*



Graph 1 – First Intermediate Period/Middle Kingdom offering tray design and frequency within geographical context present in the sample

Combined Forms	Count of ID
Undetermined	1
Altar	16
Altar/Other	4
Altar/Tomb	9
Horseshoe	17
Horseshoe/Soul House	6
Horseshoe/Tomb	6
Plate	9
Plate/Other	1
Plate/Slab	1
Plate/Tomb	1
Soul House	1
Tomb	1
Tomb/Soul House	4
Grand Total	**77**

Table 2 – Combined forms of offering trays present in the sample

Various combinations of different forms are present in the sample (see Table 2), it is rare to attest a single category to any type of pottery offering tray, therefore offering trays and soul houses have often been categorised together in previous studies.[23]

In the current sample, an initial distinction was made between offering trays and soul houses. This distinction is similar to Petrie's differentiation,[24] defining soul houses as pottery trays with elaborate, and often multi-storey architectural features. The twenty-nine soul houses present in the sample were categorised separately, eighteen of which originate from Deir Rifeh in Middle Egypt. Most soul houses at Deir Rifeh have elaborate domestic features, with columned porticos and internal areas, while the outliers in the sample are more elusive in shape, such as boats, granaries, or pylon-shaped house-like structures. These outliers will be the focus of this paper together with Upper Egyptian offering trays, both of which highlight rural practices and domestic structures.

2.1. Cereal processing and irrigation systems

one of the most efficient and incessant features of ancient Egyptian society is that of cereal processing and specifically the production of barley and wheat.[25] Archaeological evidence indicates that emmer wheat and barley have

[23] See Petrie, *Gizeh and Rifeh*; Niwiński, *ET* 8; Leclère, in Muller (ed.), «*Maquettes architecturales»,* 100.
[24] Petrie, *Gizeh and Rifeh,* 14-17.
[25] Murray, in Nicholson, Shaw (eds), *Ancient Egyptian Materials and Technology*, 505.

been cultivated in Egypt from the sixth millennium BC until the Greco-Roman Period.[26] This would have not been the case were it not for the black, fertile banks along the Nile, created by the annual flood. The silt deposits were then subject to the unique and impressive agricultural system administered by the Egyptians throughout the pharaonic period.[27] The constant production of emmer wheat and barley provided the backdrop for an elaborate administration of both wages and taxation across the Egyptian *nomes*. This system was responsible for all economic, political, and social stability.[28] However, this intricate system was often subject to not only political instability, but also natural disasters caused by climate change, causing governing parties to alter the system at even a local or regional level.[29] As is the case for many societies today, rural areas are most affected by these changes and must not only develop practical ways of dealing with these inconsistencies in production, but may have also used more spiritual practices. Notions of dominance over cosmic order and natural cycles are most evident in the Old Kingdom royal cult.[30]

Controlling natural elements through the use of agricultural practice such as irrigation systems, seed management, and the control of water levels may be reflected in offering table design. Offering tables and basins from the Old Kingdom apparently reflect agricultural practices controlled by a central power, where the pharaoh had the main responsibility for cosmological occurrences and the practical procedures in connection with agricultural production. The offering table of Sezu (CG 1330) from the fourth dynasty illustrates the royal cult and its responsibility for the inundation. Each step in the basin is dedicated to a season and its associated water level in cubic units[31] (see Fig. 1). This should not be considered unique in Egyptian society. Despite the royal cult and the pharaoh's divine responsibility for cosmic changes, the rural and, most importantly, agricultural society was responsible for the gestation of agricultural activity and handling seasonal change. Therefore, it is only logical that a similar cult was reflected in rural localities across the Egyptian nomes, especially after the First Intermediate Period, when more provinces and local practices emerged. This may explain the emergence of pottery offering trays showing similar notions to royal offering tables.

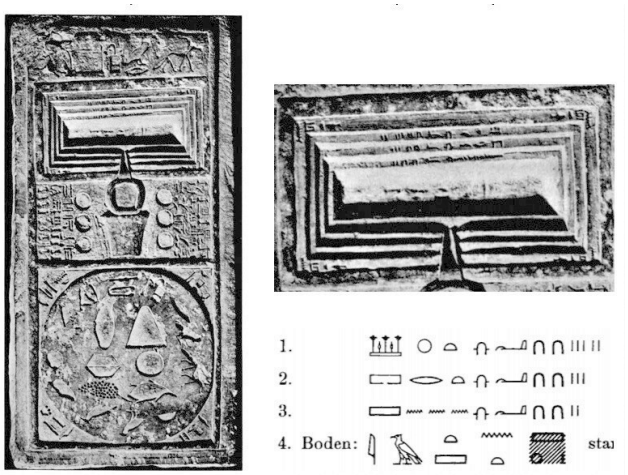


Fig. 1 – Offering table of Sezu (CG1330) with detail of the upper four-stepped basin with the first three levels inscribed with a season: Akht, prt, Smu, after Borchardt, *Denkmäler des Alten Reiches*, 14, Blatt 5

Agricultural practices such as cereal processing, as well as irrigation systems, may be evident in offering table and soul house design and their iconographic elements. The two staple products of barley and wheat are bread and beer, the two most important foods in ancient Egyptian culture. However, barley was also an important animal fodder, as can be suggested from archaeobotanical evidence.[32] Archaeological evidence for cereal processing includes artefacts, remnants of rural/administrative architecture, as well as stratigraphy within settlement sites.[33] The arid environment in various parts of Egypt facilitated the preservation of otherwise perishable material, and specifically utensils used for agricultural activities. These include ploughs, sickle blades, shovels, sieves, and winnowing fans or baskets.[34]

[26] Wetterstorm, in Shaw *et al.* (eds), *The Archaeology of Africa,* 201; Murray, in Nicholson, Shaw (eds) *Ancient Egyptian Materials and Technology*, 512.
[27] Murray, in Nicholson, Shaw (eds), *Ancient Egyptian Materials and Technology*, 506.
[28] Kemp, in Luff, Rowley-Conwy (eds), *Whither Environmental Archaeology?*, 121-38; Murray, in Nicholson, Shaw (eds), *Ancient Egyptian Materials and Technology,* 506.
[29] Allen, *Explorations in Economic History* 34, 135-54; Harlan, *The Living Fields,* 115.
[30] See Grzymski, in O'Neill (ed.), *Egyptian Art in the Age of the Pyramids*; Arnold, in O'Neill (ed.), *Egyptian Art in the Age of the Pyramids*; Magli, *Architecture, Astronomy and Sacred Landscape in Ancient Egypt*; Friedman, in der Manuelian (ed.), *Studies in Honor of William Kelly Simpson,* vol. I, 337-51.
[31] Borchardt, *Denkmäler des Alten Reiches*, 14.
[32] See Moens, Wetterstorm, *JNES* 47/3, 159-73.
[33] Murray, in Nicholson, Shaw (eds), *Ancient Egyptian Materials and Technology*, 508.
[34] See examples in Petrie, *Tools and Weapons*, 54-5, pl. XVIII; Murray, in Nicholson, Shaw (eds), *Ancient Egyptian Materials and Technology*, 508.

Winnowing is performed in order to separate cereal spikelets from straw and other debris.[35] This process would usually take place on the threshing floor within an area protected from the wind.[36] The fact that most offering trays have a raised rim and rampart incorporated into their shape indicates that this may in fact be a processing site for grain.[37] The cereals are thrown into the air using winnowing baskets causing the lighter chaff and weeds to blow away leaving the heavier cereals. This is the first stage in cereal processing and alters the very shape of the harvested grain.[38] In the sample, a total of thirty-three offering trays are of the 'Horseshoe' form, twenty-two of which can be dated to the First Intermediate Period and Middle Kingdom.

The most in-depth study of offering trays within their original archaeological context and exact placement within the funerary landscape is that of Tooley.[39] However, it is often not possible to differentiate between the forms and state their original placement within the archaeological site. Some archaeological contexts can be related to specific types of trays. The most numerous horseshoe trays have been found in Upper Egyptian cemeteries, especially Cemetery 1 at Edfu, the necropolis at Elkab, cemeteries at Esna, the royal necropolis at el-Tarif, and non-elite tombs at Dendera.[40]

'Horseshoe' form offering trays may actually be shaped as winnowing fans or baskets, common in rural communities since they are used for cereal processing at a local level. Most such offering trays in the sample are from rural communities in Upper Egypt, close to the Middle Kingdom royal necropolis at el-Tarif. The main administrative centres during the First Intermediate Period in Upper Egypt include Dendera, Thebes (Waset), Hierakonpolis (Nekhen), Edfu (Behdet) and Elephantine (Abu), all of which have a significant concentration of pottery offering trays in their respective necropoleis, especially those in the 'Horseshoe' form (see Graph 1). With the growing influence of the Theban governate, the provincial centres grew in importance, as did the demands of local and regional production. The administrative centres in the First Intermediate Period coincide with the concentration of 'Horseshoe' form offering trays, which allude to the cereal process and rural agricultural production sites. This is especially evident from the large concentration of 'Horseshoe' form offering trays found at el-Tarif, which was the royal necropolis situated near the power centre of Thebes in Upper Egypt. In the current sample, however, the largest and most significant concentration of 'Horseshoe' form offering trays is at Elkab (Nekheb). A large cemetery is located here dating to the end of the First Intermediate Period and the beginning of the Middle Kingdom. The site remains largely unexcavated and has also been subject to significant plundering, which has unfortunately caused handheld objects such as pottery trays to be displaced and fragmented. No specific contextual information was provided from the museum records for the ten pottery offering trays in the sample.[41] Nevertheless, Tooley highlights two soul houses found in tomb M12 in the Middle Kingdom cemetery at Elkab but that remain unpublished.[42]

The offering trays at Elkab are usually treated with a red surface coating and have an average width of 27.5 cm and length 31.5 cm and height 7.5 cm. This size may even be a reference to larger winnowing baskets used in large scale cereal processing, rather than the smaller handheld wooden winnowing shovels often depicted in processing scenes in elite tombs[43] (see Fig. 2). Heaps of the winnowed products may have been decorated with offerings,[44] something which may also allude to the presence of offerings within the pottery offering trays shaped like winnowing tools.

Seven out of eleven trays have no compartments present and five trays have between seven and nine canals covering the entire surface of the plate. The canals seem to have been made by using finger imprints across the clay before it was fired. The raised rim around the sunken area is always inclined towards the open end resembling the sides of a winnowing basket (see Figs 3-4). The plate area is almost always inclined towards the open end of the tray, facilitating the draining of liquids when poured upon it. All trays have meat cuts present in the

[35] Murray, in Nicholson, Shaw (eds), *Ancient Egyptian Materials and Technology*, 525

[36] Harpur, *From Hunters to Farmers*, 158.

[37] Pottery soul houses, especially in the sample from Deir Rifeh, often incorporate structures intended for wind protection such as raised ramparts as well as structures for wind 'catching' such as porticos and *mulqafs*. It is interesting to note here how these may also be intended for cereal processing, especially in the aspect of winnowing, which may also be evident in soul houses shaped like winnowing fans (e.g., inv. no. 4374 at Manchester Museum, UK).

[38] Hillman, in Mercer (ed.), *Farming Practice in British Prehistory*, 155; Murray, in Nicholson, Shaw (eds), *Ancient Egyptian Materials and Technology*, 525.

[39] Tooley, *Middle Kingdom Burial Customs.*

[40] Tooley, *Middle Kingdom Burial Customs,* 254-93.

[41] For a general overview see Quibell, *Elkab*, 16-18, Pl. V.

[42] For an overview of frequency of forms of offering tray at each archaeological context see Tooley, *Middle Kingdom Burial Customs,* fig. 4, 294.

[43] Petrie, *Tools and Weapons,* pl. LXVIII; Hillman, in Zeist, Casparie (eds), *Plants and Ancient Man*, 11.

[44] Murray, in Nicholson, Shaw (eds), *Ancient Egyptian Materials and Technology*, 525; Harpur, *Decoration in Egyptian Tombs of the Old Kingdom,* 158.

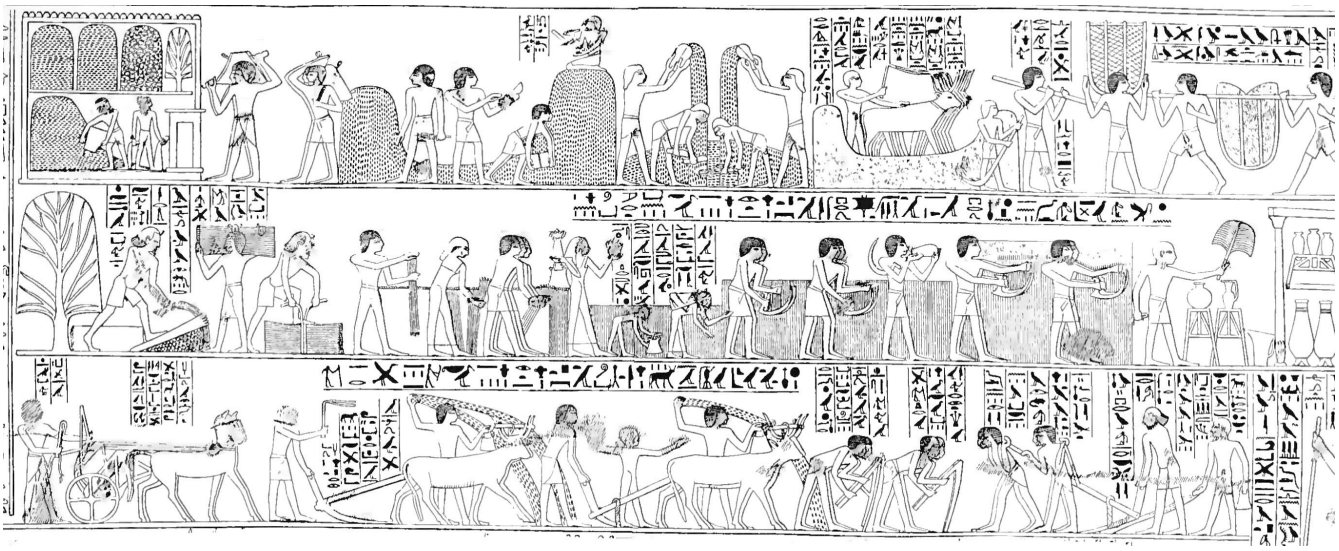


Fig. 2 - Cereal processing and flax growing scenes in the New Kingdom Tomb of Paheri (T3), responsible for the administration of Upper Egyptian regions, at Elkab, Eighteenth Dynasty, from Griffith, Tylor, *The Tomb of Paheri at Elkab*, pl. III

sunken area; seven out of eleven trays have a bovid head positioned along the internal edge of the left side of the tray. This may indicate the specific placement of cuts in processing areas in both tomb and domestic courtyards. The offerings depicted are 'miniaturised' and grouped and arranged in specific corners in the trays which may actually be miniature offering places rather than plates of offerings.[45] The fact that large scale cereal processing is depicted in New Kingdom tombs at Elkab shows that this area was engaged in large-scale agricultural activities (see Fig. 2). The link to pottery offering trays being shaped like agricultural tools and also being decorated with offerings and irrigation canals may illustrate the agricultural landscape surrounding the people who made them and its importance in sustaining the rural community.

Offering trays and soul houses may also incorporate structures which mimic granaries. An example would be a model granary, E 6929, from Beni Hasan in the shape of a pottery offering tray with a spout opening, in the Garstang Museum (see Fig. 5). Its size is similar to regular offering trays and dates to the Middle Kingdom (Twelfth Dynasty). Another example is present in the Museo Egizio di Torino from the First Intermediate Period necropolis in Gebelein.[46] Granaries in this particular shape are depicted in several funerary wall scenes and even inside coffins, as in the coffins of Iqer and Henuy at Gebelein, dating to the Twelfth Dynasty.[47] These models usually contain emmer spikelets, barley as well as weed seeds which would have been found with grain before a secondary winnowing was performed at the storage facility itself.[48] The round shaped granary facilities in pottery offering trays differ from more elite structures, as evidenced from the wooden model of a granary with scribes found in the tomb of Meketre (TT280).[49] The archaeological record shows a wide variety of different storage facilities, stemming from large-scale and centrally administered facilities to more locally controlled storage sites handled by the rural population.[50] The fact that granaries are represented on pottery offering trays may indicate a need for the representation of processing sites for the deceased. With the economic instability caused by the civil war in the First Intermediate Period, it was only reasonable to rely on the cyclic forces of the cosmos to provide some form of constancy. This may have been achieved through the use of offering trays in the shape of agricultural utensils, reflecting rural processing sites or even the irrigation systems used to control the annual flooding of the Nile and ensure sustenance and prosperity.

[45] Spence, in Aston *et al.* (eds), *Under the potter's tree*, 900.
[46] See S. 11960, Museo Egizio Torino in Montonati, *Rivista del Museo Egizio* 2, 11, fig. 9.
[47] Montonati, *Rivista del Museo Egizio* 2, 12; Willems, *Chests of Life*, 202-5, 214.
[48] Murray, in Nicholson, Shaw (eds), *Ancient Egyptian Materials and Technology*, 527; personal observation.
[49] See Winlock, *Models of Daily Life in Ancient Egypt*, 25-7, 87-8. Wooden model of a granary with scribes from the Twelfth Dynasty Tomb of Meketre (TT280), south Asasif, Thebes MMA 20.3.11.
[50] see Winlock *Models of Daily Life in Ancient Egypt*; Kemp, in Luff, Rowley-Conwy (eds), *Whither Environmental Archaeology?*, 121-38.

Fig. 3 – Winnow and two wooden winnowing shovels from the New Kingdom, Elephantine (Upper Egypt) ÄM 10773 (12478, 13886), Berlin. Photo by author, 2018

Fig. 4 – Pottery offering tray in 'Horseshoe' form, from Middle Kingdom (Twelfth Dynasty) Elkab, E 3078, Manchester Museum, UK. Photograph by author, 2017

Irrigation systems are a very common iconographic element found on stone offering tables, especially in the Middle Kingdom.[51] Although these are mostly attested to Lower Egyptian sites such as el-Lahun, examples are also present in Middle and Upper Egyptian funerary sites. The depiction of water management may also be represented for the use of funerary libations, where water was channelled for the rejuvenation of the receiver.[52] The fact that numerous offering trays contain similar irrigation canals and even more elaborate canal formations on their surface, indicate that rural communities had an even more profound connection to the agricultural landscape (see Table 3). Fifty-nine out of 79 offering trays in the sample from the First Intermediate Period and Middle Kingdom contain canals, most of which are from Upper Egyptian sites. The variety in canal formations may illustrate different regional artistic preferences, but they may also reflect various irrigation systems or even region-specific religious connotations.

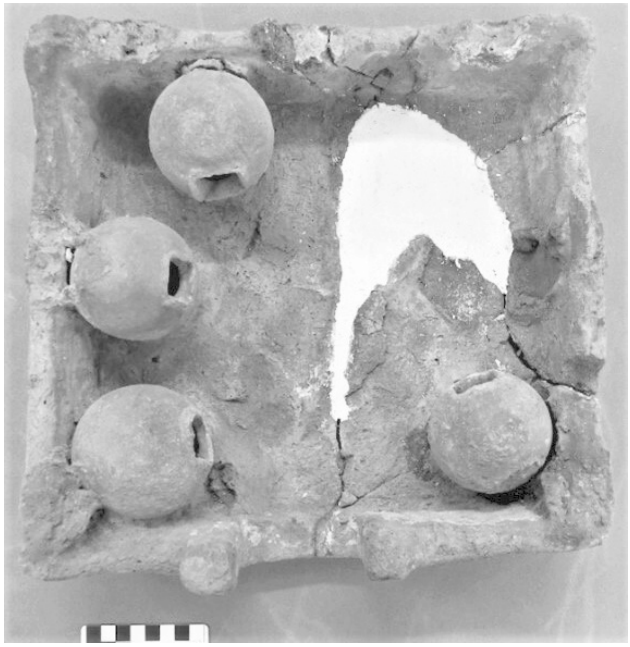


Fig. 5 – Pottery model granary from Middle Kingdom, Beni Hasan (E 6929, Garstang Museum Liverpool, UK). Photograph by author, 2017

The most common canal formations present on First Intermediate Period and Middle Kingdom offering trays, present in the sample, are 'spout canals', which would simply be the singular canal clearing the liquids poured on the tray through the incorporated external spout structure. The second most common canal formations on offering trays are those with a 'covered' or 'drainage' canal, which would indicate a canal running through a dividing rampart or rim within the tray, or a funnel, or drainage hole present in the rim, which encircles the entire plate area of the tray. Both these canal systems are similar to those present on most stone offering tables. Nevertheless, the most numerous trays in the sample are from Upper Egyptian sites, all with varying canal formations. The most common are 'horseshoe' formation canals, as well as parallel canals, most of which mimic the actual shape of the tray, or irrigation systems.

Rainfall diminished significantly in the Predynastic Period and then again during the Middle Kingdom, especially in the Nile Valley.[53] This change in climate created the arid conditions known in Middle and Upper Egypt and accordingly an emphasis on efficient irrigation sys-

[51] See Lundius *Distant Worlds Journal* 4, 81, 84, 91.
[52] Leclère, in Muller (ed.), «*Maquettes architecturales*», 105; Assmann, *Death and salvation in ancient Egypt,* 355-61.
[53] Butzer, *Early Hydraulic Civilisation in Egypt*, 39.

Canal Formation in FIP/MK Offering Trays	Unknown	Fayum/ Lower Egypt	Middle Egypt	Upper Egypt	Grand Total
No Canals Present	6		2	5	13
"horseshoe" formation				4	4
#-formation	1			1	2
+ formation	1			1	2
Covered	3		1	6	10
Drainage	3		1	3	7
Hole	1				1
Parallel	3			6	9
Parallel, V-shaped	1				1
ɕp-formation				1	1
Spout canal	8	1	2	2	13
Y-shaped			2		2
T-shaped	3			1	4
TT-shaped	2				2
V-shaped	2		1	1	4
X-shaped	1	1			2
Grand Total	**35**	**2**	**9**	**31**	**77**

Table 3 – Canal formation in FIP and MK offering trays in the sample

tems to exploit the Nile River.[54] The system of canals, dikes, and flood basins allowed for not only efficient irrigation of the fields and the provision of fertile land, but also prevented settlements and grain storages from being flooded.[55] Low or too high Nile floods in Pharaonic times significantly influenced cereal production and therefore also political and economic stability. During the First Intermediate Period and Middle Kingdom there may have been significant fluctuations in annual flooding levels. This is evidenced in flood records, as well as pictorial sources in numerous tombs from this time-period, describing what has been interpreted as widespread famine and grain shortages.[56] Irrigation systems grew in importance during the Middle Kingdom, differentiating between low-lying and high-lying lands, while in the Old Kingdom there seems to have been little emphasis on irrigation canals, but rather a reliance on natural flood basins.[57] It also appears as though irrigation systems were mainly constructed and maintained by rural or local communities, rather than by governing parties.[58]

The increasing presence of canals and interlinking basins on stone offering tables in the Middle Kingdom coincides with the appearance of pottery offering trays containing basins and numerous variations of canal systems incorporated in their design. The presence of canals together with other agricultural features on trays may show how important these systems were for the benefit of the rural community and successful cereal production. Upper Egypt may have been more dependent on irrigation ditches and canals than Lower Egyptian sites, which may also explain why there are more offering trays which resemble agricultural landscapes as well as utensils used in cereal production. However, this is difficult to ascertain due to the lack of Lower Egyptian offering trays in the archaeological record.

2.2. Gardening and animal husbandry

many pottery offering trays and soul houses present in the sample may have iconographic elements which resemble rural gardens, as well as animal husbandry. As discussed earlier, irrigation methods and agricultural activities may have influenced offering tray design not only for the benefit of the deceased but also for influencing the control of natural elements for stability.

[54] Butzer, *Early Hydraulic Civilisation in Egypt,* 46-8.
[55] Murray, in Nicholson, Shaw (eds), *Ancient Egyptian Materials and Technology*, 514.
[56] Schenkel *Die Bewässerungsrevolution im Alten Ägypten,* 37-49; Murray, in Nicholson, Shaw (eds), *Ancient Egyptian Materials and Technology*, 514-15.
[57] Eyre, *JEA* 80, 169-70; Butzer, *Early Hydraulic Civilisation in Egypt*; Butzer, in Clark, Brandt (eds), *From Hunters to Farmers*, 102-13.
[58] Butzer, *Early Hydraulic Civilisation in Egypt*, 43-50.

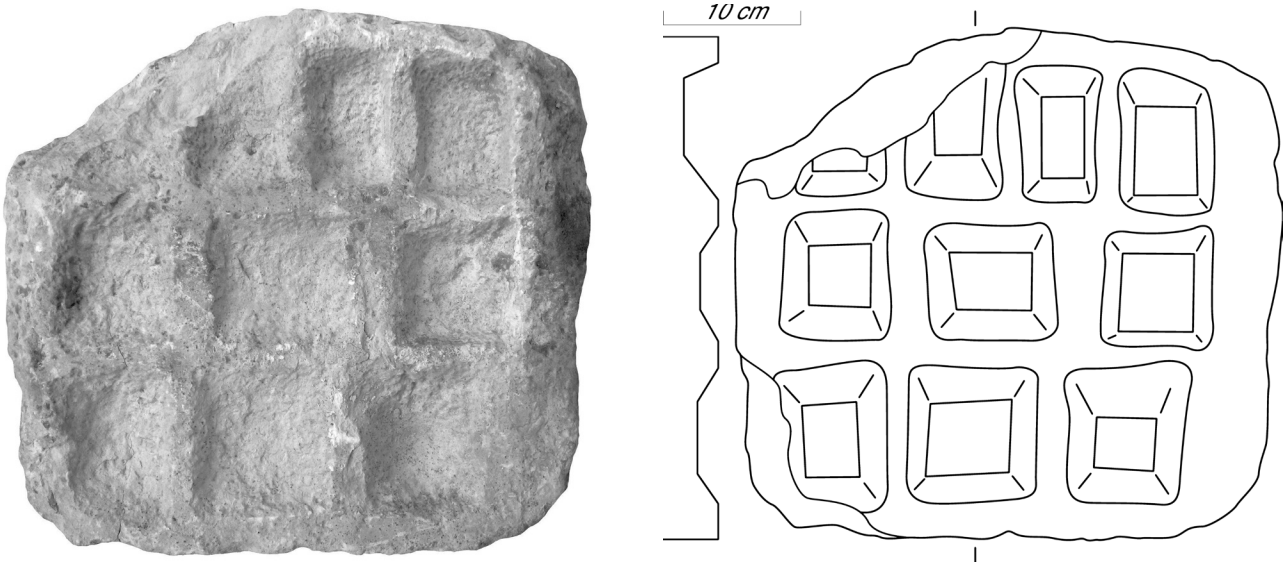


Fig. 6 – Image and drawing of a limestone offering table from Saqqara, A II-0236 after Legros, *Stratégies mémorielles*, fig. 14, 93. Photograph by M. Alavoine

Gardens are commonly depicted on tombs walls, especially from the Middle Kingdom onwards.[59] However, the depicted gardens may be more relevant to stone offering tables rather than those potentially incorporated in pottery offering tray and soul house design. The gardens may reflect agricultural activities, while being at the same time a reference to the ethereal gardens with vineyards and sycamore trees commonly depicted in funerary contexts. An example of this would be potential seedling beds depicted on soul houses, pottery offering trays, as well as stone offering tables[60] (see Fig. 6; Pls XLVIII-XLIX). Seedling beds are also found in modern irrigation fields in Egypt. These basins are initially filled with seeds and then with water until sprouts emerge (see Fig. 7).[61] The shoots are then transferred to larger plots of land. Since the represented gardening plots on pottery trays are relatively small in size, they may be similar seedling plots for the sprouting of new life.

Seventeen offering trays and soul houses in the sample contain a single square basin positioned directly in front of the upper shrine structure, or space filled with offerings, and have a small canal leading through an external spout structure. This basin may not only be for liquid offerings, but also a seedling plot similar to those in modern day fields, promoting growth and accordingly the rejuvenation of the deceased,[62] similar to Osirian corn effigies.

No significant archaeological evidence of funerary gardens was discovered until 2017 when a team of archaeologists of the Spanish National Research Council (CSIC) discovered an almost intact garden in front of a Twelfth Dynasty official rock-cut tomb at Dra Abu el-Naga near Thebes. The garden is composed of 30x30 cm quadrants, with a slightly larger square at one end, which contained remnants of a tamarisk tree.[63] Due to the size of the plots, it has by the lead archaeologists been speculated that it may have been a miniature orchard containing symbolic victuals necessary for the provision of the funerary cult.[64] The symbolic nature of the garden, which is also located in the '*Heiliger Bezirk*' or sacred space in the courtyard of the tomb, reflects its importance in ritual practice.[65]

Two analysed pottery offering trays or soul houses in the sample contain similar grid-marked gardens, usually located on the roof of the shrines or pillared structures incorporated in the tray surface (see Pls XLVIII-XLIX). Both pottery trays contain offerings in the courtyard space in front of a two-pillared shrine-like structure covering a seat or throne dedicated to the deceased. This su-

[59] See Kristensen, in Pinarello *et al*., *Current Research in Egyptology 2014*, 228-33; Wilkinson, *The Garden in Ancient Egypt*.

[60] For an example of a pottery offering tray: Eleventh Dynasty Qurna, Thebes UC 18269 Petrie Museum UCL. For a recent study on the representations of gardens in pottery souls house see Solchaga, in Graves (ed.), *BEC* 4.

[61] Solchaga, in Graves (ed.), *BEC* 4, 137-38.

[62] Solchaga, in Graves (ed.), *BEC* 4, 138.

[63] Galán & Garcia, *JEA* 54, 5.

[64] Galán, *National Geographic*, 60-1; Galán, Garcia, *JEA* 54, 5: Twelfth Dynasty ritual vessels including *ḫs*-vases were also discovered in the vicinity of the garden, alluding to its likely role in funerary practices.

[65] Galán, *National Geographic,* 60; Galán, Garcia, *JEA* 54, 8. The term '*Heiliger Bezirk*' also refers to the garden scenes depicted on New Kingdom tomb walls from the Eighteenth Dynasty onwards (e.g., TT 12, TT 15, TT 81).

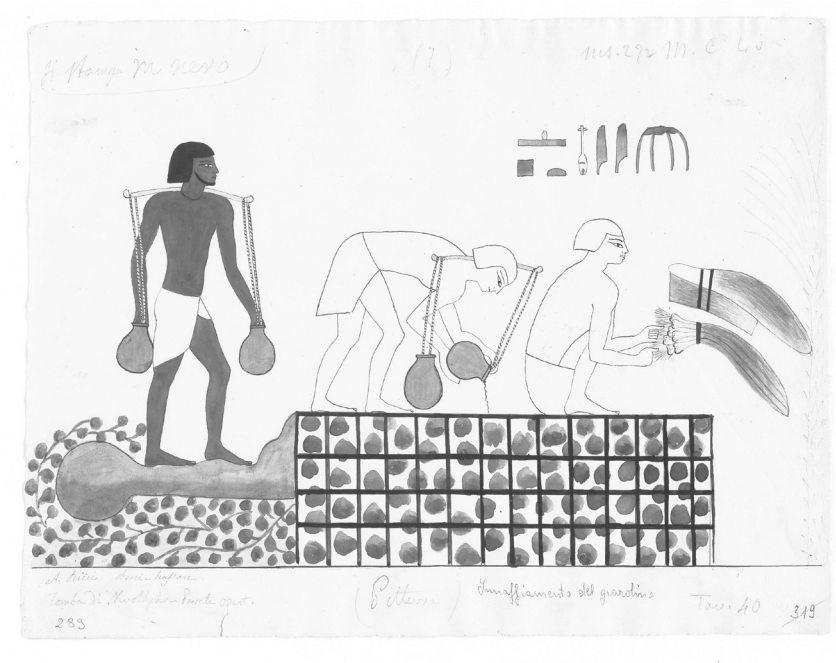


Fig. 7 – Gardening scene depicted in the tomb of Khnumhotep II in Beni Hasan (BH 3), drawing of Alessandro Ricci © Biblioteca Universitaria di Pisa, Fondo Rosellini, Ms. 272, f. 59, c. 289 (courtesy of Gianluca Miniaci)

perstructure may resemble the rock-cut tombs present in numerous First Intermediate and Middle Kingdom sites in Upper Egypt such as Dra Abu el-Naga. The area in front of these tombs was reserved for the execution of funerary ritual which explains the presence of offerings within the courtyard.[66] The fact that the gardens are positioned on the roofs of these structures may not *only* indicate that they are miniature households but rather miniaturised ritual spaces or even processing units for the provision of sustenance for the deceased. All outer space is for ritualised action, such as gardening, husbandry, slaughtering, irrigation systems, etc. while internal spaces are inert.

The smaller circular or square basins at corners of offering trays may be watering holes rather than libation basins or for the provision of offerings, resembling agricultural processing sites in rural areas. These basins are smaller compared to the square basins usually positioned near the spout end of the tray and are located near the animal remains carefully placed in specific areas within the 'courtyard' space. These basins may, therefore, be watering holes for animals or wells[67] used within domestic settings.

The slaughtering and butchering of mammals are a common iconographic feature on tomb walls. In Old Kingdom tombs at Saqqara, for example, there are still sacrificial blocks believed to have been where oxen were ritually killed for the benefit of the deceased.[68] The first part of the process would be to wrestle the animal down to the ground and then cut the throat. The blood was drained by pumping the bovid's foreleg, forcing the blood to exit the severed neck.[69] The foreleg appears to have been very important in funerary ritual due to its conversion into a tool used to drain the blood of the animal and thus prevent the meat from being spoiled.[70] The foreleg has numerous other ritual connotations, especially during the Opening of the Mouth ritual.[71] Nevertheless, its practical use in rural settings is of particular interest when discussing its presence in pottery offering trays and soul houses. A total of 66 out of 77 offering tables and soul houses in the sample dating to between the First Intermediate Period and Middle Kingdom have at least one bovid leg present among the other meat cuts. The leg in itself is a butchering *utensil*, which explains its dominance over all other types of offerings present on the offering trays.

The drained blood from the animal may have been collected but if not, it must have been a very bloody affair, staining the very ground of the processing site. The fact that almost all pottery trays and soul houses have been treated with a red pigmented surface coating, may indicate the table as a butchery site and accordingly it was not painted red only for symbolic reasons. The coating usually does not extend beyond the internal area of the tray and does not appear on the outer edges of the rim.

After the blood is drained, the animal was skinned, and internal viscera removed. The 'sausage-like' elements present on numerous trays may be the entrails or tails of the animal, sometimes placed on raised, round platforms, which may be bowls used to collect these parts.[72] The carcass was then jointed, and parts hung on

[66] Galán, Garcia, *JEA* 54, 5; Solchaga, in Graves (ed.), *BEC* 4, 139.

[67] E.g., pottery 'soul house' from Middle Kingdom (Twelfth Dynasty) Deir Rifeh, E4383, Manchester Museum UK, personal observation, 2017.

[68] E.g., stone slaughter ring in the main chamber (A13) in the Tomb of Mereruka LS10 in the Teti Cemetery at Saqqara (Sixth Dynasty).

[69] Ikram, in Nicholson, Shaw (eds), *Ancient Egyptian Materials and Technology*, 657.

[70] Ikram, in Nicholson, Shaw (eds), *Ancient Egyptian Materials and Technology*, 70.

[71] See Otto, *Das Ägyptische Mundöffnungsritual*, 101-4; Ayad, in Goyon, Cardin (eds), *Proceedings of the Ninth International Congress of Egyptologists*, 150.

[72] The butchery scene in the Fifth Dynasty Mastaba Tomb of

lines to be preserved.[73] Different meat cuts are depicted on pottery offering trays and soul houses consisting of joints, ribs, triangular cuts, tails or entrails, cone-shaped meat lumps, as well as a number of horned bovid heads. These heads are usually positioned along the rim, generally at the opposite end of the spout in case there are no superstructures present on the table, or on the left side, as is the case for most meat parts. There is usually one of each item present in the courtyard space of the tray, indicating that if put all together they would belong to the same processed animal. This seems to be the case with headless bovid bodies, which are also present on some trays. These carcasses are usually laid on their side with their legs tied, indicating that they have been subject to the slaughtering process described above. When the animal is headless, its head is usually present along the rim. The careful positioning of the meat cuts on the table usually indicates a meat processing site since they have perhaps been laid out in order to be subjected to different preservation methods.[74]

The placement of different types of meat cuts as well as other types of offerings upon pottery offering trays, within delineated spaces,[75] indicates a need to differentiate this space as a processing site. Sometimes trays may contain a small shrine-like structure with a seat intended for the deceased. However, the structure may resemble utilitarian huts common in agricultural communities for storing tools, for the rest and comfort of the workers, or animal sheds. Nevertheless, it designates an inactive and shady space, which differs from the processed elements located directly outside.

Another common feature on offering trays and soul houses is the presence of small holes surrounding basins incorporated in the tray area or inserted into the surrounding rim. These holes were possibly used as 'postholes' for the insertion of sticks or rolls of clay. Their intended use has been widely debated since Petrie's original interpretation of them as supports for tents, or coverings, providing shade for the pools or even a miniaturised embalming tent, due to its position directly in front of a shrine-like structure.[76] Photographs from Petrie's campaign at Deir Rifeh show some soul houses still containing small wooden sticks. According to Leclère, these holes were possibly intended to be supports for small model bushes or trees, resembling the wooden models in the tomb of Meketre.[77] This may be the case for some trays or soul houses, especially for the holes positioned around the outer rim. The holes around small basins in the courtyard space may be too close together for the placement of trees, which could support Petrie's interpretation of canopies for shade. This shows further how interpretations are interchangeable, which may simply indicate the multifunctionality of these objects within a funerary setting.

3. Funerary versus Domestic Landscapes

Pottery soul houses as well as some offering trays have often been interpreted as 'houses for the *kꜣ*'.[78] However, they may prove to be more complex rather than simply considered as miniature domestic buildings. Leclère has suggested that these objects may be substitutes for funerary chapels.[79] Funerary architecture is very similar to dwellings in most cases, which explains why elements of funerary architecture, as well as domestic fixtures are present in their design. The regional and contextual diversity of these objects in such a short timeframe suggests that they may be multifunctional in nature and therefore have a variety of ritual connotations.

3.1. Domestic connotations

As stated in the previous section, pottery offering trays and soul houses may reflect agricultural activities as well as domestic processing sites, through their shape or the iconographic elements present in the sunken area of the tray. As pointed out in Spence's article on the soul houses from Deir Rifeh, numerous objects from her sample have architectural fixtures present in their design, which do not occur in Middle Kingdom funerary architecture.[80] These features include multiple storeys, staircases leading to the roof, windows, beds, *mulqafs* (*i.e.*, 'wind catchers') and granaries.[81] As is the case for all offering tables and similar materials, however, context

Ty (D22) at Saqqara illustrates this process.

[73] See meat processing scene in the Twelfth Dynasty Tomb of Intefiqer at Thebes (TT60), in Ikram, in Nicholson, Shaw (eds), *Ancient Egyptian Materials and Technology*, 659.

[74] See Ikram, in Nicholson, Shaw (eds) *Ancient Egyptian Materials and Technology*, 659-61.

[75] For examples consult the Asyut Type II and associated variants categorised as such by Mi, *Rivista del Museo Egizio* 4, figs 5-8. The examples of offering trays at the Museo Egizio Torino are also of the 'Tomb Form' type.

[76] Petrie, *Gizeh and Rifeh*, 17. See also Altenmüller, *Die Texte zum Begräbnisritual in den pyramiden des Alten Reiches*, 172-3.

[77] Leclère, in Muller (ed.), «*Maquettes architecturales*», 105-6.

[78] Petrie, Quibell, *Naqada and Ballas*, 42; Petrie, *Gizeh and Rifeh*, 15; Spence, in Aston *et al.* (eds), *Under the potter's tree.*

[79] Leclère, in Muller (ed.), «*Maquettes architecturales*», 112; *cf.* Niwiński, *ET* 8, 101-5.

[80] Spence, in Aston *et al.* (eds), *Under the potter's tree*, 896-914.

[81] Spence, in Aston *et al.* (eds), *Under the potter's tree*, 898; e.g., pottery soul house (07.550) from Middle Kingdom Deir Rifeh at the MFA in Boston, drawing in Lundius, *Distant Worlds Journal* 4, figs 13, 90.

is always key to deciphering use and significance within ancient Egyptian funerary practice.

The interpretation of soul houses and similar pottery offering trays varies according to context and individual sites.[82] Architectural features incorporated into the objects vary from site to site and within the same archaeological site, depending on their original placement.[83] Porticos are incorporated in almost all soul houses present in the current sample, although the sample is slightly biased, since most of the soul houses are from Deir Rifeh. Porticos were a common feature in Middle Kingdom elite houses at Kahun and Abydos in Upper Egypt.[84] They were necessary for providing a cool space and catching the wind, similar to the function of *mulqafs* in the upper storeys present on a significant amount of soul houses from Deir Rifeh.[85] As argued by Spence, these features, including the staircases leading to the upper mezzanines, are also for the benefit and comfort of the deceased. These may be associated with harnessing the wind, something which is important for the well-being of the deceased, as evidenced in excerpts from the Coffin Texts.[86]

According to Petrie, numerous soul houses at Deir Rifeh were found in the direct vicinity of shaft tombs.[87] The variation in architectural elements incorporated in soul houses at Rifeh alone may indicate that they were intended to be 'burial markers' allowing the deceased to maintain a certain identity that they had in life, and also incorporating their own domestic elements to create more idealised versions of where they would wish to live.[88] This may indicate more 'breezy' or 'shady' houses with elaborate porticos and façades. The privatisation of spaces within the soul houses also shows similarity to domestic architecture. In these closed-off spaces there are usually domestic fixtures present, such as chairs and beds, sometimes being utilised by figurines. According to Spence, the seats positioned directly in front of offerings are there for the comfort of the deceased, while at the same time representing a funerary cult site.[89] Upper Egyptian offering trays from Elkab may therefore represent simple shelters like those at Dendera with a seat incorporated at the upper end of the tray. These differ from the more elaborate and almost unique examples from Deir Rifeh, which show house elements.[90]

Together with domestic processing elements such as pot-stands, water jugs, meat cuts within a specific area, the presence of a courtyard defined by a raised rim, postholes for the placement of trees, orchards, as well as internal structures containing domestic furniture, soul houses may be considered as domestic in nature. This is especially true if compared to Middle Kingdom wooden household models such as the famous Twelfth Dynasty wooden model of a household garden from the tomb of Meketre in the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York.[91] However, it is important to highlight the differences between the pottery soul houses and the Middle Kingdom wooden models of domestic life. As summarised in Gorman-Evans, analysis of the soul houses present at the Ashmolean Museum in Oxford shows that there are important dissimilarities between different houses found within the same context.[92] The subtle differences in decoration may reflect personal preferences, or even a feature on later soul houses, which start to resemble dwellings with less emphasis on the courtyard space with offerings (see Pl. L). In some cases, offerings are even positioned on the rooftops, possibly due to a more restricted courtyard space in town settings. Food processing must have occurred on the roof.[93] Courtyard space appears to be a luxury at most urban sites, especially at El-Lahun where large houses on the north side of the street had an entrance leading to a courtyard.[94] Enclosed forecourts were an important feature throughout the Pharaonic Period, reflected also in the hieroglyphic sign for house '*pr*', which may represent a walled courtyard.[95] Bourriau states that pottery offering trays reflect the courtyard space of dwellings where food processing would have occurred, since it is walled and protected from the wind and sun, as well as providing some privacy.[96] Nevertheless, the fact that almost all soul houses in the sample contain a sunken area in front of covered structures indicates that the courtyards

[82] Spence, in Aston *et al.* (eds), *Under the potter's tree*, 899.
[83] Spence, in Aston *et al.* (eds), *Under the potter's tree.*
[84] Eigner in Bietak (ed.), *Haus und Palast in Alten Ägypten*,73-80; Wegner, *MDAIK* 57, 281-308.
[85] Spence, in Aston *et al.* (eds), *Under the potter's tree*, 901-2.
[86] CT 355 in Faulkner, *The Ancient Egyptian Coffin Texts*, vol. II, 1; CT 373 in Faulkner, *The Ancient Egyptian Coffin Texts*, vo. II, 10; Spence, in Aston *et al.* (eds), *Under the potter's tree*, 902-4.
[87] Petrie, *Gizeh and Rifeh*, 14.
[88] Spence, in Aston *et al.* (eds), *Under the potter's tree,* 905.
[89] Spence, in Aston *et al.* (eds), *Under the potter's tree*, 907.
[90] Spence, in Aston *et al.* (eds), *Under the potter's tree*, 907.
[91] E.g., MMA 20.3.13*;* Winlock *Models of Daily Life in Ancient Egypt*, pls 9-12.
[92] Gorman-Evans, *The Ancient Egyptian Soul Houses in the Collection of the Ashmolean Museum*, 51-9.
[93] Gorman-Evans, *The Ancient Egyptian Soul Houses in the Collection of the Ashmolean Museum,* 52-3.
[94] Gorman-Evans, *The Ancient Egyptian Soul Houses in the Collection of the Ashmolean Museum*; Kemp, *Ancient Egypt*, 152.
[95] Gorman-Evans, *The Ancient Egyptian Soul Houses in the Collection of the Ashmolean Museum*, 54.
[96] Bourriau *Fitzwilliam Museum: Umm El-Ga'ab,* 119; Gorman-Evans, *The Ancient Egyptian Soul Houses in the Collection of the Ashmolean Museum*, 54.

were intended to be miniaturised ritual spaces rather than figurative domestic courtyards.

3.2. Funerary connotations

The lack of internal rooms inside earlier soul houses and the presence of elaborate columned façades incorporated into the superstructures do not resemble Middle Kingdom domestic buildings in the archaeological record.[97] Therefore, as argued by Leclère, who compares soul houses to rock-cut tombs at Upper and Middle Egyptian sites, to decipher their use and significance it is essential to look at the surrounding context of the soul houses, especially when they are placed within a funerary landscape.[98]

The uniqueness of the Rifeh sample may actually reflect the local funerary landscape. The fact that they have been found upon shaft-tombs may reflect a process of miniaturisation of ritualised space by the rural population. These objects differ from pottery offering trays in other sites, which have been found in the burial chamber itself. Most soul houses in the current sample are heavily worn on the surface, with upper storeys missing and also a discoloration of surface treatments, indicating that they were exposed to the elements. Pottery offering trays are slightly better preserved, indicating a slightly different function to soul houses.

New towns emerged within settings deprived of connotations to previous sacred spaces.[99] Traditions from the Old Kingdom blended with new influences, local styles mixed with royal, standardised designs. Local towns and settlements grew in importance, such as Qaw el-Kebir, Deir Rifa, Asyut, Mir, Deir el-Bersha, Beni Hasan.[100] That aspects of Middle Kingdom tombs influenced the design of offering tables becomes evident through a comparison between soul houses and rock-cut tombs and their respective courtyards. For example, in the rows of elite rock-cut tombs at Beni Hasan, every tomb has a small square courtyard below ground level, reached by a stairway.[101] Most tombs in the Upper Cemetery at Beni Hasan were accessed through a causeway. The offering tray (*E3253*) from Beni Hasan in the Manchester Museum, UK has a shape similar to the 'Upper Cemetery' tombs at Beni Hasan and includes elaborate façades, with pillars and small covered spaces leading to internal offering chapels and then further into underground burial chambers.[102] There are similar tomb structures at Asyut and Rifeh, as well as at Kahun and Lisht.[103] Less elaborate graves were constituted by 'shaft tombs', cut into the bedrock vertically during the Middle Kingdom.[104] Several soul houses and pottery offering trays have been found in the vicinity of shaft tombs.[105] Such soul houses and trays may not only be considered as miniature representations of 'houses for the *k3*' but could also have been used as centrepieces in ritual spaces, similar to those in front of elite tombs.

According to Leclère, the presence of staircases, terraces, and seats cannot only be given a domestic interpretation but may also mirror funerary architecture at Middle Kingdom necropoleis and mortuary complexes.[106] Elite tombs such as that of Montuhotep at Deir el Bahari may have multiple storeys and cenotaphs, which become more frequent in the Middle Kingdom and have a similar shape to the shelters incorporated on offering trays.[107] Soul houses and pottery trays may therefore mimic funerary architecture, which may have been inspired by domestic households and in particular those of the elite. It is therefore impossible to make a distinction between the two.

The presence of figurines within soul houses and offering trays may also be interpreted as fixtures within a funerary setting rather than representations of daily life, as would be the case in wooden models. Offering trays in the 'tomb form' or 'altar form' may reflect the interpretations offered by Leclère[108] for soul houses as tomb structures. 'Altar form' trays are the second most frequent trays present in the sample and have generally been found in Middle and Lower Egyptian sites, rather than in Upper Egyptian regions.

'Tomb form' trays[109] are usually divided into sections with an area designated for offerings and another may have a covered area resembling a shrine. This form occurs in most contexts since they are usually combined with other forms, especially 'Horseshoe' types. The combination of forms may indicate a multifunctional nature of offering trays and soul houses. It is difficult to give these representations one single interpretation, but the most plausible appears to be that these objects reflect-

[97] Spence, in Aston *et al.* (eds), *Under the potter's tree*, 897; Hayes, *The Sceptre of Egypt*, vol. I, 255-57.
[98] Leclère, in Muller (ed.), «*Maquettes architecturales*», 98.
[99] Arnold, in Oppenheim *et al.* (eds), *Ancient Egypt Transformed*, 17-22.
[100] Arnold, in Oppenheim *et al.* (eds), *Ancient Egypt Transformed*, 17-22.
[101] Snape, *Ancient Egyptian Tombs*, 148-65; Lundius, *Distant Worlds Journal* 4, figs 8, 89.
[102] Lundius *Distant Worlds Journal* 4, figs 7, 88.
[103] Snape, *Ancient Egyptian Tombs*, 148-65.
[104] Garstang, *The Burial Customs of Ancient Egypt*, 16-17, 47-8, 65; Arnold, *Middle Kingdom Tomb Architecture at Lisht*, 13.
[105] Petrie, *Gizeh and Rifeh*, 14.
[106] Leclère, in Muller (ed.), «*Maquettes architecturales*», 112-13.
[107] Leclère, in Muller (ed.), «*Maquettes architecturales*», 112-15.
[108] Leclère, in Muller (ed.), «*Maquettes architecturales*», 115.
[109] See Gebelein and Asyut Type II examples at the Museo Egizio Torino in Mi, *Rivista del Museo Egizio* 4.

ed processing sites together with more funerary fixtures and architectural elements, representing the liminal aspects of the funerary cult. While discussing 'liminality' and 'seclusion' in relation to design and depictions of offering trays and soul houses, it might be assumed that if they depict a rural reality, they may also mirror concerns for cleanliness and order. Processing sites, in particular those connected with slaughter, were 'impure' and messy and thus probably had to be kept apart from domestic, and especially sacred areas.

A total of four soul houses/offering trays contain a figurine, while ten pottery offering trays and five soul houses contain an empty seat or chair. A seated individual, such as the one present in the 'boat-shaped' soul house with an unknown provenance in the ÄM Berlin (see Figs 8-9) as well as empty seats, or thrones, may represent *kꜣ*-statues or stelae and therefore a central, liminal space where the offerings were placed, and funerary rituals were performed. They may even reflect funerary offering scenes depicted on tomb walls.[110] Seats are also often protected by a covering or placed inside the portico of the structure at the opposite end of the spout. According to Leclère, the fact that these seats are placed in semi-hidden and protected areas and positioned facing the offerings in the courtyard, indicates their interpretation as *kꜣ*-statues to be imbued with the *kꜣ* of the deceased.[111]

There are, however, several examples of figurines of individuals performing certain activities within the internal spaces or even interacting with the offerings in the courtyard. In a pottery offering tray at the British Museum an individual is depicted as pouring out of what seems to be an amphora or *ḥs*-vase, while being surrounded by various meat cuts in the 'courtyard' area of the tray.[112] A seat is also present inside a semi-covered area at the opposite end of the tray. This may be a representation of ritual action performed in the 'active' parts of the tray, while the seat represents the hidden and inert spaces of the tomb context. Another example is a two-storey soul house at the Ashmolean Museum in Oxford (see Fig. 10), where the figurine of an individual grinding grain or baking bread is positioned under the staircase, facing away from the courtyard area, towards the internal structures. This is also a representation of processing activities in the forecourt of the building, although it may no longer represent an act of offering. Similarly, there is a unique example at the ÄM, which in the form of a 'boat-shaped' soul house represents an

Figs 8-9 – Two fragmented 'boat-shaped' soul houses (ÄM 34488/34490, Berlin). Photographs by author, 2017

Fig. 10 – Detail of a soul house from Deir Rifeh (AN 1896-1908 E.3904 Ashmolean Museum, Oxford). Photograph by author, 2017

[110] See Altenmüller, *Die Texte zum Begräbnisritual in den pyramiden des Alten Reiches*, 106-8, 193-4.
[111] Leclère, in Muller (ed.), «*Maquettes architecturales*», 107, 112-5.
[112] E.g., BM EA 22782.

individual in the upper level of the house, inside what must have been hidden rooms, lying on his side in a relaxed stance (see Fig. 9). This may be an indication of Spence's theory of houses being spaces intended for the comfort of the deceased,[113] which may also be evidenced by the presence of beds in numerous soul houses at Deir Rifeh. However, Leclère argues that the presence of beds in soul houses may also be representations of the funerary barge, or even miniature sarcophagi.[114]

The interpretation of soul houses and offering trays as miniature tomb chapels may be contradicted by examples found within domestic settings. There is an emphasis on the ability to control, inhabit and receive offerings within these miniaturised objects.[115] The representation of offerings in soul houses may be a reminder for the household to carry out commemorative rituals dedicated to their dead. Possible examples of this can be found on soul houses from Buhen, Uronati, Mirgissa and possibly Kahun.[116] The funerary cult was linked to the physical tomb and outer ritual space which must have been difficult to access for rural populations and towns affected by political instability during the Intermediate Periods, causing large groups to migrate.[117] Furthermore, political instability and military campaigns led to the construction of forts along important borders, manned by soldiers and administrators who often brought their families with them. As summarised in the following statement by Spence, offering tables are highly versatile in their role as ritual utensils: '*The occasional example of what appears to be an offering table may equally derive from the function of the objects as miniature offering places rather than necessarily be intended to tie the shelter to ritual enclosure*'.[118]

4. Ritual Use, Context, and Religious Connotations

The ritual use and religious connotations behind First Intermediate Period and Middle Kingdom offering trays and soul houses can only be deciphered by considering their provenance as well as their original archaeological context. Although these objects are usually not provided with an exact context and provenance, mostly due to their portability and being made of perishable material, the few which have been found in context show a significant variation in their placement and accordingly their role in funerary ritual practice.

Soul houses are usually more worn when compared to pottery offering trays, especially when it comes to surface discoloration and damage caused by seasonal weathering (see Table 4). The reason behind this may be the original placement of the objects within the funerary landscape. Even though the exact placement of soul houses has not been well documented during early excavations, Petrie did generally comment on the placement of soul houses at Deir Rifeh.[119] They were most commonly placed in the vicinity of shaft tombs, usually at the north end with the spout facing the opening of the shaft.[120] This clearly indicates their use as a point of interaction, or liminal place, between the living and the dead, similar to that of offering tables placed in liminal places within the tomb complex. The fact that they were placed outside over shaft tombs made soul houses more prone to displacement and also significant weathering and breakage.

Wear	Offering Tray	Soul Houses
1. none	0	0
2. some	11	2
3. medium	49	7
4. significant	29	12
5. fragmented	6	8
TOTAL	89	29

Table 4 – Classification of states of conservation of the offering trays and soul houses present in the sample

The direct relationship of soul houses with their surrounding landscape is of great significance and also unique in the archaeological record. Funerary utensils and fixtures are usually placed within the tomb structure itself and rarely found outside, indicating their central role in funerary ritual practice. They also differ in this sense to their wooden counterparts, since these are often found inside the tomb itself together with the deceased, or in an adjacent chamber.[121] It is therefore valid to assess these objects in relation to the landscape and the rural population who made them.

As described earlier, the 150 soul houses found at Deir Rifeh are a unique assemblage in the archaeological record. An interpretation offered for their uniqueness is described by Spence, who claims that these houses emphasize certain funerary rituals identified in the Coffin Texts concerning wind, air, and breathing.[122] Several Coffin Text spells describe the deceased needing to breathe

[113] Spence, in Aston *et al.* (eds), *Under the potter's tree*, 906-8.
[114] Leclère, in Muller (ed.), «*Maquettes architecturales*», 115.
[115] Spence, in Aston *et al.* (eds), *Under the potter's tree*, 907.
[116] Leclère, in Muller (ed.), «*Maquettes architecturales*», 102.
[117] Spence, in Aston *et al.* (eds), *Under the potter's tree*, 908-9.
[118] Spence, in Aston *et al.* (eds), *Under the potter's tree*, 910.
[119] Petrie, *Gizeh and Rifeh*,14-15.
[120] Petrie, *Gizeh and Rifeh*, 14-15; Lundius, *Distant Worlds Journal* 4, 89-90.
[121] See Tooley, *Middle Kingdom Burial Customs*, 77, 300.
[122] Spence, in Aston *et al.* (eds), *Under the potter's tree*, 902-3.

in the afterlife and the need for 'domestic comfort':[123] '*SPELL FOR HAVING POWER OVER THE WINDS. The mouth of my open nostril is in Djedu, my offerings are in On, this house of mine is built by Seshat, Khnum has sat on its parapets. If the weather comes as the north-wind, I will sit to the south of it (...) I blow my nose (?), which is opened up at the place where I wish to dwell*'.[124] This spell is clearly related to the Opening of the Mouth ritual intended to restore all the senses to the deceased, or his statue. Spence claims that the *mulqafs*, airy porticos, as well as features present for libation and the storage of water are all for capturing the winds and air as well as water for the benefit of the deceased.[125] Air is hard to represent in offerings and may not only be represented by offering incense, therefore the *mulqafs* and other architectural elements may represent the natural element of air. With the combination of earth and water via liquid libations stored in basins and directed towards the external spouts, and air captured by these architectural elements, soul houses function as stone offering tables, attempting to combine numerous elements into one whole.

What relates the use of soul houses to that of offering trays is the pouring of liquids over them, evidenced via the presence of canals and basins, as well as external spout structures. Thirty out of forty-four Middle Kingdom offering trays in the sample have a significant internal inclination towards the spout end, indicating the need for the water to exit the table as fast as possible and not remain in the canal or basin features incorporated in the sunken area of the trays. The water was meant to be poured over the offerings and then flow into basins and canals to be led into the shaft, reaching the deceased buried below. If the object was votive, or placed inside the burial chamber, however, it may previously have been used during the funerary ritual, or even within a domestic context to be buried with the deceased.

Religious connotations behind the iconographic elements in the offering trays and soul houses are essentially Osirian, in the sense that they stress the rejuvenative qualities of water and a direct link to the seasonal changes of the Nile and the insurance of the recurrence of the black, fertile Nile banks. One example of these rejuvenative qualities is the representation of reproductive organs or elements of fertility on pottery offering trays. Eleven pottery offering trays in the sample may present the following reproductive elements: phallic representation, ovaries, and the birthing canal (see Figs 11-12). Such organic elements may be linked to the Opening of the Mouth ritual,[126] since they may resemble the *pšf*-knife used in childbirth, as well as the birthing canal itself, as depicted by the frequent canal formation 'qꜥ'.[127] All these elements combined with the symbolic connotations evidenced by the use and representations of the calf's leg, as well as other symbolic representations of sustenance, not to mention the wind-catchers in soul houses, are all correlated to the rejuvenation of the deceased. The ritual act of pouring water over these elements activates them, and the spouts lead these 'active' liquids to the deceased.[128]

5. Conclusions

Generally, soul houses are no longer produced in significant numbers after the end of the Middle Kingdom[129]. The reason behind this disappearance in the archaeological record may be due to their steady replacement by more elaborate wooden models placed inside the tomb chamber, together with the emergence of ushabti and models of daily life.[130] These models may have had similar connotations to soul houses in the sense that they may more literally reflect processing sites, which may in turn reflect a change in funerary ritual practice. These types of funerary utensils start to become more present in sealed off areas inside the tomb, while the only object that fundamentally maintains a similar ritual practice is that of stone offering tables placed in liminal areas, as well as the pottery offering trays.

The combinations with ritual fixtures, such as cenotaphs, representations of the *kꜣ* and tomb facades, allude to their surrounding landscape and their use as place-markers for the dead. Since they are usually not inscribed,[131] the fact that they represent 'places' may in fact attest to the agency and individuality of the person(s) to whom the object was dedicated. They are, therefore, also personal, and memorial acts of the living. This explains why offering trays have also been found in domestic contexts – they create a ritual space for the living to honour the dead as an ancestral cult in the domestic setting. Although pottery trays and soul houses slightly differ in both appearance and function, it remains clear

[123] Spence, in Aston *et al.* (eds), *Under the potter's tree*, 902-4.
[124] CT 355 in Faulkner, *The Ancient Egyptian Coffin Texts*, vol. II, 1; see also Willems, *The Coffin of Heqata,* 259-62.
[125] Spence, in Aston *et al.* (eds), *Under the potter's tree*, 903.
[126] See Roth, *JEA* 78.
[127] E.g., UC 38982 UCL Petrie Museum; see examples from Gebelein in Mi, *Rivista del Museo Egizio* 4, 110-11.
[128] For the sacramental explanation of the water process see Assmann, *Death and Salvation*, 355-68.
[129] Leclère, in Muller (ed.), «*Maquettes architecturales*», 120.
[130] Leclère, in Muller (ed.), «*Maquettes architecturales*», 117-19.
[131] There are few known examples of inscribed pottery offering trays/soul houses. For an example of an offering tray with an inscription of an offering formula see Kilian, in Kahl *et al.* (eds), *Asyut, Tomb III: Objects,* 174.

Fig. 11 – Offering tray from Deir el-Ballas (E4529 Manchester Museum). Photograph by author, 2017

Fig. 12 - Offering tray from Elkab (AN 1896-1908 E.2095 Ashmolean Museum, Oxford). Photograph by author, 2017

that they are indeed multifunctional and may be more elaborate than stone offering tables, which sometimes only depict one ritual element intended to provide libations for the deceased. As outlined by Leclère, offering trays and soul houses can serve as offering tables, plates for the placement of offerings, tomb epitaphs or markers, the deceased's dwelling, or ideal household, production sites, or simple houses for the *k3*.[132]

[132] Leclère, in Muller (ed.), «*Maquettes architecturales»,* 117.

The outer spaces on pottery offering trays and soul houses may be thought of as processing sites rather than simply being plates of offerings or ritualised areas. They are sites of active elements such as water, air, earth, whilst the internal space, or closed-off areas in the upper half of the table furthest away from the spout structure were reserved for the inert, dark, and hidden quarters of the deceased. Processing may include slaughtering, gardening as well as cereal processing. Like stone offering tables, pottery offering trays and soul houses depict numerous types of bread, cuts of meat, fowl, vegetables, while at the same time they may through their imagery, shape, and renderings be even more universal, since they represent the actual processing sites needed to acquire these products. Gardening units, butchering areas, potstands, trees, winnowing baskets, granaries, irrigation systems and reproductive systems are all essentially 'active' sites of production. They are even more 'powerful' than the products represented on stone offering tables. Therefore, these objects are also present inside burial chambers and in the same tomb as stone offering tables. They represent the entire household which stands behind the deceased in constant provision of sustenance as they did in daily life.

List of Cited Offering Tables/Trays/Soul Houses

- CG 1330, Egyptian Museum in Cairo (in Borchardt, *Denkmäler des Alten Reiches*, 14, Blatt 5) (see Fig. 1);
- E 4374 Manchester Museum (unpublished, examined in museum);
- E 3078, Manchester Museum (unpublished, examined in museum) (see Fig. 4);
- S. 11960, Museo Egizio Torino (Montaniti, *Rivista del Museo Egizio* 2, 11, fig. 9);
- MMA 20.3.11, MET New York (online catalogue, examined in museum);
- E6929, Garstang Museum Liverpool (examined in museum) (see Fig. 5);
- UC 18269 Petrie Museum UCL (online catalogue, examined in museum);
- F 1901/9.120, RMO Leiden (online catalogue, examined in museum) (see Pl. XLVIII);
- E.15.1950 Fitzwilliam Museum Cambridge (examined in museum) (see Pl. XLIX);
- A II-0236 (in Legros, *Stratégies mémorielles,* figs 14, 93) (see Fig. 6);
- E4383, Manchester Museum (examined in museum);
- 07.550 MFA in Boston (online catalogue, examined in museum);

- MMA 20.3.13 MET New York (online catalogue, examined in museum);
- F 1901/1.62 RMO Leiden (online catalogue, examined in museum) (see Pl. L);
- ÄM 34488/34490 ÄM Berlin (unpublished, examined in museum) (see Figs 8-9);
- AN1896-1908 E.3904 Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, UK (online catalogue, examined in museum) (see Fig. 10);
- UC 38982 Petrie Museum UCL (online catalogue, examined in museum);
- 4529 Manchester Museum (unpublished, examined in museum) (see Fig. 11);
- AN1896-1908 E.2095 Ashmolean Museum, Oxford (examined in museum) (see Fig. 12)

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Seven Oyster Shells at the Egyptian Museum Cairo (CG 12825-12829, JE 28320 and JE 91753)

Ahmed M. Mekawy Ouda

Abstract

In this paper, the author will explore seven oyster shells at the Egyptian Museum Cairo (CG 12825-12829, JE 28320, JE 91753). CG 12825-12829 and JE 28320 were moved recently to the Grand Egyptian Museum. The author aims at reconstructing the archaeological context for these shells looking at the method and date of acquisition, especially comparing the recent excavations by the Spanish mission of the University of Jaén at Qubbet el-Hawa, that revealed an intact burial (QH34bb) from the Middle Kingdom, containing an oyster shell with the royal throne name of Kheperkare. This discovery throws new light on the chronology, gender of owners and their social position, the archaeological context and function of these oyster shells.

The Egyptian Mxuseum in Cairo keeps seven oyster shells (CG 12825-12829, JE 28320 and JE 91753).[1] Six were moved recently to the Grand Egyptian Museum in Cairo (CG 12825-12829 and JE 28320). Reisner in the '*Catalogue Général*' provided rough drawings for the cartouches of three (CG 12826-12827, 12829), an outline of CG 12825 without the cartouche and gave a very low-resolution black and white image for CG 12828.[2] They came from different archaeological sites including Qau (CG 12828), Abydos (CG 12829), Koptos (JE 28320), Aswan (CG 12825, JE 91753), or unknown provenance (CG 12826, CG 12827). The ones with known provenance did not come from documented excavations, so the archaeological context of these is missing, with the exception of JE 91753 which came from Qubbet el-Hawa (QH207) and was found by the mission of the University of Bonn in 1969. The recent excavations by the Spanish mission of the University of Jaén at Qubbet el-Hawa (QH34bb) also found an intact burial chamber containing an oyster shell with the throne name of Kheperkare.[3] Most of the shells were acquired in the late nineteenth century (CG 12825,

[1] The Cairo Museum kept JE 36398 with the birth name of King Senwosret I, but it was moved recently to the Nubian Museum in Aswan: Mekawy Ouda, *BIFAO* 119, 263-4 n. 26, 270, fig. 3; *cf*. Winlock, in Glanville (ed.), *Studies presented to F. Ll. Griffith*, 391 (1), pl. 62 (a, c). This article is the third in my project on the subject of the 'Middle Kingdom oyster shells', which I initiated a few years ago, publishing two articles in *BIFAO* 119 and *CdE* 94/187 on the oyster shells which are kept at the Metropolitan Museum of Art (MMA 23.2.76a) from Gebelein and those kept in Jerusalem and Liverpool (Israel Museum Jerusalem 76.19.198, National Museums Liverpool, World Museum 1977.110.1) from Esna.

[2] Reisner, *Amulets*, vol. II, 38-9, pls 10 and 25 [12828]; see also Winlock, in Glanville (ed.), *Studies presented to F. Ll. Griffith*, 391-2, pl. 62 (a-c). He overlapped the images of two objects (CG JE 28320 and JE 36398): Winlock, in Glanville (ed.), *Studies presented to F. Ll. Griffith*, 391-2, pl. 62 (a, c).

[3] Jiménez-Serrano *et al*. *BAEE* 26, 35-7; Jiménez-Serrano, Sánchez-León, *Le premier Nome du sud de l'Egypte au Moyen Empire*, 35, 61-2, 66-7, 70-1. They refer to 'the oyster shell' as 'une amulette portant le nom de Sésostris I'.

Fig. 1a – CG 12826 (JE 29272, GEM 12812) © photograph by Sameh Abd el-Mohsin

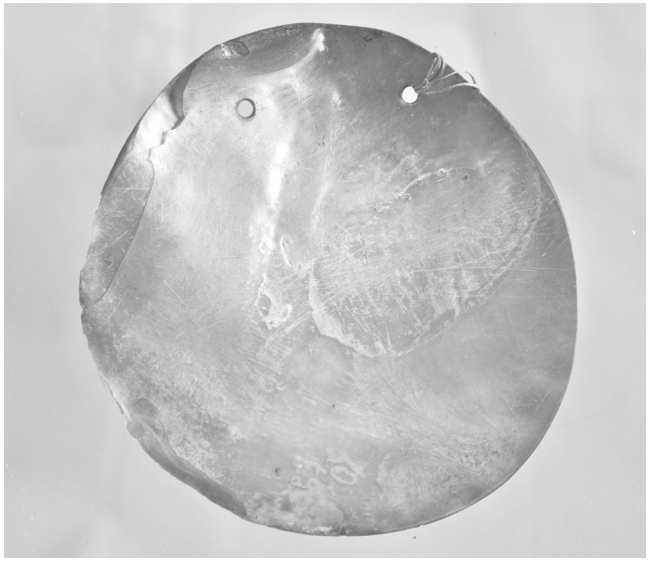

Fig. 1b – CG 12826 (JE 29272, GEM 12812) © photograph by Sameh Abd el-Mohsin

Fig. 2a – CG 12828 (JE 31261, GEM 12832) © photograph by Sameh Abd el-Mohsin

Fig. 2b – CG 12828 (JE 31261, GEM 12832) © photograph by Sameh Abd el-Mohsin

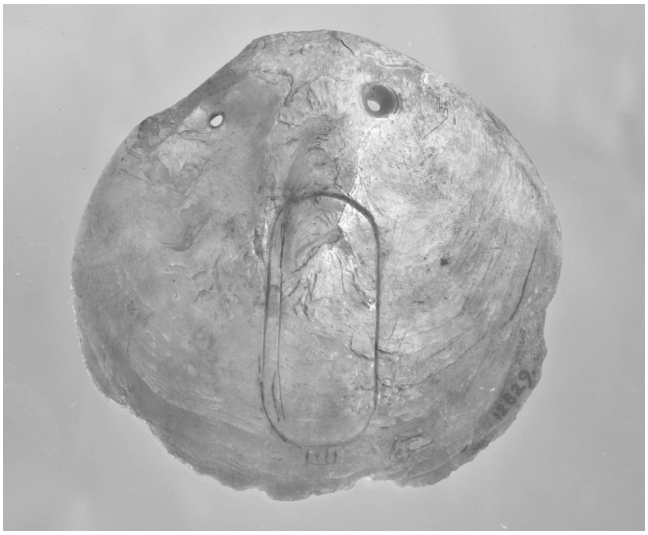

Fig. 3a – CG 12829 (GEM 12844) © photograph by Sameh Abd el-Mohsin

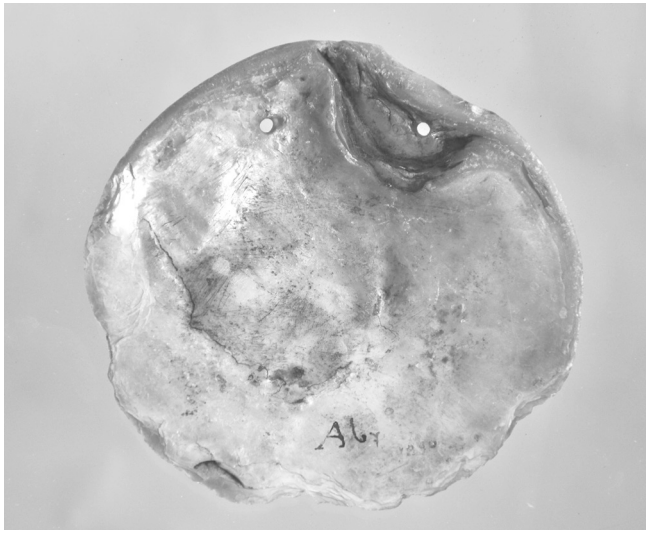

Fig. 3b – CG 12829 (GEM 12844) © photograph by Sameh Abd el-Mohsin

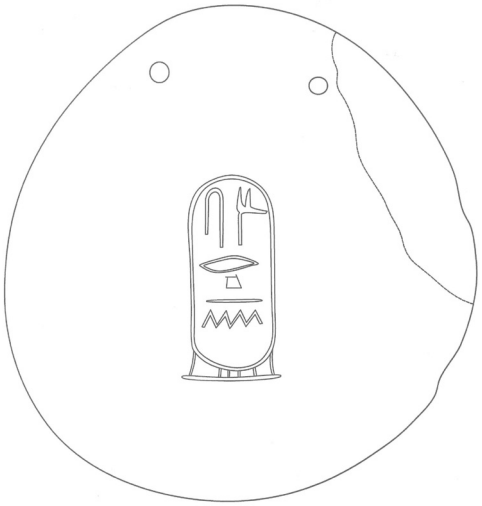

Fig. 1c – CG 12826 (JE 29272, GEM 12812) © drawing by Mostafa Nagdy

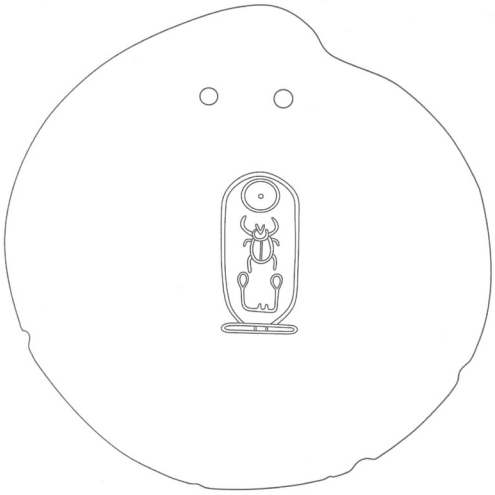

Fig. 2c – CG 12828 (JE 31261, GEM 12832) © drawing by Mostafa Nagdy

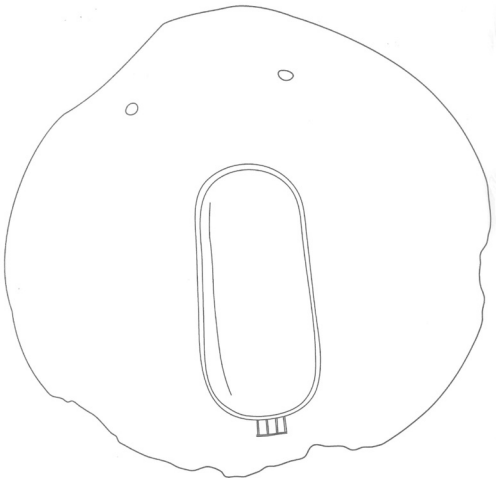

Fig. 3c – CG 12829 (GEM 12844) © drawing by Mostafa Nagdy

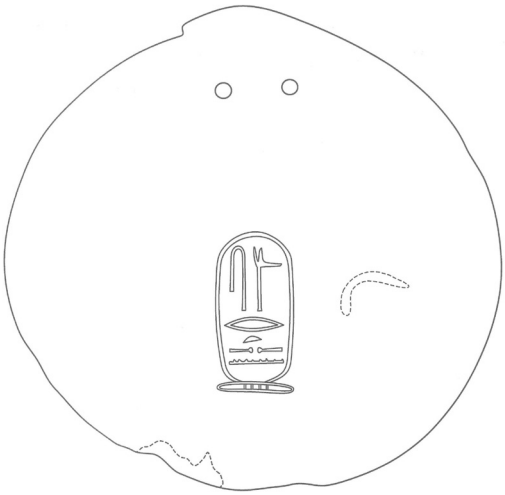

Fig. 4 – CG 12825 (JE 30381, GEM 12817) © drawing by Mostafa Nagdy

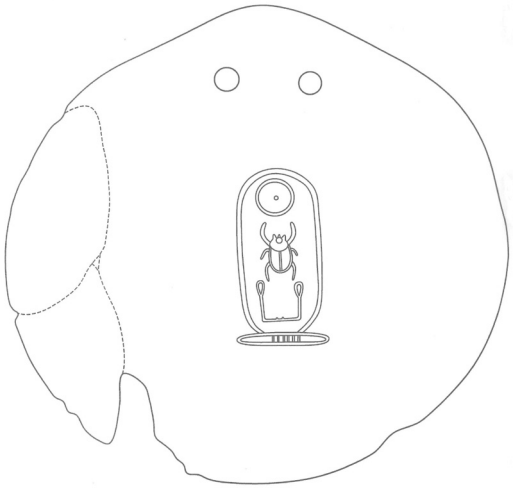

Fig. 5 – CG 12827 (GEM 12824) © drawing by Mostafa Nagdy

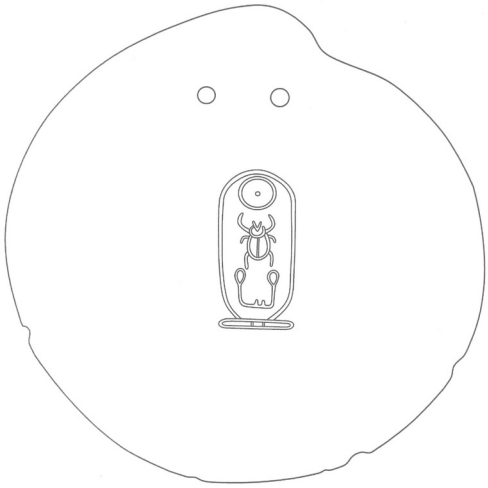

Fig. 6 – JE 28320 (GEM 3767) © drawing by Mostafa Nagdy

CG 12826, CG 12828, CG 12829), but the date of acquisition of CG 12827 and JE 28320 is unknown. The method of acquisition for the objects with '*Catalogue Général*' numbers is unknown. JE 28320 was bought and JE 91753 came from known excavations as aforementioned. Three shells are incised with the throne name Kheperkare (CG 12827, CG 12828, JE 28320), while two bear the birth name of the King Senwosret (CG 12825, CG 12826) inside a vertical cartouche on the outer convex surface of the shell, reading from right to left. Two shells (CG 12829, JE 91753) do not have a royal name, but they do have an incised empty vertical cartouche. The frame of the empty cartouche on JE 91753 is very faint, while CG 12829 shows an early trial for cutting a cartouche further to the right, as there is a straight line inside the current well-defined cartouche. All the cartouches are incised almost at the centre of the outer convex surface of the shells.[4] All of these shells are pierced with two holes at the hinge for suspension with the exception of JE 91753 which is pierced with three holes. CG 12825 and CG 12828 retain remains of blue pigment filling the frame of the cartouche and the incised hieroglyphs.[5] It is clearly visible on CG 12828, but the traces of blue pigment on CG 12825 are more difficult to discern. This has been examined by visual inspection and needs further microscopic analysis. However, a colleague, Anna Serotta, Associate Conservator at the Metropolitan Museum of Art New York, kindly helped using Visible-Induced Infrared Luminescence (VIL) Imaging on two out of the three oyster shells (MMA 23.2.76a, MMA 22.1.63, MMA 61.104)[6] which are kept at the museum. It was thought that they would be found to contain blue pigment.[7] She reported that:[8]

> 'I just imaged the shells (MMA 61.104, MMA 23.2.76a). There are a couple of stray particles of Egyptian blue on the interior of one (MMA 61.104), but they are around the edges and likely just particles that migrated from the Egyptian blue inlay on the front'[9]

The rest of the shells at the Egyptian Museum Cairo do not show any remains of pigment. These oyster shells, *Avicula (Meleagrina) margaritacea*, came from the Red Sea.[10] They show signs of marine erosion and limestone periostracum deposits on the surface of the shells.[11] The marine erosion, arborescent damage, and sand worms are clear on CG 12825, CG 12828, JE 28320, JE 91753. These oyster shells themselves also provide evidence for Egyptian activities in the Red Sea during the Middle Kingdom and reflect the significant impact of the Red Sea expeditions on Egyptian crafts, providing the raw material, *i.e.* oyster shells in this case,[12] which were reproduced.[13]

CG 12825 (JE 30381, GEM 12817) (see Fig. 4; Pls LI-LII)

This shell measures 12.1 x 12.3 cm. It was acquired in 1893,[14] but the method of acquisition is unknown. It is rounded and in a good condition, but it is slightly chipped and hacked at the bottom of the outer surface. The space between the two pierced holes at the hinge of the shell is 1.3 cm. A vertical cartouche with the birth name of King Senwosret is incised at the centre of the outer convex surface (5.1 cm from the right and 5.2 cm from the left). The hieroglyphic signs of the name of the king are well-cut. The big mark of a sand worm is left on the left side of the cartouche. In the location between the cartouche and the two holes, arborescent damage spreads. The loop of the cartouche has four vertical strokes.[15] The chipped edges of this shell are shown clearly from inside. It is also almost full of dark stains and linen imprints which cover much of the rest of the shell from inside, indicating funerary use, and that it was resting on the chest of the mummy.[16] In support of this point of view, Reisner, when he examined this shell reported that there were 'traces of mummy cloth (=linen) clinging to outside' of the shell,[17] but recent examination at the Cairo Museum indicates that they are no longer attached to the shell.

[4] *Cf.* Mekawy Ouda, *BIFAO* 119, 260; Winlock, in Glanville (ed.), *Studies presented to F. Ll. Griffith*, 389.
[5] Mekawy Ouda, *BIFAO* 119, 261; Winlock, in Glanville (ed.), *Studies presented to F. Ll. Griffith*, 389.
[6] Quirke, *Birth Tusks,* 94; Mekawy Ouda, *BIFAO* 119, 260-2, 265, 268; Winlock, in Glanville (ed.), *Studies presented to F. Ll. Griffith*, 391 [8-9]. I did not observe any traces of pigment on MMA 22.1.63, so it was excluded from the analysis.
[7] Mekawy Ouda, *BIFAO* 119, 262.
[8] I am very grateful to my colleague, Janice Kamrin, Associate Curator at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, for facilitating the analysis.
[9] MMA 61.104.
[10] Winlock, in Glanville (ed.), *Studies presented to F. Ll. Griffith*, 389, n. 1; Aldred, *JEA* 38, 131; Manzo, *ÄuL* 21, 71.
[11] *Cf.* Mekawy Ouda, *BIFAO* 119, 261.
[12] Manzo, *ÄuL* 21, 71-2.
[13] Mekawy Ouda, *BIFAO* 119, 261.
[14] Winlock, in Glanville (ed.), *Studies presented to F. Ll. Griffith*, 392 (18).
[15] Mekawy Ouda, *BIFAO* 119, 260, n. 2.
[16] Mekawy Ouda, *BIFAO* 119, 261-2, n. 16, 270, fig. 1.
[17] Reisner, *Amulets*, vol. II, 38 (12825), pl. 10; *cf.* Mekawy Ouda, *BIFAO* 119, 270, fig. 1.

CG 12826 (JE 29272, GEM 12812) (see Fig. 1a-c)

This shell measures 11.3 x 10.8 cm. The method of acquisition is unknown and the only provenance given in the '*Catalogue Général*' of the Egyptian Museum Cairo is that it came from Upper Egypt in 1891. This shell has a crack on its left side, though it is in good condition. A cartouche with the birth name, Senwosret, is incised on the outer convex surface of the shell, reading from right to left.[18] The hieroglyphs look poor and rough. The lower part inside the cartouche has been left blank as there is no good distribution for the signs. This raises the question about the originality of the inscription and whether it was made locally or was added recently

Even the loop of the cartouche is very strange and does not have parallels among the set of shells which I have collected.[19] Two holes were pierced near the hinge for suspension. The space between the two holes is 3.2 cm which is odd as well, compared to the set. The surface of the shell still retains periostracum, thin organic coating of the shell. The shell from inside shows marks of funerary use, represented in the dark stains which were removed intentionally by a hard tool. The left side from inside is hacked.

CG 12827 (GEM 12824) (see Fig. 5; Pls LIII-LIV)

This shell measures 10.9 x 11.3 cm. The provenance and the date and method of acquisition are unknown.[20] It is well-polished and rounded, but it is cracked on the right side. Two fragmentary pieces were restored, and a section was lost at the bottom right side. A vertical cartouche with the royal throne name, Kheperkare, is incised on the outer convex surface of the shell.[21] The hieroglyphic signs are well-cut. The cartouche is located at 5.4 cm from the right and 4.3 cm from the left side of the shell. The loop of the cartouche has six vertical strokes. Two holes were pierced near the hinge of the shell for suspension. The space between the two holes is 1.4 cm. This shell shows marks of funerary use from the inside, as it has dark stains and imprints of linen are discernible on the top and the right side.

CG 12828 (JE 31261, GEM 12832) (see Fig. 2a-c)

This shell measures 11.6 x 11.8 cm. The date of acquisition is in 1895. However, the method of acquisition is unknown. Reisner listed that it came possibly from Qau or Tunah.[22] It is very well-preserved and well-polished and rounded, though it is chipped slightly on the left side. The chipped edge may indicate discernible use-wear. A vertical cartouche with the royal throne name, Kheperkare, is incised on the outer convex surface of this shell. The cartouche is located at 4.7 cm from the right and 4.3 cm from the left side. The loop of the cartouche is incised with four strokes.[23] The hieroglyphic signs are well-cut. There are remains of blue pigment filling the incised signs. Two holes were pierced near the hinge of the shell for suspension. The space between the two holes is 1.2 cm. Sea erosion and sand worm marks spread around the right hole on the outer convex surface. The shell shows marks on the inside of funerary use.

Tunah is not likely for the provenance of this oyster shell; Qau el-Kebir, the capital of the 10th nome of Upper Egypt, could be more likely, as the local governors were buried there in rock-cut tombs from the Twelfth Dynasty.[24]

CG 12829 (GEM 12844) (see Fig. 3a-c)

This oyster shell measures 9.7 x 10.6 cm. It came from Abydos. The date of acquisition is in 1890.[25] However, the method of acquisition is unknown. This shell suffers from damage. The edge is chipped, especially at the bottom making the cartouche very close to the lower edge. An unfinished and empty vertical cartouche is incised on the outer convex surface of the shell.[26] There was an early trial for cutting the cartouche further to the left, as there is a straight line inside the current cartouche. The location of the cartouche is at 4.2 cm from the right and 4 cm from the left side. The loop of the cartouche has four vertical strokes.[27] Two holes are pierced at the hinge for suspension. The space between the two holes is 3 cm. The name Abydos is written in ink inside the shell which indicates the place where this pendant shell was found or bought. It is chipped heav-

[18] Reisner, *Amulets*, vol. II, 39, pl. 10; Winlock, in Glanville (ed.), *Studies presented to F. Ll. Griffith*, 391 (17).
[19] I have collected 59 oyster shells adding to the previous group (Mekawy Ouda, *BIFAO* 119, 263, n. 23), the one which was found by the Spanish mission with the name of Kheperkare and presented in the Congress of Egyptology Cairo 2019, Cairo Museum JE 91753, and a badly preserved one with the name of the King Senwosret I at Sohag Museum no. 198 from el-Raqaqna in Girga (Abouseteit, *SAK* 48, 23-33, taf. 1).
[20] Winlock, in Glanville (ed.), *Studies presented to F. Ll. Griffith*, 391 (2).
[21] Reisner, *Amulets*, vol. II, 39, pl. 10.
[22] Reisner, *Amulets*, vol. II, 39, pl. 25; Winlock, in Glanville (ed.), *Studies presented to F. Ll. Griffith*, 391 (3), pl. 62 (b).
[23] Mekawy Ouda, *BIFAO* 119, 260 n. 2.
[24] Grajetzki, in Wendrich (ed.), *UCLA Encyclopedia of Egyptology*, 4-7.
[25] Winlock, in Glanville (ed.), *Studies presented to F. Ll. Griffith*, 392 (29).
[26] Winlock, in Glanville (ed.), *Studies presented to F. Ll. Griffith*, 392 (29); Reisner, *Amulets*, vol. II, 39; Yamamoto, in Oppenheim *et al.* (eds), *Ancient Egypt Transformed*, 169, n. 2.
[27] *Cf.* CG 12825, above.

ily which may indicate use-wear.[28] The inside of the shell also shows signs of funerary use, as dark stains and linen imprints cover the inside of the shell.

Another oyster shell, housed at the Fitzwilliam Museum Cambridge (E.270.1932), is said to come from Abydos,[29] but there is no archaeological context.

JE 28320 (GEM 3767) (see Fig. 6; Pls LV-LVI)

This oyster shell measures 11.2 x 11.3 cm. According to the museum's database, this shell came from Coptos/Qift. It was purchased, but the date of acquisition is unknown. It is well-preserved, polished and rounded, however, the edge is chipped. There is arborescent damage around the right hole. A vertical cartouche with royal throne name, Kheperkare, is chased on the outer convex surface of the shell. The hieroglyphic signs are well-cut. The *ka*-sign (D28) has two vertical double strokes on the horizontal bar.[30] The cartouche is located at 5.0 cm from the right and 4.5cm from the left side. The loop of the cartouche has four vertical strokes. Two holes are pierced near the hinge of the shell for suspension. The space between the two holes is 1.9 cm. Marks of funerary use-wear are clear on the surface and inside the shell.

Winlock assumed that it is inscribed with the birth name of Senwosret I.[31] He gave the incorrect image of another object, an oyster shell at the Nubian Museum (formerly at Egyptian Museum Cairo JE 36398).[32] It seems that his two images were swapped.[33]

JE 91753 (see Fig. 7)

This oyster shell measures 9.4 x 8.8 cm.[34] The dimensions of this shell are smaller than the other ones kept at the Egyptian Museum Cairo.[35] It is in a very good state of preservation, though it is chipped which may indicate use-wear. The outer convex surface of this shell shows signs of sea erosion and thin organic coating. A blank cartouche is incised on the outer convex surface of the shell. The loop of the cartouche is a straight line.

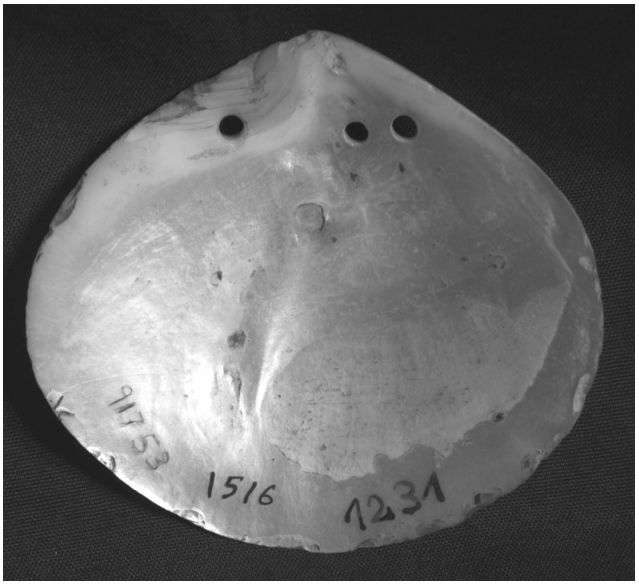

Fig. 7 – JE 91753 © photograph by Sameh Abd el-Mohsin

A royal name, Kheperkare/Senwosret is more plausible than either of the other two kings whose names are attested on this type of shell (Nubkaure and Khakaure).[36] This shell is pierced with three holes at the hinge for suspension.[37] The JE does not give a date for this shell, though the database gives a Twenty-Sixth Dynasty date and states that it was found in tomb QH207. This date is based on the other objects (JE 91750-51) from this tomb

[28] *Cf.* MFA 13.3532 (Mekawy Ouda, *BIFAO* 119, 260 n. 2, 269; Sohag Museum no. 198 (Abouseteit, *SAK* 48, 23-33, taf. 1).
[29] Bourriau, *Pharaohs and Mortals*, 153 (171b).
[30] Mekawy Ouda, *BIFAO* 119, 262, 266-7; *cf.* Bourriau, *Pharaohs and Mortals,* 154.
[31] Winlock, in Glanville (ed.), *Studies presented to F. Ll. Griffith*, 391, pl. 62 (c).
[32] Mekawy Ouda, *BIFAO* 119, 264, n. 26, 270, fig. 3.
[33] Winlock, in Glanville (ed.), *Studies presented to F. Ll. Griffith*, 391 (1, 16), pl. 62 (a, c).
[34] Edel, Seyfried, Vieler, *Die Felsgräbernekropole der Qubbet el-Hawa bei Assuan*, vol. III, 1951 (0/1231), 1959, fig. 218.
[35] *Cf.* BM EA 36499; NMEA A. 1951.322 (Aldred, *JEA* 38, 130).
[36] Mekawy Ouda, *BIFAO* 119, 263, n. 24; Aldred, *JEA* 38, 130-2; Arkell, *JEA* 30, 74; Dunham, *Uronarti, Shalfak, Mirgissa*, 48 (278), pl. XLIII b [28-12278]; Reisner, *Sudan Notes and Records* 14/1, 5; PM VII, 144; Corteggiani, *BIFAO* 73, 145, n. 3; Dunand, *Fouilles de Byblos 1933-1938*, vol. II, 105, pl. CXLV.
[37] *Cf.* BM EA 15423.

which are dated to the Twenty-Sixth Dynasty. However, this shell was found in 1969 by the German Expedition of the University of Bonn, headed by Edel at Qubbet el-Hawa, in the forecourt which tomb nos. 206, 206a, 207, 207a share.[38] It was found in planum no. 3 in the forecourt before the entrance of QH207, slightly to the south.[39] The objects which were found by the excavator in this planum are not dated. They contain jars, hemispherical bowls with a rounded edge, many different bowls, piece of charcoal, and a mollusk with remains of kohl.[40] Among the findings before this tomb in the forecourt is a group of Old Kingdom bowls with decoration of hunters and animals (JE 91738-40).[41] They are dated to the Sixth Dynasty,[42] or later.[43] The tomb, QH207, contains a relief for Sobek-hotep from the end of Sixth Dynasty.[44] It was also reused, as objects from different periods were found including the First Intermediate Period, Middle Kingdom, and Late Period.[45]

Discussion

Three oyster shells (CG 12827, CG 12828 and JE 28320) have the throne name of the King Kheperkare which I have equated with Senwosret I, based on having two oyster shells from the same cemetery, Esna, bearing both the birth and throne names of Senwosret I, as there are two more kings with the same birth name, Senwosret.[46] The *ka*-sign (D28) is incised with loop hands on these three shells. This type of *ka*-sign is attested in the late Middle Kingdom.[47] The *ka*-sign with loop hands on CG 12827 and JE 28320 has two upright strokes on the horizontal bar. These upright strokes should not indicate a precise date as is proposed by J. Bourriau,[48] but rather the hands with loop. The three cartouches on these oyster shells at the Cairo Museum can be compared with the other oyster shells that have a *ka*-sign with loop hands which come from known provenances, including MMA 22.1.63 from Lisht,[49] MMA 23.2.76a and Egyptian Museum Turin S. 14130 from Gebelein,[50] National Museums Liverpool, World Museum 1977.110.1 from Esna,[51] and the one which was found recently at QH34bb, the intact burial of (Ii)-Shemai, son of the governor Khema and Satethotep and brother of the nomarch Sarenput II, by the Spanish mission of the University of Jaén and presented at ICE XII Cairo, 3rd-8th November 2019.[52] However, the beetle (L1) from QH34bb differs slightly. The hind legs and forelegs are more curved and longer. The middle legs are attached to the abdomen and-they are not attached to the abdomen on the others. As for CG 12825 and CG 12826 which bear the birth name of King Senwosret I, one of them, CG 12825, is incised in a stylistic form similar to other oyster shells with the birth name, Senwosret,[53] from well-known provenances including Sheikh Farag S.F. 42 (MFA 13.3532),[54] Esna (IMJ 76.19.198),[55] and Aswan (JE 36398, currently Nubian Museum Aswan).[56] The one from el-Raqaqna in Girga (Sohag Museum no. 198) with the birth name of Senwosret differs from the aforementioned ones in the incising of wsr (F12), s (S29), and broad r (D21).[57] CG 12826 differs, having peculiar

[38] Edel, Seyfried, Vieler, *Die Felsgräbernekropole der Qubbet el-Hawa bei Assuan*, vol. III, 1951, 1959, figs 223 (207 0/1231 1:4), 193, abb. 42-3; Auenmüller, in Fitzenreiter *et al.* (eds), *Qubbet el-Hawa*, 26, abb. 2:3-2:4, taf. 1.2.

[39] Edel, Seyfried, Vieler, *Die Felsgräbernekropole der Qubbet el-Hawa bei Assuan*, vol. III, 1945, 1951, fig. 193. *Cf.* QH 98 where a round oyster shell (5.4 cm) with convex surface. The surface and the edges are well-smoothed. It was found in shaft no. 3 in the coffin chamber, Edel, Seyfried, Vieler, *Die Felsgräbernekropole der Qubbet el-Hawa bei Assuan*, vol. II, 1341-2, fig. 30.

[40] Edel, Seyfried, Vieler, *Die Felsgräbernekropole der Qubbet el-Hawa bei Assuan*, vol. III, 1950-52 (1219-1250).

[41] Edel, Seyfried, Vieler, *Die Felsgräbernekropole der Qubbet el-Hawa bei Assuan*, vol. III, 1962-71, abb. 44-50.

[42] For the date, *cf.* Arnold, in Oppenheim *et al.* (eds), *Ancient Egypt Transformed*, 172-3 (cat. 108).

[43] https://www.aegyptisches-museum.uni-bonn.de/ueber-das-museum/highlights, <accessed 24.03.2021>.

[44] Edel, Seyfried, Vieler, *Die Felsgräbernekropole der Qubbet el-Hawa bei Assuan*, vol. III, 1864-5; Auenmüller, in Fitzenreiter *et al.* (eds), *Qubbet el-Hawa*, 28.

[45] Auenmüller, in Fitzenreiter *et al.* (eds), *Qubbet el-Hawa*, 28; Förster, in Riemer, Fröster (eds), *Desert road archaeology*, 311, fig. 32.

[46] Mekawy Ouda, *CdE* 94/187, 54-5; Winlock suggested this (Winlock, in Glanville (ed.), *Studies presented to F. Ll. Griffith*, 389), but without the finds of Esna.

[47] Mekawy Ouda, *BIFAO* 119, 267, 269.

[48] Bourriau, *Pharaohs and Mortals*, 154; Manzo, *ÄuL* 21, 72; *cf.* Mekawy Ouda, *BIFAO* 119, 266 n. 59.

[49] Quirke, *Birth Tusks*, 154; Mekawy Ouda, *BIFAO* 119, 265.

[50] Mekawy Ouda, *BIFAO* 119, 260-3, 270-1, figs 1-2.

[51] Mekawy Ouda, *CdE* 94/187, 58, figs 3-4.

[52] Jiménez-Serrano, Sánchez-León, *Le premier Nome du sud de l'Egypte au Moyen Empire*, 35, 42 (figs 23, 28), 67; Jiménez-Serrano *et al.*, *BAEE* 26, 35-7; Jiménez-Serrano *et al.*, *BAEE* 23, 24-5; Martínez-Hermoso *et al., JAEA* 3, 25-44; http://www.ujaen.es/investiga/qubbetelhawa/campana2018.php, <accessed 20.04.2021>.

[53] Mekawy Ouda, *CdE* 94/187, 55 n. 46.

[54] Mekawy Ouda, *BIFAO* 119, 260 n. 2, 267.

[55] Mekawy Ouda, *CdE* 94/187, 50-1, figs 1-2.

[56] Mekawy Ouda, *BIFAO* 119, 263-4, 266, 269, fig. 3; *cf.* Abdua 21121 from Hu (PM V, 108; Reid, *Illustrated Catalogue of the Anthropological Museum*, 159 (1087); Butterweck-Abdelrahim, *Untersuchungen zur Ehrung verdienter Beamter*, 50) and Manchester Museum 4207 from Deir Rifa (Yamamoto, in Oppenheim *et al.* (eds), *Ancient Egypt Transformed*, 168 (102A)-169) and Art Gallery Birmingham 1969W4706.

[57] Abouseteit, *SAK* 48, 23-33, taf. 1. The scribe incised the

signs. N (N35) is written in a zigzag line; the typical n on the oyster shells, bearing the birth name of Senwsoret I, is not written in zigzag line,[58] but it is written in incised hieroglyphs/semi cursive hieroglyphs which precede the more cursive forms.[59] S (O34) is a straight line, t (X1) is close to a trapezium shape, wsr (F12) is a short sign and its front touches the frame of the cartouche, s (S29) and r (D21) are also peculiar compared to the others in the set. The name was probably incised by a local or it may have been added later to an original oyster shell. There are some examples where the names were engraved peculiarly, indicating fake oyster shells.[60]

Oyster shells are also attested from the Memphite necropolis, including Lisht (MMA 22.1.63) of late Middle Kingdom context,[61] and Dahshur (Art Gallery Birmingham 1969W4706) with no archaeological context. However, the absence of the attestation of real oyster shells from the Delta is notable. The oyster shells of Cairo Museum from Qau el-Kabir (CG 12828), Abydos (CG 12829), Coptos (JE 28320) and Aswan (JE 91753 QH207) indicate that the Middle Kingdom cemeteries in Middle and Upper Egypt were crucial sites including oyster shells, as Coptos was an important centre for building the ships for expeditions to be sent via Wadi Gawasis on the Red Sea to Punt and Bia Punt.[62] Many other oyster shells were found at different sites in Middle Egypt, including Deir Rifa (Manchester Museum 4207),[63] Sheikh Farag/Naga ed-Deir (S.F.5 MFA 13.353[64] and the un-inscribed S.F.42 (MFA 13.3626).[65] As for Upper Egypt, many attestations of oyster shells were found at Abydos (Fitzwilliam William E. 270.1932),[66] Dendara (University of Pennsylvania Museum E14150),[67] Hu (ABDUA 21121),[68] Gebelein (MMA 23. 2.76a and Egyptian Museum Turin S. 14130),[69] Esna (tomb no. 36E Israel Museum Jerusalem 76.19.198 and tomb no. 263 National Museums Liverpool, World Museum 1977.110.1),[70] and el-Salmiya (National Museums Scotland A.1951.322), opposite to Armant, with the throne name Nubkaure.[71]

Aswan in Upper Egypt has presented many attestations. I reported that three oyster shells with the name of Senwosret I were found at Aswan – two of them are from Qubbet el-Hawa[72] – but two more should be added to the list (JE 91753 QH207 and the one from QH34bb). JE 91753 has a plain cartouche. QH34bb is engraved with the throne name of Senwosret I, Kheperkare,[73] This makes Qubbet el-Hawa the second cemetery after Esna to present two oyster shells with the birth and throne names of Senwosret I (1956-1911 BC).[74] With five oyster shells, Qubbet el-Hawa also presents the largest number by far from one cemetery. The oyster shell from QH34bb was found on the upper part of the chest of the mummy of (Ii)-Shemai,[75] which points to its amuletic function,[76] and undermines Winlock's point of view that these oyster shells were military badges.[77] They were an integral part of the embalming ritual.[78] The mummy which was found in the tomb is that of a boy, Shemai.[79] This proves

cartouche with the birth name of Senwosret I close to the bottom of the convex surface to avoid the damage at the centre which was caused by sea erosion (see Abouseteit, *SAK* 48, taf. 1); *cf*. Abdua 21121 from Hu (PM V, 108; Reid, *Illustrated Catalogue of the Anthropological Museum*, 159 [1087]; Butterweck-Abdelrahim, *Untersuchungen zur Ehrung verdienter Beamter*, 50) and Manchester Museum 4207 from Deir Rifa (Yamamoto, in Oppenheim *et al.* (eds), *Ancient Egypt Transformed*, 168 (102A)-169) and Art Gallery Birmingham 1969W4706 which is said to be from Dahshur.

[58] Mekawy Ouda, *CdE* 94/187, 55, n. 47.

[59] Fischer, in Anonymous (ed.), *Ancient Egyptian Epigraphy*, 40-2, fig. 4; Ali, in Davies, Laboury (eds), *The Oxford Handbook of Egyptian Epigraphy and Palaeography*, 573-4, fig. iv.4.1.

[60] BM EA 30731 is engraved with the name of Rameses II (Winlock, in Glanville (ed.), *Studies presented to F. Ll. Griffith*, 390), BM EA 27723 (Budge, *A guide to the fourth, fifth and sixth Egyptian rooms*, 213-14), Yale University of Art Gallery 13.1923a (Scott, *Ancient Egyptian Art at Yale*, 70-1, 36 B), Yale University of Art Gallery 1937.186: the name of Kheperkare probably was added recently (Scott, *Ancient Egyptian Art at Yale*, 70-1, 36A), and probably UC 16116.

[61] Quirke, *Birth Tusks*, 154.

[62] Bard, Fattovich, *JAEI* 2/3, 1, 3-4, 11; Meeks, *Topoi. Orient-Occident. Supplément* 3, 267-335.

[63] Yamamoto, in Oppenheim *et al.* (eds), *Ancient Egypt Transformed*, 168 (102A), 169.

[64] Mekawy Ouda, *BIFAO* 119, 267; Reisner, *JEA* 6/2, 117.

[65] Mekawy Ouda, *BIFAO* 119, 267.

[66] Bourriau, *Pharaohs and Mortals*, 153 (b).

[67] Winlock, in Glanville (ed.), *Studies presented to F. Ll. Griffith*, 391 (4).

[68] PM V, 108; Reid, *Illustrated Catalogue of the Anthropological Museum*, 159 (1087).

[69] Mekawy Ouda, *BIFAO* 119, 260-72, figs 1-2; D'Amicone, *BSEG* 9-10, 64 (figs 1-2), 65, n. 2; Winlock, in Glanville (ed.), *Studies presented to F. Ll. Griffith*, 388 (9), pl. 61 (b).

[70] Mekawy Ouda, *CdE* 94/187, 49-58, figs 1-4; Downes, *The excavations at Esna*, 59 (263), fig. 30 (36E); Bourriau, *JEA* 66, 141 (224).

[71] Aldred, *JEA* 38, 131-2; Mekawy Ouda, *BIFAO* 119, 262, n. 15.

[72] Mekawy Ouda, *CdE* 94/187, 54-5, n. 45; Mekawy Ouda, *BIFAO* 119, 263-5.

[73] Jiménez-Serrano, Sánchez-León, *Le premier Nome du sud de l'Egypte au Moyen Empire*, 35.

[74] Mekawy Ouda, *CdE* 94/187, 54-5.

[75] *Cf*. Cecil, *ASAE* 4, 68; Mekawy Ouda, *BIFAO* 119, 262-4.

[76] Mekawy Ouda, *BIFAO* 119, 266; Manzo, *ÄuL* 21, 72.

[77] Winlock, in Glanville (ed.), *Studies presented to F. Ll. Griffith*, 390-1.

[78] Mekawy Ouda, *BIFAO* 119, 262, 268.

[79] http://www.ujaen.es/investiga/qubbetelhawa/diario2017.

that these oyster shells were used for both males and females.[80] This burial also contains a set of two wooden coffins (inner and outer) made of cedar, which are decorated with hieroglyphic inscriptions, a mask of cartonnage, wooden models of four boats and pots.[81] The material culture from this intact burial does not contain any military weapons or objects, which again challenges the idea of military badges.

Abouseteit assumed that these oyster shells are contemporary to the reign of King Senwosret I as they bear his birth and throne names,[82] following the view of Winlock.[83] To support her point of view, she linked this oyster shell from el-Raqaqna in Girga, and another oyster shell from Sheikh Farag/Nag' ed-Deir (MFA 13.3532) opposite Girga bearing the name of Senwosret I, with Thinis and the royal dockyard there, as well as with the marine activities at Mersa/Wadi Gawasis on the Red Sea shore in the reign of Senwosret I.[84] However, the archaeological context of her shell, from el-Raqaqna in Girga (Sohag Museum no. 198), was missed.[85] Furthermore, the other oyster shells with the name of the same king, with archaeological context and well-studied, indicate that these oyster shells date to the late Middle Kingdom.[86] The recently discovered tomb at Qubbet el-Hawa (QH34bb) with an oyster shell bearing the throne name, Kheperkare, is also dated primarily to the second half of the reign of Senwosret II and the early years of Senwosret III.[87] The absence of wooden models from the burials of Lisht and Esna, where oyster shells were found, supports this.[88] Moreover, the paleographical study of the *ka*-sign with loop hands indicates late Middle Kingdom,[89] or mid-Twelfth Dynasty based on the *ka*-sign with loop hands on the oyster shell from QH34bb. However, these aforementioned arguments do not contradict the proposed method of bringing these to the valley via the Red Sea. This type of oyster shell, *Avicula (Meleagrina) margaritacea*, is attested there and the marks of sea erosion on these shells indicate marine source.[90] Otherwise, these oyster shells were brought to the valley by the officials of Senwosret I, who left significant evidence for marine activities at Wadi Gawasis.[91] These shells were engraved later with his birth name, Senwosret, and throne name, Kheperkare, indicating posthumous veneration of the King Senwosret I,[92] and placing emphasis on their function as protective amulets containing the magical power of the royal name.[93] Manzo supposed that they were worn by members of the expeditions to the Red Sea as 'a kind of insignia or even an award' as they were brought to the royal workshops and gifted.[94] However, they were found with, for example, the boy (Ii)-Shemai and women as I have indicated above. The boy (Ii)-Shemai probably inherited it from one of his aforementioned family members, as it is broken on the left side, indicating use-wear, but it would be difficult to accept the idea that the entire set of oyster shells with their regional diversity were handed down from one generation to another for their magical power, and the repair marks which are attested on some shells indicate a lengthy period of use.[95] Furthermore, since all present examples of oyster shells seem to use an early Middle Kingdom king's name, *i.e.* Senwosret I, but date later, it suggests the amuletic use of the king's name rather than a link to the reigning king as a badge or status symbol. On the other hand, the expeditions to the Red Sea were continued by the rest of the kings of the Twelfth Dynasty and early Thirteenth Dynasty,[96] so it is possible that their officials brought these too.

php, <accessed 19.04.2021>.

[80] *Cf.* Mekawy Ouda, *BIFAO* 119, 266-7.

[81] Jiménez-Serrano *et al*., *BAEE* 26, 37; Jiménez-Serrano, Sánchez-León, *Le premier Nome du sud de l'Egypte au Moyen Empire*, 35, 39 (fig. 23), 71.

[82] Abouseteit, *SAK* 48, 23-33, taf. 1; Manzo, *ÄuL* 21, 72.

[83] Winlock, in Glanville (ed.), *Studies presented to F. Ll. Griffith*, 389.

[84] Abouseteit, *SAK* 48, 31-2.

[85] Abouseteit, *SAK* 48, 23, n. 2, taf. 1.

[86] Quirke, *Birth tusks*, 153-5; Mekawy Ouda, *BIFAO* 119, 265; Mekawy Ouda, *CdE* 94/187, 49-58.

[87] Jiménez-Serrano *et al*., *BAEE* 26, 37. Both kings sent expeditions to Punt via Mersa/Wadi Gawasis on the Red Sea: Bard, Fattovich, in Bard, Fattovich (eds), *Harbor of the Pharaohs to the Land of Punt*, 242; Mahfouz, *Abgadiyat* 6, 58-61; Meeks, *Topoi. Orient-Occident. Supplément* 3, 292.

[88] Mekawy Ouda, *BIFAO* 119, 269.

[89] Mekawy Ouda, *CdE* 94/187, 55; Mekawy Ouda, *BIFAO* 119, 267, 269.

[90] Mekawy Ouda, *BIFAO* 119, 261, n.5; Manzo, *ÄuL* 21, 71.

[91] Mahfouz, *Abgadiyat* 6, 52-7; Mahfouz, in Mahfouz, Tallet (eds), *The Red Sea in Pharaonic Times*, 117-19, figs 1-2; Bard, Fattovich, *JAEI* 2/3, 1, 3; Bard, Fattovich, in Bard, Fattovich (eds), *Harbor of the Pharaohs to the Land of Punt*, 242; Meeks, *Topoi. Orient-Occident. Supplément* 3, 294, 322.

[92] Mekawy Ouda, *BIFAO* 119, 265-6; *cf*. Manzo, *ÄuL* 21, 72; Lilyquist, *DE* 27, 47.

[93] Manzo, *ÄuL* 21, 72.

[94] Manzo, *ÄuL* 21, 72, 82; Winlock, in Glanville (ed.), *Studies presented to F. Ll. Griffith*, 390-1.

[95] Manzo, *ÄuL* 21, 72. He also proposed that the repair marks which is attested on some shells indicating lengthy period of use. However, the repair marks (Fitzwilliam Museum E.203.1900, Bourriau, *Pharaohs and mortals*, 153 (c)) or the re-shaped ones (MFA 13.35.32) are so limited in numbers. The inscription and repair marks on Yale University of Art Gallery 1937.186 (Scott, *Ancient Egyptian Art at Yale*, 70-1, 36A) seem to be added recently.

[96] Bard, Fattovich, *JAEI* 2/3, 5-6, 8-10 (fig. 7), 11; Bard, Fattovich, *JARCE* 47, 111; Bard, Fattovich, in Bard, Fattovich (eds), *Harbor of the Pharaohs to the Land of Punt*, 242, 248-9; Mahfouz, in Mahfouz, Tallet (eds), *The Red Sea in Pharaonic Times*, 119-23; Mahfouz, *BIFAO* 110, 165-73; Mahfouz, *Abgadiyat* 6, 51-67; for the marine activities at

To conclude, the Egyptian Museum Cairo holds a number of oyster shells (CG 12825-12829, JE 28320, JE 91753) which came mainly from Middle and Upper Egypt. All of these oyster shells are without archaeological context. Even JE 91753 was found in the forecourt before the entrance of QH207, slightly to the south, and this tomb was reused at different periods. The method of acquisition of these shells is unknown with the exception of JE 28320 and JE 91753 which were bought and excavated respectively. The date of acquisition of these shells is late nineteenth century, unknown (CG 12827 and JE 28320), or obtained by division policy (JE 91753). They are incised with the birth name (CG 12825-26), throne name (CG 12827-28 and JE 28320), or have a blank cartouche (CG 12929 and JE 91753). The incised hieroglyphic signs on this set of oyster shells at Cairo Museum show authenticity and stylistic form with exception of CG 12826. The recent excavations from QH34bb shed new light on the chronology, gender of the owner, and the type of objects with which these oyster shells may have been found. The oyster shell from QH34bb was found in a burial containing two wooden coffins, a mask of cartonnage, pots and four wooden model boats which places this oyster shell within an earlier chronology, *i.e.* the second half of the reign of Senwosret II to the early years of Senwosret III. It was found on the chest of the mummy of the boy (Ii)-Shemai which emphasizes that such shells were probably used for an amuletic protective purpose for both females and males. The *ka*-sign with loop hands on this shell from QH34bb also moves the chronology to the time of Senwosret II and the early years of Senwosret III. This discovery should prompt us to re-evaluate the chronology of the oyster shells which were found at Qubbet el-Hawa with inaccurate and old documented reports and imprecise location for the tombs in which they were found.[97] Oyster shells were also found in burials which did not contain wooden models and the set of objects is dated to the late Middle Kingdom or early Thirteenth Dynasty e.g. Lisht. This places the timeline of the inscribed oyster shells, based on the chronology of the burials and the material, from Senwosret II to late Middle Kingdom, and should challenge the possibility that these oyster shells were among the new set of objects which are attested in the second half of the Middle Kingdom.[98] The sets of precious objects, with which the oyster shells were found, indicate that elite individuals owned them. The excavated material has not supported so far that the oyster shells are contemporary to Senwosret I, but future excavations may change this.

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Ayn Sukhna: Tallet, *BMSAES* 18, 148-50, 159 (fig. 8), 160 (fig. 10). The throne names of Amenemhat II and Senwosret III were also engraved on the oyster shells: Mekawy Ouda, *BIFAO* 119, 263 n. 24.

[97] Cecil, *ASAE* 4, 68, 71-2; Mekawy Ouda, *BIFAO 119*, 263-5, n. 25.

[98] Mekawy Ouda, *BIFAO* 119, 268.

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Wooden Kohl Tube with Hieratic Inscriptions at the Egyptian Museum Cairo (CG 44703/JE 18553)

Ahmed M. Mekawy Ouda, Khaled Hassan

Abstract

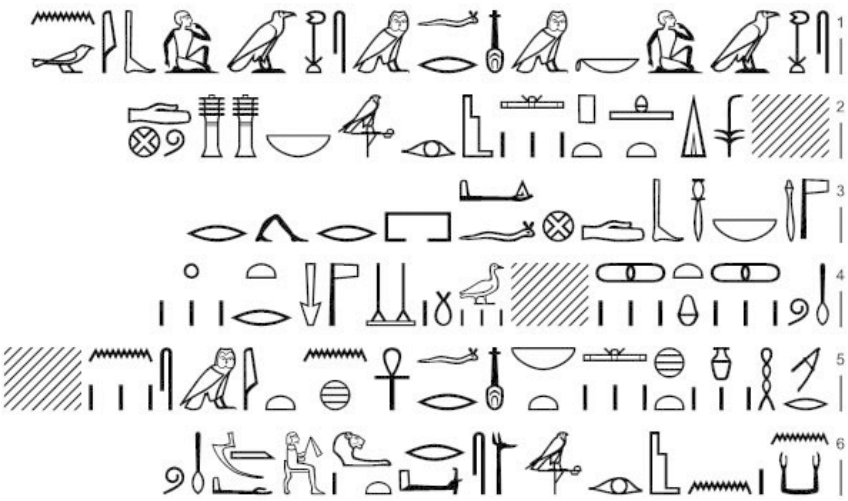
This paper investigates the wooden kohl tube of Weserhat at the Egyptian Museum of Cairo (CG 44703/JE 18553). The database of the museum reports that it was found at Sheikh 'Abd el-Qurna in 1862. However, the method of acquisition is unknown, and the database does not provide a date for this object. This paper reconstructs the archaeological context of this kohl tube, based on other findings of cosmetic objects. It also presents a full transcription, translation and paleography for the inscriptions placing a chronology based on the style of the inscription and the jar. Moreover, it looks at the name of the owner, searching for a possible attribution for this kohl tube, especially as the name of Weserhat was common and is attested in many Theban tombs.

The Egyptian Museum in Cairo keeps an inscribed kohl tube (see Figs 1-4; Pls LVIII-LX; CG 44703/JE 18553). It measures H. 13.7 cm; D. 4.2 cm. It was found at Sheikh 'Abd el-Qurna in 1862. However, the method of acquisition is unknown and the date is not given. It is a cylindrical tube made of wood with a rounded swiveling lid fixed to the body of the tube by a wooden peg which is used an axis to open and close the object.[1] A second hole can be seen in the lid which was most probably used to insert the kohl stick.[2] Two more holes are in the body of the tube itself opposite to each other but at almost the same level. There is a wooden peg between the two holes (1. 5-2 cm far from each hole) fixed in the body of the tube.[3] These two empty holes could have had two more wooden pegs to form three pegs in the body. The outer surface of the tube has a hard spot which seemingly was difficult to cut and polish, and the reading of the hieratic text in this spot is difficult. This hard section extends also to inside of the tube. The base of the kohl tube is not flat and consequently the object is unstable when standing on a surface. A hieratic text of six lines is inscribed in black ink with large forms on the cylindrical body of the Kohl tube (see Figs 1-4 and Pls LVIII-LX).

[1] Vandier, *Catalogue des objects de toilette égyptiens*, 63 (197-199), 67 (222), 69 (230-231); Hayes, *The Scepter of Egypt*, vol. II, 64, fig. 33. *Cf.* the wooden kohl tube with swivel lid (MFA 13.3793) from Sheikh Farag, though it should be dated to the New Kingdom, not to the Predynastic Period, https://collections.mfa.org/objects/141166/kohl-pot?ctx=83c3df54-d9f6-469b-a24f-891a508a48bc&idx=0, <accessed 01.06.2021>.

[2] *Cf.* Anonymous (ed.), *Egypt's Golden Age*, 217; Vandier, *Catalogue des objects de toilette égyptiens*, 67 (222-228).

[3] *Cf.* Vandier, *Catalogue des objects de toilette égyptiens*, 68 (227), 69 (230).



Hieroglyphic Transcription

Transliteration

[1] *sḫ3.k {m} nfr m sḫ3 bin*
[2] *...ḥtp di nsw Wsir nb ḏdw*
[3] *nṯr-ᶜ3 nb ȝbḏw di.f pr[t] r*
[4] *ḫrw t...ȝpd.w šs mnḫt snṯr*
[5] *mrḥ[t] ḫt nbt nfrt ᶜnḫt im .sn*
[6] *n kȝ n Wsir Wsr-ḥȝt mȝᶜ-ḫrw*

Translation

[1] remember the goodness, do not remember the evil
[2] …..an offering that the king gives to Osiris, lord of Busiris,
[3] the great god, lord of Abydos, that he may give invocation-offerings,
[4] consisting of bread,…..,[4] birds, alabaster, clothing, and incense,
[5] ointment and every good and a live thing, by them
[6] to the *ka*-spirit of the deceased Weserhat, justified.

Notes on the reading

The text is arranged horizontally on the surface of the object. The handwriting does not reflect any atheistic appearance compared to other objects of the same kind.[5] The ink is faded in some parts of the text and unreadable in other places, especially at the rough spots. As matter of formatting, it seems that the scribe drew up a vertical tortuous line in black ink, precisely from the second line to help the reader to know the starting point of each line. Similar irregular dividing lines are known from different writing sources, particularly on ostraca.[6] The hieratic text on the current kohl tube is inscribed in the writing style known as 'scribal format' referring to the ordinary writing that was used by the scribes on papyrus and on ostraca without any particular format for the text.[7] In contrast, the kohl tube of the scribe and director of the work Ahmose in the British Museum London (BM EA5337) was inscribed in 'monumental inscriptions', arranged in hieroglyphs columns (see below).[8]

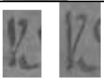
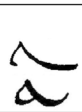
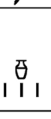
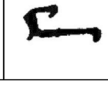
L.1: This sentence was not divided by the vertical line that divided the other lines. It also has a different beginning from the other lines.

Line 2a: This group is attached to the word *ḥtp.t*, and one can suppose that it could be read as . However parallel writing to this group has not been yet attested.

Line 2b: This sign is inscribed directly after the vertical line and before the offering formula in a very faint ink which makes the interpretation difficult.

Line 4a: Although it is written in small and concise form, the location suggests that it could be read as (see the table below).

[4] Based on parallel examples, the lacuna can be restored with *ḥnḳt* and *kȝw*, beer and oxen. See Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammar,* 170.
[5] See Glanville, *JEA* 14, 297, figs 2-3; Hayes, *The Scepter of Egypt*, vol. II, 192-3.
[6] Griffith, *The Petrie Papyri*, pl. 23; Grandet, *Catalogue des ostraca hiératiques X*, no. 10006 rt; Grandet, *Catalogue des ostraca hiératiques,* no. 831; Grandet, *Catalogue des ostraca hiératiques XI*, no. 10127 rt.
[7] Dorman explained this term as '*simply followed prevailing custom rather than reflecting deliberate choice*', Dorman, *JARCE* 55, 22.
[8] Similar examples on using the scribal and monumental scripts could be noticed on the early Eighteenth dynasty hieratic books of the Dead that were inscribed in ordinary hieratic without any layout, lack of vignettes and with the contemporary hieroglyphic and cursive hieroglyphic copies. For more details about these copies, *cf.* Dorman, *JARCE* 55, 21-2.

Hiero.		kohl Tube	Rhind	Westcar	Golen.	Ebers	Ashmolean Board	Iti-ibi-iqer graffiti
L. 1								
								
L. 2								
L. 3								
								
								pl.194,3
L. 4								
L. 5								
								
L. 6								

Rhind Mathematical papyrus, BM EA 10057/8: MÖLLER, *Hieratische Paläographie I*, 18-19; Westcar: Papyrus Berlin 3033: MÖLLER, *Hieratische Paläographie I*, 19-20; Golen.: Golenischeff papyrus: MÖLLER, *Hieratische Paläographie I*, 19; Ebers papyrus, Leipzig: MÖLLER, *Hieratische Paläographie I*, 20; Ashmolean board 1948.91: HAGEN, *JARCE* 49, 2013; Iti-ibi-iqer graffiti: VERHOEVEN (ed.), *Dipinti von Besuchern des Grabes N13.1 in Assiut*, 48-50.

Line 4b: The inscriptions cannot be recognized in the rough place.

Line 6: Most probably this sign represents the seated man on a chair A 50 normally used as a classifier of the name; however, it is written in an interesting form which is unparalleled so far.

Dating

From a paleographical point of view, it is clear through comparison that most of the hieratic signs of this kohl tube are inscribed in early forms. They are very similar to the writing material which dates to the end of the Seventeenth-Dynasty and very beginning of the Eighteenth-Dynasty as the following table shows.

Discussion

The name of the owner of this kohl tube is Weserhat.[9] He does not have a title before his name except the epithet 'justified', which follows his name. Based on the owner's name and the find location of this object, *i.e*. Sheikh Abd el-Qurna, this individual should have Theban origins. Many individuals with the name of Weserhat had tombs or are represented in tombs from Thebes. Weserhat, son of Thay (TT349, early Eighteenth Dynasty) is depicted in his father's tomb at Sheikh Abd el-Qurna.[10] Weserhat (TT56, cont. Amenhotep II) held the titles of 'royal scribe, child of the nursery' at Sheikh Abd el-Qurna. Weserhat, pure-priest of Queen mother Mutnefert, ka-servant of the statue of princess Sitamun, is depicted in the tomb of Kha (TT8, cont. Amenhotep II, Thutmose IV, Amenhotep III) at Deir el-Medina. Weserhat (TT47, cont. Amenhotep III) was overseer of the royal harem at Khokha. Weserhat (TT150, late Eighteenth Dynasty) held the title of 'overseer of cattle of Amun' at Dra Abu el-Naga. Weserhat (TT51, cont. Seti I) held the title first prophet of the royal-ka of Thutmose I at Sheikh Abd el-Qurna. Weserhat, steward of Tiye, is depicted in a procession for the priests at the tomb of Khonsu, called Ta (TT31, cont. Ramesses II) at Sheikh Abd el-Qurna. Weserhat, chief priest of Montu, is depicted offering to Hekamaatre-nakht, called Turo, the owner of the tomb (TT221, cont. Ramesses III-IV), and his wife at Qurnet Mura'i.[11] The first prophet of Montu lord of Thebes, Weserhat (TT235, Twentieth-Dynasty) has a tomb at Qurnet Mura'i.[12] Finally, Weserhat (TT A17), head of the measures of the granary of the estate of Amun, has a tomb near Piccinini's house.[13] Based on the paleographical study, this kohl tube may date to late of the Seventeenth-Dynasty and very early of the Eighteenth Dynasty. Weserhat, son of Thay (TT349), who is depicted in his father's tomb at Sheikh 'abd el-Qurna from early of the Eighteenth Dynasty, is the only individual who would match.[14] Otherwise, this kohl tube is portable and could have been brought from any cemetery of West Thebes or belong to any Weserhat.[15]

The poor state of finish of this kohl tube may indicate that it was made by a local. It could also be placed one-day with other cosmetic objects, as it is the case with the rich set which was found in tomb CC 37, burial 16, at el-Asasif from the early Eighteenth-Dynasty (reign of Ahmose).[16] There, a single wooden octagonal kohl tube (MMA 26.7.1447)[17] was found in a basket including a mirror, razor, whetstone, pair of tweezers (MMA 26.7.837a-d).[18] The burial of Baki III (reign of Thutmose I-early years of Thutmose III) in the tomb of Neferkhawet at el-Asasif (MMA 729)[19] contained a quatrefoil kohl tube of Baki (MMA 35.3.62) which was found inside the coffin near the feet by the excavations of the MMA 1935-1936. The set of cosmetic objects and personal items which were found in this burial contain a battle axe (MMA 35.3.56) which was found in the coffin to the mummy's right,[20] a whetstone (MMA 35.3.66, bundle by feet in the coffin), beads made of faience (MMA 35.3.63c), a small cylindrical jar of Egyptian alabaster (MMA 35.3.60, found outside the coffin at head), beaded bracelets made of faience (MMA 35.3.63a-b), a small carinated jar with cloth lid (MMA 35.3.59, inside the

[9] *PN* I, 85 (24).
[10] PM I, 417.
[11] PM I, 323.
[12] PM I, 329.
[13] PM I, 452.
[14] PM I, 415.
[15] The name of Weserhat is also mentioned on an Eighteenth-Dynasty hieratic ostracon from Deir el-Bahri with other group of workmen who worked in the temple of Hatshepsut. The spelling was a bit different but still a possible option: Hassan, *BIFAO* 115, 184. Another Weserhat is also mentioned on ostracon from the tomb of Sennmut as a mason: Hayes, *JEA* 46, pl. 17, no. 85.
[16] Arnold, in Roehrig (ed.) *Hatshepsut: From Queen to Pharaoh*, 220-1, no. 145b-e.
[17] Arnold, in Roehrig (ed.) *Hatshepsut: From Queen to Pharaoh*, 220, no. 145a.
[18] *Cf.* a basket from a tomb at Deir el-Medina (no. 1370) at the Egyptian Museum Cairo (JE 63769) in which a group of cosmetic objects were found including wooden kohl tubes (JE 63779-81) for black eye-paint, combs, pot for make-up, mollusk with pigments, needle, and many other objects: Owen-Jones, in Anonymous (ed.), *Parfums & cosmétiques dans l'Egypte Ancienne*, 18.
[19] Graefe, *Untersuchungen zur Verwaltung,*114-15; Smith, *MDAIK* 48, 227.
[20] Hayes, *The Scepter of Egypt*, vol. II, 211-12, fig. 125.

coffin at the foot), razor-knife of bronze or copper alloy (MMA 35.3.65, in coffin bundle by feet), and the papyrus of Baki (MMA 35.3.334-36).[21] Merit (contemporary to Amenhotep II-Amenhotep III), the wife of overseer of works, Kha, has a decorated wooden box (Egyptian Museum Turin S. 8479) with small four comportments cosmetic jars of alabaster and a faience kohl tube, which was found in the tomb of her husband at Deir el-Medina (TT8).[22] A group of wooden kohl tubes (Egyptian Museum Turin S 8381-84), comb, two needles, strings, two rectangular kohl tubes with ebony sticks and black colour inside, different colours of pebbles and big seeds of fruits[23] were found in the same tomb belonging to Kha. They were found inside a wooden box (Egyptian Museum Turin S 8378) which was inside a larger wooden box (S 8412) for Kha and sealed with the name of Thutmose III.[24] Many objects were found inside the latter including a leather bag to keep the razors, different bronze razors, scissors and whetstone, alabaster vase for ointment, two bracelets, funnel in the form of vase for pouring liquids, bag for keeping a measure, a measure/cubit, drill and two palettes, four pestles and adze, chisels, mysterious object, a bottle for water, bowls, vases, sandals, writing tablet, reeds, loaves of salt and cement, different sticks, mat, wooden box (S 8600) with two wooden kohl tubes, two kohl sticks, two rings, spatula, wooden box with whetstone, two kohl tubes and three? kohl sticks, and different pieces of cloth of linen.[25] Another box made of wood, ebony, and ivory (Egyptian Museum Turin S 8615/01) was also found inside the large box with dedication to Kha. Six kohl tubes (S 8615/02-07) were found inside it (8615/01).[26] The wooden box of Tutu (BM EA24708), the wife of Ani, from the Eighteenth Dynasty, contained a group of cosmetic objects including a pottery vessel, two calcite vases, a pumice stone, a comb, a bronze cosmetic-dish, a pair of leather sandals, three fibre jar-lids, a reed double kohl tubes with stick and an ivory pin.[27] The boxes which contain kohl tubes in the different burials above show that they contained different cosmetic objects or cosmetics with personal items (e.g. Kha).[28] These objects and personal items were placed in their own boxes/baskets near the coffin or inside it.[29] However, some objects including the kohl tubes were placed in the coffin.[30] The current kohl tube of Cairo Museum (CG 44703) was also probably kept with a group of other cosmetic objects of the owner in a box/basket and placed near his coffin or it was placed inside it.

CG 44703 is a single kohl tube (e.g. BM EA51068)[31] imitating the reed and does not have any cut around the tube to imitate the joint sections of reed.[32] The hole in the lid of the kohl tube points that the kohl stick was used to apply the paint to the eyes. The proposed date, late Seventeenth-early Eighteenth Dynasty, for CG 44703, matches almost the early attestations of the production of the long hollow reeds in the New Kingdom.[33] However, there are many other types of kohl containers imitating a cluster of hollow reeds including:[34] quintuple (e.g. BM EA5337, UC30136),[35] quadruple (e.g. Merseyide County Museums, Liverpool M 11187),[36] triple (e.g. Louvre N.1348),[37] double (e.g. Oxford Ashmolean 1886.819 and E2613,[38] MFA 01.7318, 01.7353).[39] Kohl/black eye paint was used for medical purpose, protecting the eyes from ailments, and cosmetics making them look larger and brighter.[40]

[21] Smith, *MDAIK* 48, 206-7, tables 9-10.
[22] Egyptian Museum Turin, S. 8479. See also Schiaparelli, *La tomba intatta dell'architetto Kha*, 101 (fig. 72), 111 (fig. 92); Manniche, *Egyptian Luxuries fragrance*, 92-3; Smith, *MDAIK* 48, 207, table 10, 226, fig. 4; Meskell, *World Archaeology* 29/3, 374, table 1.
[23] Schiaparelli, *La tomba intatta dell'architetto Kha*, 77-9, figs 43-4.
[24] Schiaparelli, *La tomba intatta dell'architetto Kha*, 75, fig. 39. For the location of the different boxes in the burial chamber, Smith, *MDAIK* 48, 226, fig. 4.
[25] Schiaparelli, *La tomba intatta dell'architetto Kha*, 76-7 (figs 40-2, 45-60), 92-100 (figs 62-71); Meskell, *World Archaeology* 29/3, 374, table 1.
[26] Egyptian Museum Turin, S. 8615/01; Schiaparelli, *La tombaintattadell'architetto Kha*, 91, fig. 61.
[27] BM EA 24708; Poucher, *Perfumes Cosmetics & Soaps,* vol. II, 2, fig. 1.
[28] Smith, *MDAIK* 48, 206, table 9.
[29] Smith, *MDAIK* 48, 206.
[30] Smith, *MDAIK* 48, 206, table 9.
[31] Anonymous (ed.), *Egypt's Golden Age*, 221-2 (274); Vandier, *Catalogue des objects de toilette égyptiens*, 62-3, 65.
[32] Anonymous (ed.), *Egypt's Golden Age*, 217; Vandier, *Catalogue des objects de toilette égyptiens*, 62-3, 65.
[33] Anonymous (ed.), *Egypt's Golden Age*, 217; Vandier, *Catalogue des objects de toilette égyptiens*, 61-6 (194-195, 197-215); Hayes, *The Scepter of Egypt*, vol. II, 191.
[34] Hayes, *The Scepter of Egypt*, vol. II, 191.
[35] *Cf.* Anonymous (ed.), *Egypt's Golden Age*, 223-4 (280-281); Vandier, *Catalogue des objects de toilette égyptiens*, 68-70 (230-233).
[36] Anonymous (ed.), *Egypt's Golden Age*, 223 (279); Vandier, *Catalogue des objects de toilette égyptiens*, 67-8 (226-227).
[37] Vandier, *Catalogue des objects de toilette égyptiens*, 67-8 (225).
[38] Malek, *JEA* 77, 185-6, pl. 18 (1); Vandier, *Catalogue des objects de toilette égyptiens*, 66-7 (217-221).
[39] Anonymous (ed.), *Egypt's Golden Age*, 222 (278). It dates to the Eighteenth Dynasty and was found at Abydos.
[40] Anonymous (ed.), *Egypt's Golden Age,* 216; Manniche, *Egyptian Luxuries fragrance*, 137; Walter, in Anonymous (ed.), *Parfums & cosmétiques dans l'Egypte Ancienne*, 82-4; Poucher, *Perfumes Cosmetics & Soaps*, vol. II, 7.

The hieratic inscriptions on CG 44703 do not address the content of the kohl tube, i.e. the eye paint,[41] compared to e.g. the reed kohl tube of the Eighteenth Dynasty (BM EA51068) on which a text reads: 'eye-paint of coming fourth behind the beauties of eternity'.[42] CG 44703 contains an offering formula, as it is the case on e.g. the Eighteenth Dynasty quintuple kohl tube of Ahmose (BM EA5337, contemporary to Thutmose III).[43]

This kohl tube (BM EA5337) is unique as the inscriptions delineate the use of the contents during the three seasons of the year.[44] It is decorated with five hieroglyphic columns incised with sharp tool on the body of the object (*cf.* UC30136).

> 'Fine eye-paint for every day, (from) the first month of the inundation to the fourth month of inundation, (from) the first month of winter to the fourth month of winter, (from) the first month of summer to the fourth month of summer. An offering which the king gives to Amun-Re, that may give every good and pure thing for the ka of the director of works, the scribe Ahmose, justified'[45]

However, the first line of CG 44703, *sḫ3.k m nfr m sḫ3 bin,* does not address the kohl paint nor the offering formula. It is not attested on any of the published kohl tubes including inscriptions.[46] It could stand for a proverb or a literary wisdom. Generally, goodness and evil are common subjects. They are mentioned in different context in several literary pieces throughout Egyptian history. Among these examples is the tale of the elo-

quent peasant: '*For he will be remembered because of the goodness*'.[47] They are also attested in the tale of the two brothers, as the young brother talked to his elder brother saying:[48]

> 'If you remember something evil, will you not remember something good'[49]

As a matter of context, the relationship between the kohl tube and this phrase is unclear, however the word *nfr* here could metaphorically means the beauty against *bin* that could refer to the ugliness.

To conclude, the wooden kohl tube of Weserhat in the Egyptian Museum Cairo (CG 44703) should be attributed to Thebes based on the owner's name and that the museum database listed Sheikh 'Abd el-Qurna as a source for this kohl tube but without acquisition method. The owner does not have a title indicating his so-

[41] *Cf*. Anonymous (ed.), *Egypt's Golden Age*, 217.
[42] Anonymous (ed.), *Egypt's Golden Age*, 221-2 (274); Hall, *JEA* 14, 74, pl. 9 (3), fig. 4; BM EA51068; Louvre E 11047, E 11048 b-c, N 1353; E 7999: Vandier, *Catalogue des objects de toilette égyptiens*, 60 (184), 64 (206, 208-209), 69 (232).
[43] This man served Peniati, an overseer of works (contemporary to Hatshepsut and Thutmose III). Possibly the same Ahmose has these objects BM EA10102-04, EA10107, and Papyrus Louvre 3230a: Glanville, *JEA* 14, 294-312, pls 30-5.
[44] Glanville, *JEA* 14, 297, pl. 30 (2-3); Anonymous (ed.), *Egypt's Golden Age*, 223 (280); BM EA 5337.
[45] Glanville, *JEA* 14, 297, figs 2-3.
[46] Vandier, *Catalogue des objects de toilette égyptiens*, 57 (169), 60 (184), 64 (206,208, 209), 67-70 (227, 232, 237); Anonymous (ed.), *Egypt's Golden Age*, 223-4 (279, 281). Walter, in Anonymous (ed.), *Parfums & cosmétiques dans l'Egypte Ancienne*, 86; CG 44548; see on Aha: Quirke, *Birth Tusks*, 263-4, 358, 429-30, 640. Kohl tube could bear the name and the titles of the royals (Leblanc, in Anonymous (ed.), *Parfums & cosmétiques dans l'Egypte Ancienne*, 38). E.g. Lowie Museum of Anthropology University of California, Berkeley 5-2100, BM EA 5273, BM EA 27376 (Hall, *JEA* 14, 74, pl. 9 (1-2), figs 2-3), Louvre N 818, N 817, N 811 (Vandier, *Catalogue des objects de toilette égyptiens*, 61-3 (190, 200), 66-7 (223). The kohl stick could also be inscribed with the name and the title of the owner e.g. MFA 72.788 (Anonymous (ed.), *Egypt's Golden Age*, 221 (270)); Manniche, *Egyptian Luxuries fragrance*, 124, 130, 136; Egyptian Museum Turin S. 8615/07.
[47] Simpson, *The Literature of Ancient Egypt*, 42.
[48] Gardiner, *Late Egyptian Studies*, 17, 7-9.
[49] Lichtheim, *Ancient Egyptian Literature*, vol. II, 206; Simpson, *The Literature of Ancient Egypt*, 85.

cial position. However, this kohl tube may have been kept with other cosmetic objects of the deceased in a box or a basket near the coffin of Weserhat. The museum database does not give a date for this kohl tube, however, based on the paleographical investigation, this kohl tube should be dated to late Seventeenth-Dynasty to early Eighteenth-Dynasty. The content of the inscriptions, including an offering formula, on this kohl tube is similar to the type of inscriptions on other kohl tubes, however the first line does not have parallels on any of the published kohl tubes. The content of this line is attested in literary wisdom. CG 44703 is the first known kohl tube to have this large number of lines written in hieratic inscriptions.

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Fig. 1 – Kohl tube, Egyptian Museum Cairo (CG 44703/JE 18553), photograph by Ahmed Ameen

Fig. 2 – Kohl tube, Egyptian Museum Cairo (CG 44703/JE 18553), photograph by Ahmed Ameen

Fig. 3 – Kohl tube, Egyptian Museum Cairo (CG 44703/JE 18553), photograph by Ahmed Ameen

Fig. 4 – Lid of the kohl tube, Egyptian Museum Cairo (CG 44703/JE 18553), photograph by Ahmed Ameen

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An Unusual Mutilation of the Crocodile Hieroglyphic Sign in an Early Middle Kingdom Stela from the Sanctuary II of Heqaib at Elephantine

Gianluca Miniaci, Cornelius von Pilgrim

Abstract

The article presents the stela of Jj, which is the only inscribed object found in the older sanctuary (II) of Heqaib in Elephantine. While the find context can be firmly dated to the time of Senwosret I, stylistic and epigraphic features give rise to a discussion about the date of the stela's manufacture, as these initially suggest a date in the late Eleventh Dynasty. Particularly remarkable is the mutilation of the crocodile sign in the hieroglyphic inscription, which is a unique feature. The attestation of a mutilated sign during the early Middle Kingdom at a peripheral site like Elephantine, suggests the phenomenon of the manipulation of hieroglyphic signs, as attested in the Pyramid Texts and late Old Kingdom private funerary contexts, might have continued for a longer time in a cultural level largely invisible in the archaeological record.

The Stela of Jj

Exc. No.: 24607F-6
SCA No.: 4216
Provenance: Elephantine,[1] Heqaib Sanctuary II
Material: Limestone; no traces of colour
Measurements: h: 47 cm; w: 48 cm, d: 18.5-19.5 cm
See Figs 1-2; Pl. LXI

Description of the Stela

The almost square stela is carved in sunk relief. The right side is well smoothed with some vertical scratches made by smoothing tools; the smoothed surface of the left side is much eroded whereas the uppermost part was not smoothed and slightly protrudes. The back is only roughly worked and shows a horizontal softer vein with a higher proportion of clay in the composition of the limestone. Similar soft zones with natural defects in the material are evident in the left side and in both upper corners of the front side as well as in the centre of the wings of the goose above the offering table.

Most of the stela is taken up with a depiction of the owner seated on a chair in front of an offering table. The man wears a shoulder-length wig, which leaves the ears uncovered: the short curls are carefully carved. He wears a broad collar divided into three registers and a kilt reaching his knees. Bracelets on both arms are indicated by simple lines without interior detailing. The right hand is slightly extended forward above his knees, palm down. His left hand is bent towards his face, bringing a *mrḥt*-type jar to his mouth. The chair has a low backrest and leonine legs on high drums. The offering table has eight reed leaves on its top, above which is a goose with vertically spread wings and a cow leg. Below the table is a *ḥs*- and a *mrḥt*-jar.

[1] The stela was found in the Sanctuary of Heqaib during excavations which occupied the 24th to 28th seasons of joint work by the German Archaeological Institute and the Schweizer Institut für Ägyptische Bauforschung und Altertumskunde in Kairo under the direction of the late Werner Kaiser and the supervision in the field by the co-author of this article.

The inscription runs from right to left and is organised in two sections: two horizontal lines in the upper part, and two vertical columns at the right of the scene. The horizontal inscription is framed by broad lines running above and below; the vertical columns are separated by thin lines. The inscription begins with the *ḥtp-dỉ-nswt* formula, and the last column bears the names of the venerated one (Jj) and his loving daughter (Sobekhotep). The style of the hieroglyphs in the horizontal lines is different from that used in the vertical columns: most of the vertical signs in the horizontal lines are slightly inclined to the left whereas the register lines of the vertical columns are inclined to the right. The signs in the last section of the first vertical column, starting from the *ỉmɜḫw Jj* part, are clearly produced in a different manner, hastier, with less regard to balance and proportion, and with the inclusion of a hieratic sign, a non-mutilated viper and a backbone sign with the attached spinal cord.[2] This part could have been added secondarily after the stela was assigned/sold to a person, which is something not uncommon for stela production.

The state of preservation is very good. The only noticeable damage is a hole in the upper left corner and a break in the upper right side, both of which are due to natural defects in the limestone. Apart from minor chips, the inscription and the representations are well preserved and readable.

Inscription

(1) *Ḥtp-dj-nswt* (a) *Wsjr nb Ḏdw* (b) *ḫntj-jmn.tjw nb 3bḏw* (2) *m js.wt=f* (c) *nb(.wt)* (d) *w ʿb(.wt) nfr.(w)t* (c) *pr.t-ḫrw n* (e) *jm3ḫw ḫr* (f) *nṯr-ʿ3 nb p.t* (3) *ḫ3 m t3 ḥnq.t jḥ(.w) 3pd(.w) šs mnḫ.t* (g) *n jm3ḫw* (h) *Jj* (i) (4) *jr.t.n z3.t=f* (j) *mry(.t) Sbk-ḥtp* (k)

(1) An offering (a) that the king gives (and) Osiris, lord of Busiris (b), foremost of the westerners, lord of Abydos, (2) at all his pure and beautiful (c) places (d), an invocation-offering for (e) the venerated one before (f) the Great God, lord of heaven, (3) 1000 of bread, beer, beef, fowl, (oil in) alabaster (vessels) and linen (g) for the venerated (h) Jj (i), (4) made by his (j) loving daughter Sobekhotep (k)

Textual notes

(a) The arrangement of the *ḥtp-dỉ-nswt* formula is typical of the First Intermediate Period (Brovarski, *Naga ed-Dêr*, 130) and early Middle Kingdom (*cf.* Simpson, *The Terrace*, ANOC 30.1, temp. of Senwosret I).

(b) The toponym *ḏdw* is written with the anticipation of both the phonetic complement *d* (GSL D46) and the town determinative (GSL O49). The use of the anticipated phonetic complement in this toponym is diagnostic of the First Intermediate Period (Spanel, *Beni Hasan*, 81; *cf.* Lutz, *Egyptian Tomb Steles*, pl. 11, no. 20; Shalaby, *Shedet* 3, fig. 1). However, the inversion of the sign *d* is a feature also attested in the early Twelfth Dynasty in tombs at Beni Hasan (Willems, *Chests of Life*, 67). The anticipation of the phonetic complement *d* and the town determinative are both attested in the stela of Inyotef, dated to the Eleventh Dynasty (MFA 54.66; see Spanel, in der Manuelian (ed.), *Studies in Honor of William Kelly Simpson*, vol. II, 775, fig. 3).

(c) Mutilated horned viper, attested from the late Old Kingdom to the end of the Eleventh Dynasty (see discussion below, especially § *The mutilation of signs in the stela of Jj*).

(d) The expression *m js.wt=f nb(.wt)* is characteristic of the Eleventh Dynasty, and seems to fall out of use from the reign of Senwosret I onwards (Bennett, *JEA* 27, 80).

(e) The expression *prt-ḫrw n* is usually a feature of stela inscriptions of the Old Kingdom–Eleventh Dynasty (Daoud, *Necropoles Memphiticae: Inscriptions*, 43-6), while it is gradually replaced by *dỉ.f prt-hrw* in the Twelfth Dynasty (Bennet, *JEA* 27, 77-8). The absence of the prospective *dj.f* is still attested in the early Twelfth Dynasty (Spanel, in der Manuelian (ed.), *Studies in Honor of William Kelly Simpson*, vol. II, 768-9, esp. n. 13; see also Obsomer, in Cannuyer, Kruchten (eds), *Individu, société et spiritualité*, 169-70, 196-8).

(f) The detachment of the pendant end of the spinal cord in the *ỉmɜḫw* sign (GSL F39) is a feature typical of the First Intermediate Period, appearing from at least the Herakleopolitan Period, and not documented after the Eleventh Dynasty (Brovarski, *Naga ed-Dêr*, 122, n. 177; Schenkel, *Frühmittelägyptische Studien*, 107; Fischer, *Dendera*, 89 (13), 197; Fischer, *Inscriptions from the Coptite Nome*, 84-5; Pitkin, *New Perspectives for Dating Egyptian False Doors*, § 9.5).

(g) The offering formula mentions only beer, oxen, fowl, (oil in) alabaster (vessels), and linen, consistent with stelae inscriptions dating from before the Twelfth Dynasty; on stelae of the early Middle Kingdom, incense and oil are often added to the list (Bennett, *JEA*, 79; Spanel, in der Manuelian (ed.), *Studies in Honor of William Kelly Simpson*, vol. II, 770).

(h) The introduction of the recipient by *n jm3ḫ* instead of *n k3 n* is the attested from the Eleventh Dynasty until the late first decade of Senwosret I, (Bennet, *JEA* 27, 79; Franke, *JEA* 89, 54).

(i) For Jj as a personal name *cf.* Ranke, *Personennamen* I, 5.2. Noteworthy is the hieratic form of the sign GSL A2. The same type of spelling (without the hieratic sign) is documented on a coffin from Asyut, dated to

[2] See comments below *Textual notes (c)*, *(f)*, and *(i)*.

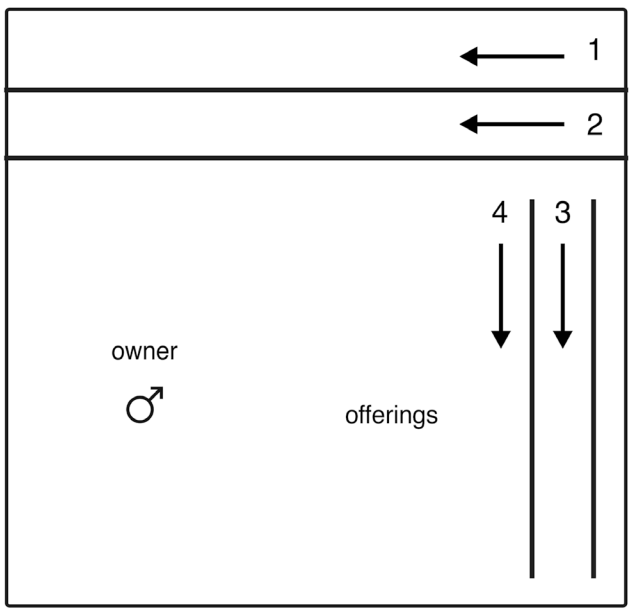
the Eleventh Dynasty-time of Senwosret I (Zitman, *The necropolis of Assiut*, vol. II, 150-1, S42X; see also <https://pnm.uni-mainz.de/inscription/16758>, accessed 31.05.2022).

(j) The horned viper is not mutilated (see discussion below, especially § *The mutilation of signs in the stela of Jj*).

(k) The crocodile sign (GSL I5) is mutilated (see discussion below). For Sobekhotep as a common female name *cf*. Ranke, *PN* I, 305.6 (see also <https://pnm.uni-mainz.de/name/2#1247>, accessed 31.05.2022).

Fig. 1 – Stela of Jj, Elephantine 24607F-6 © photo: C. von Pilgrim

Fig. 2 – Stela of Jj, Elephantine 24607F-6 © drawing: P. Collet



Graph 1 – Scheme of the stela with the arrangement of hieroglyphs and figures © drawing: G. Miniaci

Stylistic Features and the Dating of the Stela

The features and attitude of the human figure and the organisation of the offering table in the stela of Jj are indicative of a style typical of Upper Egypt in the Eleventh Dynasty: the modelling of the facial features, the large and obliquely positioned ears with pendulous lobes, the narrow and elongated eye, and the fleshy lips.[3] Also the broad dividing lines of the hieroglyphic inscription are typical of the Eleventh Dynasty.[4] One of the stelae from the tomb of Heny offers the closest comparable example for the stela of Jj, except for the kind of relief (raised) and for a higher level of detail and refinement.[5] The two stela share a number of features, ranging from the type of seat to the attitude of the human figure (in-

[3] Spanel, in der Manuelian (ed.), *Studies in Honor of William Kelly Simpson*, vol. II, 777.
[4] Evers, *Staat aus dem Stein*, 76; Fischer, *Inscriptions from the Coptite Nome*, 99.
[5] Hodjash, Berlev, *The Egyptian Reliefs and Stelae*, 64-7, no. 25.

cluding the large ointment jar brought to the face), from the shape of the reed leaves to the arrangement/type of the jars below the table. The stela of Heny almost certainly comes from the area of el-Tarif at Thebes (tomb no. 4 of the tomb complex of King Intef II, *Saff el-Kisasiya*) and is dated to the Eleventh Dynasty, given the presence of King Intef II's name. The style of the human representation on the stela of Jj finds another adherent parallel on the stela of Henenu,[6] although in this case the owner is not represented alone.[7] Also this stela very probably comes from Thebes (TT 313 at Deir el-Bahri) and is dated to the Eleventh Dynasty.[8] Other comparable stelae point to Thebes[9] and the Eleventh Dynasty.[10] Finally, the epigraphic remarks – as noted in the *Textual notes* above – also rather point to a date in the late Eleventh Dynasty. The handwriting of the signs of bread and *wab* – as well as the mutilation of the vipers and the arrangement of the offerings, especially the attitude of the goose – find close echoes in an unprovenanced stela preserved in the Louvre Museum (C 304), stylistically dated to the Eleventh Dynasty.[11] Nonetheless, Franke has cautioned about the limitations of the epigraphic system proposed by Bennett in 1941:[12] characteristics of the late Eleventh Dynasty in a peripheral area may have been more resistant to the innovations that developed in core regions, such as Thebes and Abydos, and thus continued in use for longer periods of time.[13]

Other elements might contradict a firm date of the stela to the Eleventh Dynasty: the type of relief, which is low and flat, contrasts rather strikingly with the reliefs and inscriptions of Eleventh Dynasty stelae, which are more deeply incised.[14] The style of carving finds a close parallel in the stela Cairo CG 20105 dated to the reign of Amenemhet I, including the broad lines in the inscription and the goose with upswept wings.[15] Also, the lack of incised or modelled inner details, apart from the collar and wig, can point more comfortably to an early Twelfth Dynasty date.[16] The special care taken with the positioning and balance of the figurative and textual elements on the stela, with special attention to the symmetry of the elements, is in line with the stylistic approach of the early Twelfth Dynasty, when a '*strict adherence to symmetry, organization, balance, and proportion is apparent but not overdone*', while for Eleventh Dynasty stela the organisation is rougher and less balanced.[17] All these features might support a date more towards the early Twelfth Dynasty, and especially from the reign of Amenemhat I onwards.[18]

The style of the stela of Jj seems to differ from other stelae produced locally in Aswan[19] and instead has strict parallels with stelae whose provenance is considered to be Thebes. The sculptural workshop which produced Jj's stela seems to be tied to a more central or centralised production, situated immediately after the independent style of the Pre-Unification Period (time of Montuhotep II, late Eleventh Dynasty).[20] Detlef Franke already questioned whether some of the stelae found at Elephantine

[6] Grajetzki, *Die höchsten Beamten*, 80-1.

[7] Hodjash, Berlev, *The Egyptian Reliefs and Stelae*, 67-72, no. 26.

[8] See Allen, in Strudwick, Taylor (eds), *The Theban Necropolis*, 16.

[9] *Cf.* the stela of the gatekeeper Maat (MMA 14.2.7, unprovenanced); Hayes, *The Scepter of Egypt*, vol. I, 153, fig. 91 and Oppenheim *et al.* (eds), *Ancient Egypt Transformed*, 44, no. 2. The stela was acquired by Mohammed Mohassib at Luxor and very likely comes from Thebes, since among the people mentioned there is the treasurer, later promoted to vizier, Bebi, an official during the reign of Montuhotep II, whose tomb is in the Theban necropolis, see Grajetzki, *Die höchsten Beamten*, 10; Allen, in Strudwick, Taylor (eds), *The Theban Necropolis*, 22. The curled top of the *ḫɜ* sign is quite distinctive to El-Tarif stelae, *cf.* also the stela of Megegi and Henit MMA 14.2.6 (Winlock, *Rise and Fall*, pl. 2).

[10] *Cf.* stela of Qemnen and Henut (Torino, Museo Egizio Cat. 1513; unprovenanced), Rosati, in Donadoni Roveri (ed.), *Civiltà degli Egizi*, 106-7, pls 139-40; stela of Intef and Senettekh (Brooklyn Museum 54.66, unprovenanced), Spanel, in der Manuelian (ed.), *Studies in Honor of William Kelly Simpson*, vol. II, 772-7, with bibliography.

[11] Unpublished, acquired by Nicolas Tano in 1913, see https://collections.louvre.fr/ark:/53355/cl010022803, <accessed 31.05.2022>. A few epigraphic similarities can be seen also in another Eleventh Dynasty stela from the Cairo Museum (JE 88876), see Fischer, *ZÄS* 100, 16-28.

[12] Franke, *JEA* 89, 57. See for instance, Hetep-iqer, probably from Rizeiqat, Museo Egizio Torino (S.1277) or the stela of Intef from Sheikh Farag, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (25.672), Brovarski, *Naga ed-Dêr*, 396-7. See also comments of Ilin-Tomich, *ZÄS* 138, 20-1.

[13] *Cf.* Moulaert, Sekia, *Regional Studies* 37/3; Eder, *IRSR* 42/2.

[14] Freed, in Simpson, Davis (eds), *Studies in Ancient Egypt*, 71-2.

[15] Metawi, *JARCE* 49, 168.

[16] Freed, in Simpson, Davis (eds), *Studies in Ancient Egypt*, 72.

[17] Freed, in Simpson, Davis (eds), *Studies in Ancient Egypt*, 72.

[18] Freed, in der Manuelian (ed.), *Studies in Honor of William Kelly Simpson*, vol. I, 314. See also Freed, *The Development of Middle Kingdom Egyptian Relief*, 192-2.

[19] See for instance the stela from the tomb of Sattjeni (QH35p) in the necropolis of Qubbet el-Hawa, dated to the time of Amenemhat I, see García González, in Jiménez-Serrano, Morales (eds), *Middle Kingdom Palace Culture*, fig. 6.3. *Cf.* for stelae from the sanctuaries of Elephantine as products of the royal residence, see Franke, *Das Heiligtum des Heqaib*, 105-17.

[20] Freed, in Simpson, Davis (eds), *Studies in Ancient Egypt*, 73; Fischer, in Vandersleyen (ed.), *Das alte Ägypten*, 294. See also Freed, *The Development of Middle Kingdom Egyptian Relief*, 181-6.

should not have been assigned to a local workshop, but instead could have been imported from central areas of production.[21]

The Archaeological Context

The stela was the only inscribed object found in the earlier sanctuary (Sanctuary II) (see Fig. 3), which directly precedes the well-known sanctuary of Heqaib (Sanctuary I) in Elephantine.[22] It was found leaning with the front side against the north wall of the room in the south-east corner of the building (see Fig. 4). The stela stood slightly inclined on a layer which included the remains of wooden logs (from the collapsed ceiling?) and fragments of pottery stands that had been left on the floor. Dense brick rubble, undoubtedly from the deliberate destruction of the surrounding walls, was then levelled in the room before the new sanctuary (I) was built. Apart from the pottery stands, only a few other (anepigraphic) objects from the former cultic equipment (flat stone bases, offering table, offering basin) remained in the other rooms of this building, none of which offer any evidence for precisely dating this phase of the sanctuary. Nonetheless, a dating of Sanctuary II as well as of the construction phase preceding it (Sanctuary III) is confirmed stratigraphically.

The dating of Sanctuary II

The chronological key-horizon is represented by an extensive layer of predominantly limestone rubble from the construction of the nearby Satet Temple in the reign of Senwosret I. As it contains a number of flakes of architectural elements and decorated blocks that can be assigned to the previously demolished temple from the time of Mentuhotep II and III, there can be no doubt that the layer was deposited in the time of Senwosret I.[23] The construction debris was deposited as a thick layer under the festival courtyard to the north of the Heqaib sanctuary and in the street in front of the entrance to the courtyard. The steadily diminishing extension of this layer in the street can still be traced further to the south along the sanctuary to its southern limit, and there it is cut by the foundation pit of Sanctuary III. Therefore, this building can only have been constructed after the Satet Temple of the Eleventh Dynasty had already been demolished and works on the new temple had at least begun in the reign of Senwosret I. Since the inscriptions in the latest sanctuary (I) prove that it was also built in the reign of Senwosret I, the preceding sanctuary (II) must also have been built during his reign. Therefore, the two older Sanctuaries II and III may have existed only for a comparatively short period of time before they were replaced by Sanctuary I.

The dating of the sequence of the sanctuaries was questioned some time ago by A. Dorn, also with reference to the stela of Jj.[24] In fact, at the beginning of the investigations it was tempting – and seemed plausible – that the buildings preceding Sanctuary I, dated to the time of Senwosret I by built-in inscriptions, should be dated to the reigns of earlier kings.[25] However, the archaeological evidence is more complicated and cannot be made consistent with this simplified model. For the sanctuary of Heqaib no longer stands as an isolated building in this part of the town. Thanks to detailed investigations over several years in the vicinity of the sanctuary and especially in the main street of the city running alongside it, it was possible to integrate the sanctuary stratigraphically into the complex development of the adjacent town quarters. The direct stratigraphic connection of the entrance into the festival courtyard with the entrance into the sanctuary of Heqaib provided a decisive chronological key-horizon associated with the time of Senwosret I. As this layer sloped not only to the west, but in the street also to the south, Sanctuary III was initially about one metre lower than the entrance to the festival courtyard. As a consequence, more layers accumulated in the street in this lower area than in the north in front of the courtyard. Until the construction of Sanctuary I, however, the difference in height of about 2 m between the floor of Sanctuary III and the last built Sanctuary I was not filled, a difference that is also referred to by Dorn for an older dating of Sanctuary II. In fact, before the construction of Sanctuary I, the street in front of the sanctuary had only risen by about 60 cm. However, the new sanctuary (I), presumably in anticipation of the continuously rising level of the street, was built over a thick backfill at a much higher level, while the level of the road remained unchanged. The difference in level to the street was therefore bridged by an external staircase made of mud bricks, which led up to the entrance of Sanctuary I.

The oldest sanctuary attested so far on this site is Sanctuary IV from the Eleventh Dynasty (*Bauschicht* 15). The coincidence in date with the restoration inscrip-

[21] '*Königlichen Residenz-Handwerkern*', Franke, *Heqaib*, 107; see also comments in Freed, in der Manuelian (ed.), *Studies in Honor of William Kelly Simpson*, vol. I, 314.

[22] An overview of the building sequence of the sanctuaries is given in von Pilgrim, *Entwicklung der Verehrungsstätten des Heqaib*, 412-18.

[23] Von Pilgrim, *MDAIK* 53, 152-7 and pl. 20. In addition, it should be noted that column shafts from the Temple of Mentuhotep II were used in the water channel of the oldest phase of the festival courtyard.

[24] Dorn, *Kisten und Schreine*, 48.

[25] As it was at the beginning of the investigations in the preliminary report, *cf.* von Pilgrim, *MDAIK* 53, 157.

Fig. 3 – View of the stela in its excavated context in Sanctuary II © photo: C. von Pilgrim

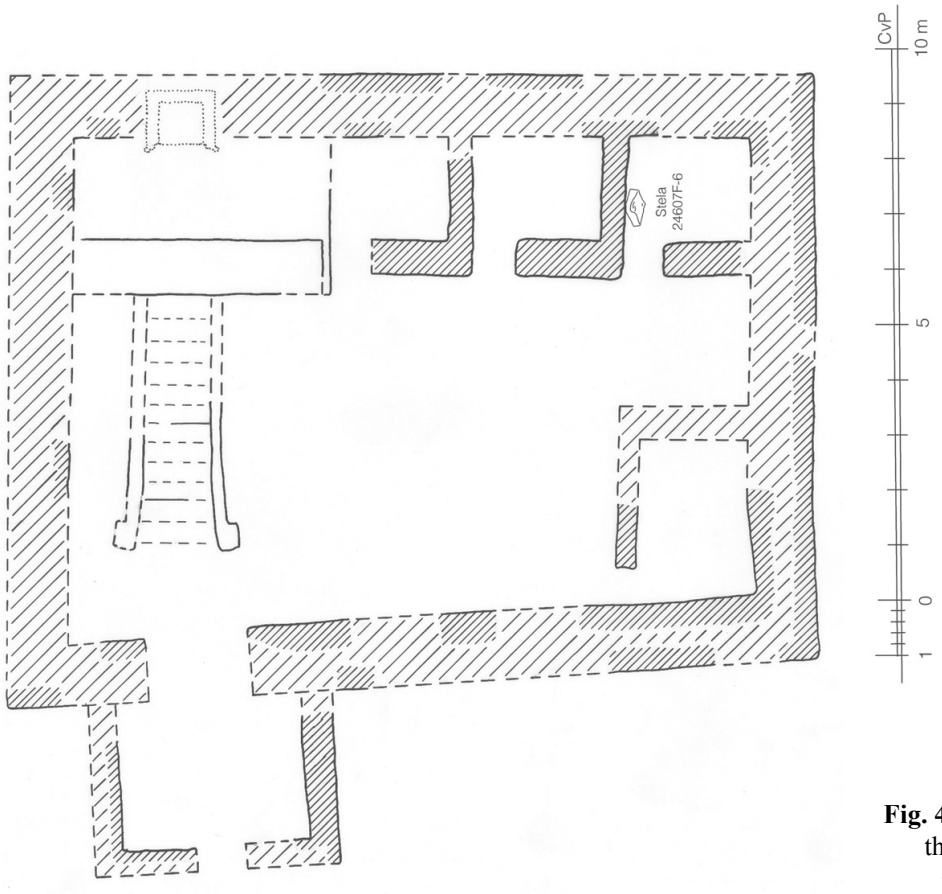


Fig. 4 – Plan of Sanctuary II showing the position of stela 24607F-6 © drawing: C. von Pilgrim

tion of Intef III on a lintel, which was found and most probably reused in the latest sanctuary (I),[26] suggests that it may originally have belonged to Sanctuary IV. So far, it has not been possible to confirm the existence of an even older sanctuary in this area of the city to whose restoration the inscription could have made reference. Dorn therefore argued that the inscription can only refer to the restoration of Sanctuary IV and must therefore belong to a more recent phase (Sanctuary III), although he quotes Seidlmayer, who has no doubts about a tradition of sanctuaries in this area since the Sixth Dynasty.[27] The complete archaeological evidence, however, makes these considerations by Dorn obsolete.[28]

The Mutilation of the Hieroglyphs

The stela of Jj presents the 'mutilation' of two hieroglyphic signs: the horned viper (GSL I9) – represented in such a condition twice, both in line 2 – and the crocodile (GSL I5) in column 4. The viper sign is also represented again in column 4, but this time it is complete (although, as noted above, the hieroglyphs in the rows and those in the columns are clearly by two different hands).

The two vipers in line 2 are mutilated in different ways: the first the head is separated from the body and shown in front of it, while for the second the separated head is shown at an oblique angle next to the body. The crocodile (in vertical column 4) is represented instead in an incomplete form, with the hind part of the body absent.

The mutilation of the two vipers in the horizontal lines of the stela of Jj is perfectly in keeping with other stelae of the Eleventh Dynasty.[29] Also, the co-presence of complete and incomplete vipers on the same stela is attested in other instances, as documented by Melanie Pitkin for 14 stelae of the First Intermediate Period.[30] The presence/absence of viper mutilation on the stela of Jj can be explained by the differences between the handwriting in the horizontal and vertical lines: it is reasonable to consider that different textual sources were used for the stela inscriptions, since the horizontal lines present a standard offering formula that would have been 'mechanically' repeated from stela to stela, while part of the vertical inscription includes very personal information which would not have been duplicated. Therefore, the sculptor who carved the names was not versed in the concept of viper mutilation (also perhaps because there might have been a time gap between the two types of inscriptions).[31]

While the phenomenon of the mutilation of the viper is frequently attested between the end of the Old Kingdom and the very early Middle Kingdom (at least until the end of the Eleventh Dynasty), the mutilation of the crocodile in a stela inscription is a unicum. The crocodile head of the hieroglyphic sign GSL I5 was occasionally struck by arrows in carvings of the First Intermediate Period-early Middle Kingdom,[32] but in no instance is it included among the signs targeted in the mutilation process. The type of crocodile mutilation recorded on the stela of Jj is, to our knowledge, unattested in any similar source from the same period, nor does it occur in other sources where the mutilation of signs is usually documented. Moreover, the presence of a mutilated sign inside a theophorous name – such as Sobekhotep – is even more exceptional, since the attested custom was to avoid manipulating the crocodile sign, phonetically spelling the single signs (*s, b, k*) rather than mutilating the triliteral.

The presence of the manipulated crocodile hieroglyph questions the logic behind the system in which the hieroglyphs were mutilated in the transition phase between the late Old Kingdom and the early Middle Kingdom.

The manipulation of hieroglyphs: the rise of a practice

The manipulation[33] of hieroglyphic signs appeared for the first time in the *Pyramid Texts* of Unas (end of the Fifth Dynasty).[34] The main intent of this phenomenon was to 'mutilate' a grapheme or alter its composition by omitting/substituting specific signs.[35] The manipulation consisted of six main – alternative – processes applied to a grapheme:

[26] Slab No. 100, Habachi, *The Sanctuary of Heqaib*, 111.
[27] Seidlmayer, in Seidlmayer (ed.), *Texte und Denkmäler*, 306.
[28] Unfortunately, the pottery from this area has not yet been conclusively presented. For some examples from House 87c (*Bauschicht* 14), which is contemporary with Sanctuary III, and from House 109, which is beneath the festival courtyard and H 87 (*Bauschicht* 15), see Rzeuska, *MDAIK* 55, 197-201.
[29] Pitkin, *Egypt in the First Intermediate Period*, § *Mutilation and suppression of hieroglyphs*.
[30] Pitkin, *Egypt in the First Intermediate Period*, stelae nos 68, 136 (?), 154a, 254 (?), 274, 327, 341, 373 (?), 390, 406, 556, 580, 631, 641.
[31] On other stelae the viper is only mutilated in the final part of the offering formula, the one that is usually added secondarily, Pitkin, *Egypt in the First Intermediate Period*, stela no. 406.
[32] Ritner, *The Mechanics*, 164-5; see also Fischer, *WZKM* 57, 59-60 (for a crocodile sign from the nome standard of Dendera) and Spiegelberg, *RT* 23, 101-2 (stela in Leiden Rijksmuseum, Z 2-3).
[33] Here, manipulation refers to the mutilation, replacement, or the omission of a hieroglyphic sign. The manipulation is attested in the hieroglyphic script and not in hieratic.
[34] Roth, in Ritner (ed.), *Essays for the Library of Seshat*, 291-310; Lacau, *ZÄS* 51; Thuault, *ZÄS* 147/1, 106-14.
[35] There is no regularity and systematicity in the *Pyramid Texts* carved on the walls of the royal pyramids, although till the reign of Pepi II the phenomenon displays more stability and consistency.

1. The mutilation of the body by cutting it into two separate parts, as though severed with a blade;
2. The covering of body parts by the addition of plaster;[36]
3. The omission of body parts, cutting out part/s of the body;
4. The drawing of a sign as an incomplete form;
5. The substitution of the sign (via spelling it out phonetically or using another equivalent phonetic sign or group of signs or a 'symbolic' substitute);
6. The omission of a sign.

At the dawn of this custom, the signs involved uniquely represented living beings, primarily and consistently focusing on human figures (male and female).[37] They were generally omitted or less frequently replaced by abstract symbols (a circle or a diagonal line).[38] From the time of Teti/Pepi I, human signs, especially when used as classifiers, were affected in parts of their bodies.[39]

Starting from the time of Pepi I, the manipulation (omission and mutilation) was applied to a wider array of signs representing animals and especially mammals: lions (GSL E23), hares (GSL E34), hartebeests (GSL E9), gazelles (GSL E29), elephants (GSL E26), cows, calves, and bulls (GSL E1-3); with less frequency to hippopotami (GSL E25), donkeys (GSL E7), giraffes (GSL E27), and baboons (GSL E32-33);[40] more rarely jackals (GSL E15-21), rams (GSL E10), collared goats (GSL E31), and goatskins (GSL F26).[41] Scorpions (GSL L7) were represented in a form that omitted the tail.[42] Jackals (GSL E17) were suppressed only in the pyramid of Pepi I.[43] Most importantly, no birds, insects, snakes, and reptiles were involved in the process of mutilation at this stage,[44] although the words for snakes and worms were not accompanied by any determinative.[45] The horned viper (*f*) and cobra (*ḏ*) were regularly spelled and fully represented in the *Pyramid Texts* corpora.[46]

Although the practice of mutilation shows some signs of variability and inconsistency within the *Pyramid Texts* corpora, it was subject to its own 'rules' (though this varied from pyramid to pyramid), some of which have been identified by scholars.[47] For instance, in the first attestations of the phenomenon (time of Teti/Pepi I), the human determinative was 'mutilated' in the upper part of the body, which involved the head, whereas in the later stage the mutilation affected the lower part of the human figure (time of Merenre/Pepi II).[48]

The manipulation of hieroglyphs in the private sphere at the end of the Old Kingdom

The practice of manipulating hieroglyphs in funerary contexts rapidly passed from the royal to the private domain, breaking up the documentary isolation of the *Pyramid Texts* corpora. The appearance of the 'mutilation/omission/replacement' phenomenon in private contexts is first attested in the second half of the Sixth Dynasty,[49] and followed its own evolutionary path with innovation, change, and transformation. Once detached from the royal sphere and control, the manipulation phenomenon also assumed traits of higher inconsistency and randomness, distributed across various contexts without any regularity or systematicity.

The practice of hieroglyph manipulation in private contexts of the late Old Kingdom is mainly documented in funerary chambers or coffin inscriptions.[50] The reptiles, vipers, and cobras are for the first time mutilated in the private funerary inscriptions of the late Sixth Dynasty.[51] The first non-royal inscriptions with

[36] See especially Leclant, *CRAIBL* 121/2, 282, 288.
[37] Also the signs representing fishes were consistently omitted, Roth, in Ritner (ed.), *Essays for the Library of Seshat*, 293. Lacau, *ZÄS* 51, 42-9.
[38] Roth, in Ritner (ed.), *Essays for the Library of Seshat*, 292; Lacau, *ZÄS* 51, 17-24; Iannarilli, *JAEI* 17, 41.
[39] Iannarilli, *JAEI* 17, 40.
[40] Roth, in Ritner (ed.), *Essays for the Library of Seshat*, 293, Lacau, *ZÄS* 51, 36-41.
[41] Roth, in Ritner (ed.), *Essays for the Library of Seshat*, 293.
[42] Lacau, *ZÄS* 51, 49.
[43] Roth, in Ritner (ed.), *Essays for the Library of Seshat*, 293.
[44] The pelican is omitted in one instance, probably because fish could potentially be hidden in its beak; Roth, in Ritner (ed.), *Essays for the Library of Seshat*, 294; Lacau, *ZÄS* 51, 41.
[45] Leclant, *CRAIBL* 121/2, 282.
[46] Leclant, *CRAIBL* 121/2, 282.
[47] Iannarilli, in Piacentini, Delli Castelli (eds), *Old Kingdom Art and Archaeology*, 296-303; Iannarilli, in Rosati, Guidotti (eds), *Proceedings of the XI International Congress*, 287-90.
[48] Iannarilli, *JAEI* 17, 30-40, esp. table 1.
[49] Roth, in Ritner (ed.), *Essays for the Library of Seshat*, 303 and Jéquier *Tombeaux de particuliers contemporains de Pépi II*, 73, 81, 103, pl. 7. The tomb of Ihy at Saqqara may be an earlier example, since it probably dates to the reign of Unas but was usurped by Princess Idu in the later Sixth Dynasty. The original plan of inscription foresaw the inclusion of human signs in a complete form (as in the fragments of an offering list and on the west side of the sarcophagus where the determinative for the word *kꜣt* is present; while on the east side, the determinative is omitted). In a second phase, probably by workmen of the usurper Idu in the late Sixth Dynasty, the human figures were erased, see Roth, in Ritner (ed.), *Essays for the Library of Seshat*, 299-300.
[50] The vipers on an offering table in the tomb of Nesw at South Saqqara show mutilation. The context is dated to after the Sixth Dynasty, see Berger-El-Naggar, in Pantalacci, Berger-El-Naggar (eds), *Des Néferkarê aux Montouhotep*, 15-30, fig. 16.
[51] Lacau, *ZÄS* 51, 49; Polotsky, *Zu den Inschriften der 11. Dynastie*. Before the late Sixth Dynasty, vipers and cobras

mutilated viper/cobra signs are found in a number of tombs at Heliopolis:[52] vipers are cut at the neck, while cobras are omitted.[53] Barbara Russo has presented 60 cases documenting the mutilation of the horned viper (relating to the suppression of the head only) between the late Old Kingdom and the very early Middle Kingdom and has convincingly shown how this phenomenon had its epicentre in the Memphite necropolis – specifically at Saqqara South.[54] It is not inconceivable that the manipulation of hieroglyphs passed from the royal to the private sphere in this area of the Memphite necropolis around the end of the Sixth Dynasty, which is also the time when the royal tradition of the *Pyramid Texts* moved into the private sphere.[55]

The case of Weni at Abydos[56] shows how the manipulation of hieroglyphs in funerary texts also reached southern Egypt at the end of the late Old Kingdom. While the hieroglyphic signs in the funerary inscriptions of Weni's father, Iuu, vizier during the reign of Pepi I, were not mutilated or omitted, all the inscriptions from the subterranean rooms in the tomb of Weni bear mutilated signs, including the viper and the name of Weni himself.[57]

While in the *Pyramid Texts* targeted signs inside proper/divine names were – at most – avoided but never mutilated, because proper names were considered sacred, the private contexts show a peculiar deviation by extending the mutilation of signs also to proper names. For instance, in the tomb of Idu at Dendera, the name of the seated child in Idu's name (GSL A17) is mutilated,[58] at Saqqara the name of Meru is reproduced with the sign of the lion cut in two parts,[59] and at Abydos, the epithet *smsw* (GSL A20) in the name of Weni is deprived of the lower part of its body.[60] However, in none of the preserved cases (both in the private and royal spheres), were the signs (either as ideograms or determinatives) of a theophoric name mutilated when it contained animals (such as crocodiles, birds, jackals, etc.): these signs were instead accurately avoided by phonetically spelling them.[61]

The manipulation of hieroglyphs in the First Intermediate Period–early Middle Kingdom: an experimental phase?

The practice of manipulating hieroglyphs evolved as it spread out from the centre where it first appeared. For instance, in the late Old Kingdom the rule seems to be set rather clearly in that mutilated signs were not used beyond the proper funerary space (the one in close proximity to the deceased): for instance, in the tomb of Meru at Saqqara,[62] dated to the Sixth Dynasty, the name of the deceased is written with the body of the lion cut into two parts in inscriptions in the funerary rooms, while in the structure above occurrences of his name show no mutilation.[63] The tomb of Weni at Abydos provides an even clearer case, where the spelling of his name is 'systematically' mutilated only in the subterranean chamber, being written complete in inscriptions in the above-ground parts. By the beginning of the First Intermediate Period, the practice of mutilation seems instead to have migrated also to inscriptions on different media, not always intimately connected with the funerary sacred space, such as stelae, offering tables and false doors.[64]

In particular, the mutilation of the viper in the late Old Kingdom and afterwards – in private contexts – assumed some peculiar traits, and endured as the most persistent feature even by the First Intermediate Period, when the practice of mutilation/omission started to wane (very early Middle Kingdom, *i.e*. late Eleventh Dynasty). In the attested cases of sign mutilation of the late Old Kingdom–Eleventh Dynasty, the viper shows four different types of inflicted damage: *a.* head separated from the body, as though severed by a cut; *b.* head separated from the body and displaced somewhere else in an unnatural position (often placed above the viper's body); *c.* without the head; *d.* without the tail. [65] The late Sixth Dy-

were not subject to any type of manipulation in either royal or private contexts apart one single exception: the tomb of Mereruka where the cobra is avoided in the word Wadjet, Roth, in Ritner (ed.), *Essays for the Library of Seshat*, 301, table 18.1. See also Firth, Gunn, *Teti Pyramid Cemeteries*, 173-4, pls 2-4 and Collombert, *Le tombeau de Mérérouka*, 76, no. 133. In private contexts of the late Old Kingdom inanimate signs – such as the emblem of divinity (GSL R8) – are for the first time subjected to the manipulation of signs, *cf*. Lacau, *ASAE* 26, 80 (suppression).

[52] Daressy, Barsanti, *ASAE* 16, 193-220 (archaeological context and plan). See comments on the mutilation in Lacau, *ASAE* 26, 77-81.

[53] Roth, in Ritner (ed.), *Essays for the Library of Seshat*, 303. In these tombs lions also continued to be mutilated.

[54] Russo, *BIFAO* 110, 261.

[55] Willems, *Historical and Archaeological Aspects*, 168-77; Morales, *The Transmission of the Pyramid Texts*, 1-16. See especially Allen, in Johnson, Wente (eds), *Studies in Honor of George R. Hughes*, 1-29.

[56] Richards, *JARCE* 39, 85-102.

[57] Richards, *JARCE* 39, 98, fig. 23.

[58] Roth, in Ritner (ed.), *Essays for the Library of Seshat*, 306.

[59] Lacau, *ASAE* 26, 78.

[60] Richards, *JARCE* 39, fig. 23.

[61] Lacau, *ASAE* 26, 72 (suppression); Lacau, *ZÄS* 51, 58. See also the comments in Roth, in Ritner (ed.), *Essays for the Library of Seshat*, 307.

[62] Daressy, Barsanti, *ASAE* 16, 195-8.

[63] Lacau, *ASAE* 26, 81.

[64] See Russo, *BIFAO* 110, table 1, from nos. 39-55.

[65] Pitkin, *New Perspectives*, 107-22, esp. table 5.0.

nasty tomb of Idu at Dendera[66] contains one of the first documented combinations of two different mutilations of the viper sign: most of the vipers are shown headless while two are represented decapitated,[67] indicating that different types of mutilation coexisted. The removal of the tail, documented only sporadically, seems to occur instead only in later times, by the beginning of the Eleventh Dynasty, and only in provincial contexts.[68] Also the social group seems to expand during the First Intermediate Period, reaching a more modest and peripheral level of the population as demonstrated by the titles of the owners of some stelae from Nag ed-Deir and Rizeiqat.[69]

The number of signs targeted for mutilation during the First Intermediate Period gradually reduced and disappeared at the dawn of the Middle Kingdom, shortly after the reign of Mentuhotep II,[70] only to make a sudden reappearance in the late Middle Kingdom. In this sort of 'second phase' of manipulation, the hieroglyphs were mutilated in a different manner, being drawn in an incomplete way from the start, rather than being properly mutilated (body erased, divided into two parts, covered by plaster, etc., see above points) or omitted/substituted.[71]

The mutilation of the vipers in the stela of Jj is in accordance with the customs attested in the transitional phase of the First Intermediate Period–very early Middle Kingdom, when the manipulation of sings is mainly limited to the reptile signs, and specifically reduced only to the *f* grapheme. Strikingly, the type of mutilation and the balanced position of the crocodile sign within the arrangement of the column of hieroglyphs[72] does not find any correspondence with the features of the time but it could be more in line with the mutilations documented for the late Middle Kingdom.[73]

Conclusions

The stela of Jj features epigraphic and stylistic criteria that directly support a date in the Eleventh Dynasty, even if most of these are still in use in the early Twelfth Dynasty. Whereas the mutilation of the viper signs and the detachment of the spinal cord from the backbone sign are not documented beyond the end of the Eleventh Dynasty[74], the style of flat and low relief rather points to a date at the beginning of the Twelfth Dynasty

The find-context of the stela is undoubtedly dated to the Twelfth Dynasty and the reign of Senwosret I. The sanctuary in which the stela was found (Sanctuary II) was built only after the construction of the Satet temple of Senwosret I had started because the building that precedes the construction of Sanctuary II cuts into the construction rubble of the Temple of Satet. The building above Sanctuary II is dated to Senwosret I by the stelae and shrines of Sarenput I. Therefore, the sanctuary in which the stela was found must necessarily be dated within the time frame of Senwosret I, as it was squeezed between two buildings belonging to his time.

The position of the stela at the time of discovery does not allow any conclusions to be drawn about its original placement in the sanctuary. Its position cannot be considered as *in situ* in a strict sense, since it was leaning with its recto side against a wall. Therefore, it remains unclear whether the stela was originally set up in one of the rooms in this sanctuary. The style and the epigraphic features of the stela might support the conjecture that it was originally made for installation in Sanctuary IV of the Eleventh Dynasty. However, the stela's good state of preservation – with the exception of the natural stone defects – hardly supports the idea that it had previously been used in an earlier context (Sanctuary IV or III), lying exposed to the natural elements for some time and then reemployed in Sanctuary II where it was found. In the context of the other cult objects found scattered around, it seems reasonable to assume that the stela was originally placed in one of the rooms of Sanctuary II (possibly to be considered as side chapels).

In conclusion, given the contrasting elements emerging from the above analysis, it can be inferred that some features of the Eleventh Dynasty style and epigraphy found a longer echo in the first part of the Twelfth Dynasty at Elephantine, as it is also visible in the shrine of Sarenput I in the Heqaib Sanctuary (I).[75]

Finally, the mutilation of the crocodile – and particularly its presence within a theophoric name – is a unicum that finds no close parallels in the preserved documents from the Old Kingdom to the early Middle Kingdom. Its presence on a stela from a site such as Elephantine is significant, being many miles away from the centre of origin and diffusion of the practice of mutilated hi-

[66] Petrie, *Dendereh*, 46, pl. Va
[67] Roth, in Ritner (ed.), *Essays for the Library of Seshat*, 306.
[68] The removal of the tail is a rare feature in the First Intermediate Period: see for instance Petrie, *Qurneh*, 3, 16-17, pls II-III; Clère, Vandier, *Textes de la Première Période Intermédiaire*, 14, § 18; Brovarski, *Naga ed-Dêr*, 386, fig. 12.9 (stela from Nag ed-Deir, N 4593). See also Russo, *BIFAO* 110, 252, n. 6.
[69] See Pitkin, *Egypt in the First Intermediate Period*, § *Corpus of First Intermediate Period false doors and stelae*.
[70] Brovarski, in Lesko (ed.), *Ancient Egyptian and Mediterranean Studies*, 58.
[71] Miniaci, *RdE* 61, 113-34.
[72] Note that if the crocodile had been carved complete and then erased or covered by plaster it would appear visibly offline compared to the other signs.
[73] *Cf.* Miniaci, *RdE* 61, figs 3, 5.
[74] Russo, *BIFAO* 110, table 1.
[75] *Cf.* Habachi, *The Sanctuary of Heqaib*, vol. I, pl. 11; Freed, *The Development of Middle Kingdom Egyptian Relief*, 212.

eroglyphs (the Memphite necropolis). The incomplete crocodile sign on the stela of Jj supports the idea that the mutilation of hieroglyphs continued along its own developmental and experimental path after having abandoned the centre of origin.

In addition, given that the mutilation of the crocodile sign most closely resembles those of the late Middle Kingdom, one can also conjecture that the practice of mutilating signs was not suddenly interrupted at the end of the Eleventh Dynasty but continued, largely invisible in the archaeological record, and was occasionally reproduced and subject to experimentation, especially in peripheral areas (which are sometimes the most conservative) far from the decorum of the central administration.[76] Here, the term peripheral refers to both the geographical and the human spheres (given also the underprivileged social status of Jj). And it seems that from the periphery, the practice of mutilating hieroglyphs had returned to the centre in the late Middle Kingdom by a seemingly invisible route.[77]

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[76] *Cf.* Baines, *JARCE* 27, 1-23.

[77] Miniaci, *The mutilated Hieroglyphs, Gramsci, and the Absorption of Practices of the Dominant in the Folk Culture*, in preparation.

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Three Types of inscribed Middle Kingdom Objects in the Purchases by Flinders Petrie

Stephen Quirke

Abstract

For accurate research on dating, context and authentication, Egyptian antiquities may be divided into three categories: (1) items known to be finds from documented excavations; (2) items known to be purchases or gifts that were not documented at find-place; and (3) items without acquisition history. Museum records and database fields often conflate categories (2) and (3) under the term "unprovenanced", obscuring the tasks required in provenance research. From the University College London collections and related archives, this article provides an assessment of acquisition history for two dozen Middle Kingdom and Second Intermediate Period inscribed artefacts in category (2) – items documented as purchased from a seller outside archaeological fieldwork and without verifiable provenance. The results suggest potential for increased precision in object histories, but also reinforce that any understanding of ancient Egypt must begin and end with documented excavation and finds from securely archaeological contexts – the category (1) material.

1. The Site Archive in the History of Collections

The Egyptian and Sudanese archaeology collections held at University College London (UCL) are known for their high proportion of finds from documented excavations. This feature is relatively unusual in the context of regions where ancient monumental or 'art' production on a vast scale has survived into the age of an equally massive scale of collecting. The main part of the Egyptian archaeological material now at UCL comes from fieldwork directed by Flinders Petrie (1853-1942) or funded by his Egyptian Research Account (1893-1926 for sites in Egypt). In comparison with material of unknown provenance, finds with documented context expand exponentially the potential for studying past societies. The additional presence of much of the relevant fieldwork documentation substantially increases the significance of such collections for further research. A static contrast between ancient and modern would create an unrealistic and disruptive frame of understanding, which would miss the wider-reaching practice of an 'archaeological imagination' with connective and reproductive qualities.[1] Therefore only in restricted material and temporal terms of production does an archaeological 'site archive' bifurcate into two heuristic sets: a set of aspects or features materially brought into view at a 'site', and, embroiled in these, a set of tangible or intangible material produced in the process of 'documenting' or bringing into view that site (a term that brings further historical problems of its own[2]). In pragmatic terms, too, different skill-sets may be required in preserving and providing access to these heuristic material sets of 'finds' and 'records'. Therefore the two categories are often best placed in different institutions for safe-keeping and study (including display, as a form of study or knowledge production). A shared home for finds and records constitutes a specific conjuncture of possibilities in the formation of collections. For the archaeology of Egypt, the earliest example of such a home on a large scale is the Egyptian Museum,

[1] Shanks, *The Archaeological Imagination*; Shanks, in Abraham (ed.), *The Cambridge Handbook of the Imagination*.
[2] See Trampier, *Landscape Archaeology*, 1-30.

Cairo, established by decree of Mehmet Ali in 1835 and secured in 1858 when Said appointed Auguste Mariette as commissioner for a new Antiquities Service, opening a museum at Boulaq in 1863.[3] The first Egyptian Museum register, the Inventaire de Boulaq handwritten by Mariette from 1858, combined principles of museum documentation and excavation finds register, expressed in its later formal name, the Journal d'Entrée.[4]

Outside Egypt, the UCL collections stand alongside other institutions with substantial 'site archives' that combine finds and documentation from more than one year of fieldwork. Major museums here include the Egyptian Museum Turin (Missione Archeologica Italiana excavations under directorship of Ernesto Schiaparelli),[5] Egyptian Museum and Papyrus Collection, Berlin (Deutsche-Orient Gesellschaft, notably the Amarna excavations directed by Louis Borchardt),[6] Musée du Louvre, Paris (notably the Serapeum excavations by Mariette 1850-1853),[7] and the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (MMA Egyptian Expedition excavations since 1906) and Museum of Fine Arts Boston (excavations directed by George Reisner).[8] Several large collections with finds documentation are in universities, including the Egyptian Museum, Leipzig (excavations directed by Georg Steindorff),[9] Garstang Museum, Liverpool (excavations directed by John Garstang), and the Oriental Institute Museum, Chicago (fieldwork directed by James Breasted and Uvo Hölscher).[10] In most instances, each institution holds just one portion of the finds and documentation, though often constituting the essential core for research. Excavation finds are still more widely dispersed through the multiple channels of institutions and individuals providing financial support, as analysed by Alice Stevenson for the Liverpool- and London-based private operations of Garstang and Petrie,[11] and Patrizia Piacentini, Fredrik Hagen and Kim Ryholt for the Egyptian Museum, Cairo.[12] Though holding only one part of each site archive, all these collections offer core resources for a wide range of research, and are thus a familiar part of current study on the Egyptian past. Less widely recognised, and muddying the general image of the archaeological collection, is the equal prominence of unprovenanced objects bought by or for the same persons who were directing fieldwork. In this paper I focus on a selection of Middle Kingdom and Second Intermediate Period objects in the UCL collection that are documented, not as excavation finds, but as the diametrical opposite, items purchased from a seller outside archaeological fieldwork and without verifiable provenance. Scrutiny of such purchases may help in refining our methods for assessing authenticity and provenance, on topics such as chronology, figurative art, and kingship, where unprovenanced objects might otherwise crowd out the material from excavation.

2. Finding Flinders Petrie Object Purchases: Notebooks, Pocket Diaries, and the Petrie 'Journals'

As prominently established in his own typological catalogues, starting in 1914,[13] and as noted by his biographer Margaret Drower, the archaeologist Flinders Petrie bought small antiquities on a large scale each year he directed digs in Egypt: 1883-1914, 1919-1921, 1923-1924.[14] With his focus on fieldwork and site reports, Petrie did not keep a unified register of his combined collection of site finds and market purchases; the present inventory with 81,000 sequence numbers commenced only under his successor Stephen Glanville in 1935.[15] However, as Drower points out, at the back of many field notebooks and pocket diaries, over five decades, Petrie listed prices paid for several thousand objects, either in batches or itemised, as part of his travel expenditure notes. Here I examine his records relating to a selection of purchases of individual seal-amulets, statuettes and stelae (Table 1). After presenting the limited documentation available, I consider how far these archival sources may be useful for research, particularly on issues of authenticity and provenance. Over the discussion looms a larger ethical dilemma on the incorporation of unprovenanced material into research. As Fredrik Hagen and Kim Ryholt document in their analysis of the early twentieth century antiquities trade, the ethics of buying antiquities was a live debate for contemporaries of Petrie.[16] The relation between scientific research and finance is a constant, rather than a variable, at the heart of histories of archaeology.

[3] Abou-Ghazi, *ASAE* 67.
[4] Dewachter, *BIFAO* 85.
[5] Del Vesco, Moiso (eds), *Missione Egitto 1903-1920*.
[6] Voss, *Die Geschichte der Abteilung Kairo des DAI*.
[7] Devauchelle, *EVO* 17.
[8] Thomas, *The American Discovery of Egypt*.
[9] Voss, Raue (eds), *Georg Steindorff und die deutsche Ägyptologie im 20. Jahrhundert*.
[10] Abt, *American Egyptologist*.
[11] Stevenson, *Scattered Finds*.
[12] Piacentini, in Helmbold-Doyé, Gertzen (eds), *Mosse im Museum*; Hagen, Ryholt, *The Antiquities Trade*, 45-52.
[13] Petrie, *Amulets*, 1.
[14] Drower, *Flinders Petrie*, 330.
[15] The first entries in Register Volume 1, with Amarna Period objects, are in the handwriting of Glanville, as confirmed by H. S. Smith.
[16] Hagen, Ryholt, *The Antiquities Trade*, particularly 131-3.

(a) Seal-amulets				
UC no.	Petrie 1917	Notebook date	Notebook no. and page	Name
11225	11.E	1895-1896	109, -7	*ḏd-ꜥnḫ-rꜥ*
11353	12.H	1894-1895	75, -22	*mw-nw-ib*
11419	13.G	1894-1895	75, -18	*nbt-iwnit*
11433	13.T	1893-1894	93, -12	*sḥtp-ib-rꜥ-ꜥnḫ*
11457	13.AQ	1895-1896	109, -8	*ꜥnḫ-rn*
11503	13.CK	1894-1895	Journal 19 December	*snb=f* (or *snbty.fy*)
11527	13.15.1	1898-1899	4, -3	[...]-*ḫw-tɜwy*
(b) Statuettes				
UC no.	Page 1976	notebook date	notebook no. and page	name
14652	35	1894-1895	75, -17	*nḫti*
14659	53	1893-1894	93, -14	*i.n*
14697	Stewart III, 101	1895-1896	107, -2	6 figures round stand
14746	138	1908-1909	80, -5	by *ḫnms yšw*
(c) Stelae and inscribed blocks				
UC no.	Stewart 1976-9	notebook date	notebook no. and page	name
14326	II, no. 79	1893-1894	53	*imny, sbk-m-ḥb*
14345	II, no. 115	1900-1901	3, -22	*ptḥ-sꜥnḫ*
14411	II, no. 76	1901-1902	7a, -21	*ḫꜥ-ꜥnḫ-rꜥ*
14419	II, no. 138	1895-1896	107, -4 ?	*nfr-ḥtp*
14454	II, no. 116	1901-1902	7a, -12	*ddw-sbk*
14457	II, no. 109	1901-1902	7a, -21	*ddw-nšmt*
14487	II, no. 132	1893-1894	93, -17	*snwsrt*
14569	I, p. 24, pl. 14.1	1895-1896	107, -3	*ḥby*
14598	II, no. 118	1893-1894	93, -21	*ꜥɜb.n=i-n=i*
15524	III, 37	1893-1894	93, -10	*rꜥ-ḥtp*
Stela and lintel in the Fitzwilliam Museum				
no.	Martin 2005	notebook date	notebook no. and page	name
E.SS.37	29	1898-1899	4, -7	*snbwy*
E.SS.46	-	1900-1901	3, 7	*imny*

Table 1 – Selection of object purchases recorded in Petrie notebooks and one Journal

Table 1 presents in order of museum inventory number a selection of Middle Kingdom objects which appear in Petrie purchase lists or other archival sources. The lists are from nine seasons between 1893-1894 and 1908-1909. The 'Petrie notebooks'[17] contain his rough notes, written almost entirely in Egypt; even the rare additions of later notes probably all still fall within the period between arrival in Alexandria and return to London. Petrie seems to have intended these documents only for his own reference, as they relate to his immediate need to keep a budget of his expenses. As a result, the list entries are laconic in the extreme, limited to the minimum necessary for conveying to himself the difference between one item and another within an unsorted batch. In general Petrie records only the object type and price, but sometimes a reference to a distinctive feature, such as words from an inscription, makes it possible to identify an object in the collection. For a small number of items, other corners of the archive provide more details. In particular, between 1880 and 1900, Petrie would write on a regular basis, often weekly, to a varying circle of family and close supporters, to provide a private report on working life and finds. He called these circular letters his 'Journals', and that name has also been given to the looser set of correspondence in the 1900s to 1920s, mainly to his family.[18] The Griffith Institute, Oxford, preserves the main set, now placed online with transcripts for maximum accessibility.[19] While the Journals mainly give a periodic account, by week or fortnight, specific dates of purchases sometimes appear in his day-by-day pocket diaries, which also include some further budget lists.[20] Here I present the information available from these sources on the dates, persons, and places involved in the purchase of this selection of inscribed objects. In some instances the Petrie publications and his photographic archives now in London and Oxford add further information.

2.1 1893-1894 fieldwork focus Qift

archival sources: Journal; Notebook 53 inscription copies; Notebook 93 object+nos lists; pocket diary

The 1893-1894 archival sources on purchases cover the three main types of document (Journal, notebooks, pocket diary), and are relatively extensive in comparison with those for many other years. Therefore I provide in this section a more detailed account of the materials, to illustrate the range and potential of these parts of the archive. Barbara Adams published the Journal with numerous identifications of objects mentioned, either found during the excavation at Qift, or purchased at different points there, at Luxor, and at Cairo and other stops on the outward and return journey.[21] The Qift fieldwork came at a turning-point for Petrie, as the first season after Petrie had taken up the Egyptology Chair created at University College London by the bequest of Amelia Edwards (1837-1892). In his inaugural lecture as the first Edwards Professor, Petrie announced his new Egyptian Research Account, a bank account for funds raised to cover costs for an English trainee to join him.[22] In addition to the new financial support to previous private sponsorship from Jesse Haworth and Martyn Kennard, Petrie now had the security of an institutional London work-space of his own to house objects exported from Egypt. Accordingly he resumed his fieldwork on a larger scale, with a new team of local Qufti excavators trained by Fayumi foremen from previous seasons,[23] with the appointed trainee James Quibell to assist him, and with an expanding schedule of exporting finds for supporting museums and for his own collection at University College.[24] These circumstances may in part account for the more substantial 1893-1894 archival record of finds and purchases, particularly for inscriptions on stone. Notebook 93 includes, at the back, nineteen pages with lists of objects and the prices paid. Here the lists contain enough specific entries to correlate the sequence of purchases with the narrative report in the Journal, to a greater extent than for most other seasons (Table 2). The combination confirms the evidence in other notebooks that Petrie generally started his expenditure lists from the first page facing the inside back cover; to follow the time-sequence of writing, I give notebook pages as -1, -2 etc. numbering from the back. For example, in my text below, 'Notebook 93, p. -5' indicates the fifth page from the back cover of that notebook. The 1893-1894 pocket diary allows further precision on the days on which Petrie visited antiquities traders, and sometimes on their names. In addition, Notebook 53 provides copies of hieroglyphic, Greek and Latin inscriptions on stone monuments and blocks, including reference to prices, allowing some further identifications of objects recorded in the Notebook 93 object lists.

[17] Drower, *Flinders Petrie*, xiv-xv; Quirke, in Magee, Bourriau, Quirke (eds), *Sitting beside Lepsius*.
[18] Drower, *Flinders Petrie*, xvi.
[19] Griffith Institute, Petrie Journals.
[20] Del Vesco, in Betrò, Miniaci (eds), *Talking along the Nile*.
[21] Adams, in Boussac, Gabolde, Galliano (eds), *Autour de Coptos*.
[22] Drower, *Flinders Petrie*, 202-3, 211-12.
[23] Drower, *Flinders Petrie*, 214; Quirke, *Hidden Hands*, 42-3.
[24] Stevenson, *Scattered Finds*.

Notebook 93		Journal 1893-1894		Pocket Diary 1893-1894	
page	entry	date	object	date	entry
-3, -4	59+45 entries			24 Nov	Over dealers
				27 Nov	Dealers
-5	boat 500	27 Nov- 8 Dec	Meir boat bought at Giza museum	28 Nov	Museum
-6	papyrus £20		'to old Farag the dealer at Ghizeh' Greek papyrus [Revenue Laws papyrus]	28 Nov	Farag. Papyrus
-7	2 items 'Girgeh'		stop at Girga		
-9	'Ant. Koft'	8-22 Dec			
-10	7 entries		purchases at Qift		
-12	44 entries		purchases on visit to Luxor	20 Dec	Around dealers at Luxor
-13, -14	37+52 entries	23-29 Dec	purchases from 'Girghis the Keneh dealer'; then from 'his son'	22 Dec	Girghis son over
-15, -16	21+12 entries		'Keneh dealer sent his son'	28 Dec	Girghis son over
				9 Jan	Girghis & son over
				20 Jan	Girghis over
-17	49 entries	26 Jan - 9 Feb	purchases from 'the Keneh dealers'	2 Feb	Girghis over
				27 Feb	To Luxor
-22, -23	32+31 entries including from Edris, Abd el Mejid, American Consul			28 Feb	Over dealers with Kennard
				2 Mar	Over dealers
				4 Mar	To Cairo
				9 Mar	to dealers

Table 2 – Correlation of archival sources for purchases from November 1893 to March 1894

The correlation in Table 2 indicates gaps in the record within each document. Sometimes a day of purchasing activity appears in all three sources (as 28 Nov), sometimes in two (2 Feb, 2 Mar: notebook and pocket diary), sometimes just one (9 Mar: pocket diary). The narrative account in the Journal provides the main evidence for a distinct category of finds purchased from *sabakhin*, the persons permitted to remove *sibakh*, a term applied to nitrate-rich soil from antiquities ground.[25] Thus the Journal for 18-26 Jan 1894 records: '*Among other little things the sebakh diggers brought me a fragment of a large alabaster vase of Khufu, found in the town rubbish*'. There seems to be no entry for this in the notebook lists, but it entered his excavation report as follows: '*I bought from a* sebakh *digger on the low ground south of the temple, a piece of a large alabaster jar bearing the name of Khufu*'.[26] As noted on the Griffith Institute online publication, the Journal description and drawing confirm its identification as UC11670; in the Griffith Institute Petrie Album 4 the fragment appears in photograph K29, with the provenance 'found in S. town' in the Petrie handwritten caption. As the Adams transcript and notes show, the Journal for January was filled with excavation finds, leaving less room for reference to purchasing from traders. Petrie seems to have considered the *sabakhin* finds within the site area as having a provenanced status closer to finds by his own paid excavation workforce, and therefore outside the scope of the object purchase lists. Site *sibakh* might be used for fertiliser or for munitions factories, and further research at each locality would be necessary to determine whether the unnamed *sabakhin* in each instance were working indi-

[25] Williams, *Journal of Islamic Archaeology* 3/1.

[26] Petrie, *Koptos*, 4.

vidually on a small scale or were in the employment of larger landowning or industrial concerns.

In the following Journal, for 26 Jan - 9 Feb 1894, Petrie felt it necessary to defend the inclusion of purchases in his reports home: '*I bought some interesting things from the Keneh dealers lately. Perhaps some may think my buyings rather overshadow the work; but as I have spent as much in purchases of my own, as on the work here this season so far, I ought to have something to say*'.

Despite the gaps and possible inconsistencies, the correlation helps to provide a closer temporal and, from this, sometimes a closer spatial context for the sets of purchases within the sequences. As in most years, the 1893-1894 season opened and closed with visits to antiquities traders at Cairo and Giza. For the Notebook 93, p.-5 entry 'boat' price 500, the 27 Nov-8 Dec 1893 Journal confirms the provenance, in describing a visit to the Egyptian Museum at Giza with Quibell: '*We went over the Museum with Fraser, & I bought a fine funeral boat from Mēr with some other little things*'. The inventory published four decades later by Petrie gives the Museum source, but not the Meir provenance: '*261. Wooden boat 28.5 [inches] long, with mast, yards, sail, oar, 4 seated rowers, 4 sailors standing, and a captain. The sailors and captain are let into the deck and plastered; the rowers (who have no place in a sailing boat) have been pasted down on the deck, apparently faking done in the Cairo Museum, where this was bought*'.[27] Rearrangements of figures on models seem endemic, including with those found in excavations for Petrie himself.[28] The pocket diary gives the date of the museum visit as the 28 November.

Early after arrival at Qift for fieldwork, Petrie records in the 8-22 Dec Journal '*We have been looking about on the desert for the cemetery, but have not yet got any great clue to it. It was probably on this side the river as I have bought three pieces of steles & coffin which had been reused in Roman times, & must have come from tombs. One has a part of a list of persons, including two royal people not yet known, a queen Ha-ankh-s* [hieroglyphs], *& a princess Sebek-em-heb* [hieroglyphs]'. The next paragraph centres on a stone block with Latin inscription about a bridge, entered in Notebook 93, p.-10, but I have not found any Notebook 93 reference to the Haankhes and Sobekemheb fragment. Instead it appears in the separate set of inscription excerpts in notebook 53, which also gives prices; the note for this fragment is 'bought 5' (see Fig. 1). The names identify the object as **UC14326**, shown by Oleg Berlev to join a better-preserved fragment acquired by Vladimir Golenischev, now Pushkin MFA I.1.b.32; the two pieces together form the lower part of a stela with inscription relating to the temple precinct of Hathor at Dendera.[29] As it is not entered in Notebook 93, Petrie seems to have bought the more damaged piece outside the scope of his object purchase lists. Arguably, then, it may have come from a minor local vendor. However, its provenance cannot be verified as Qift from these records, and the content of the inscription points strongly to Dendera, across the Nile from Qena, as the more likely source.

Among the few items on Notebook 93, p.-10 beside the Latin bridge inscription, is an entry 'stela Rahotep 20'; Notebook 53 provides a line of hieroglyphs *ḥtp di nswt ptḥ n kȝ n rᶜ-ḥtp* with the notes '*small limestone stela XIIIth Ptah in shrine*' '*bought 20*' (see Fig. 2), identifying this as **UC15524** (see Figs 3-4). In the sequence of correlations, between the p.-9 entry 'Ant. Koft' and the day visit from Qift to Luxor at p.-12 (see below), this item would be a purchase at Qift, from an unidentified seller.

At Notebook 93, p.-12, an entry 'cat [hieroglyphs *sḫtp-ib-rᶜ-ᶜnḫ*]' is one of several items noted in the record of a day visit from Qift to Luxor, farther on in the 8-22 Dec 1893 Journal: '*I went up to Luxor for a day, & happily found Wallis going up on the boat. So we went together over the dealers. I got several nice things ... a bright blue green group of cat & kitten (instead of scarab) with name of a man Ra.s.hotep.ab.ankh on the base*'. The pocket diary pinpoints the date as 20 December 1893. The object is now **UC11433**.[30]

Back at Qift, the Journal 23-29 Dec 1893 relates that '*Girghis the Keneh dealer came over & brought me some antikas lately*'. Girghis is the most often named antiquities trader in the 1893-1894 archive. Hagen and Ryholt have assembled the references to the brothers Girgis and Abd en-Nur Gabriel as Qena-based traders, noting that Petrie first did business with Girgis Gabriel in 1887, that Charles Wilbour was acquiring antiquities from him between 1884 and 1890, and that in 1900 H.O. Lange called the two brothers '*the most significant dealers in Qena*'.[31] The pocket diary provides dates of 22, 28 Dec 1893, 9, 20 Jan, 2 Feb 1894 for visits by Girghis and/or an unnamed son. For a second visit by his son, presumably 22 December 1893, the Journal records two items, a 30-ring weight and a scarab inscribed *rᶜ-nfr-ḏd*, entered in the Notebook 93 lists at p.-14. Other items on that page, not mentioned in the journal, include the '*statue* [hieroglyphs *i.n*]' now **UC14659**. On stylistic and epigraphic grounds, and particularly from the excavated

[27] Petrie, *Funeral Furniture*, 13, now UC16402; Merriman, *Egyptian Watercraft Models*, 391, no. 539.
[28] *Cf.* Serpico, in Picton, Pridden (eds), *Unseen Images*, 109-13.
[29] Berlev, *Палестинский сборник* 13; Berlev, Hodjash, *Egyptian Reliefs and Stelae*, 86, 90-3.
[30] Petrie, *Scarabs and Cylinders*, pl. 16, 13.T.
[31] Hagen, Ryholt, *The Antiquities Trade*, 216-17.

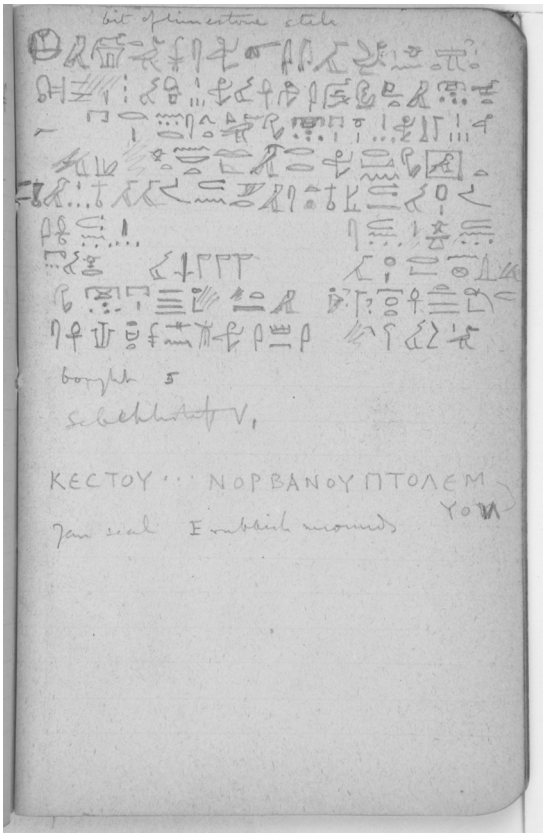

Fig. 1 – Petrie Notebook 53 entry on the Sobekemheb fragment UC14326

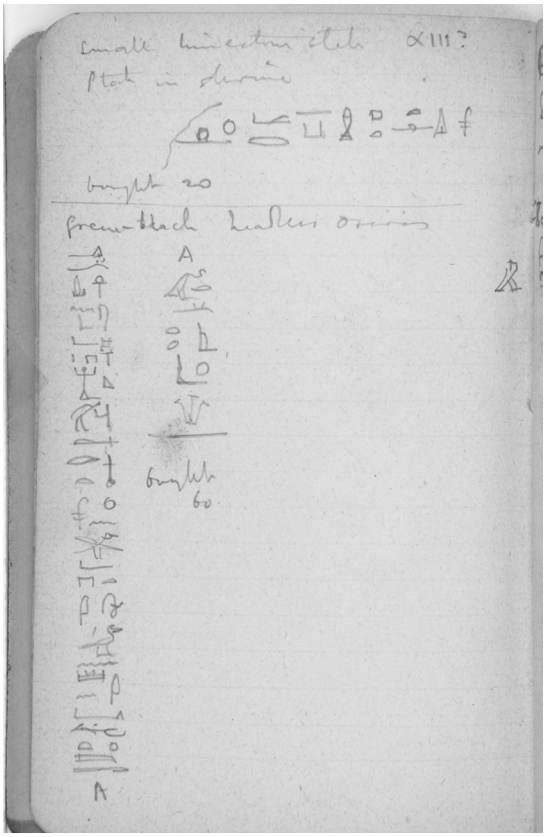

Fig. 2 – Petrie Notebook 53 entry on the Rahotep stela with image of Ptah

Fig. 3 – Rahotep stela with image of Ptah UC15524

Fig. 4 – Reverse of Rahotep stela UC15524, showing incised grid and other traces of use

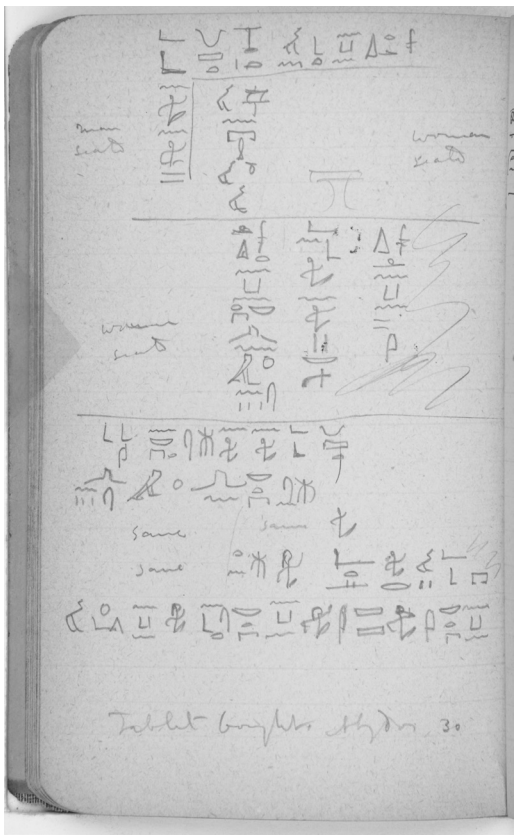

Fig. 5 – Petrie Notebook 53 rough copy of hieroglyphs on stela of Aabnini UC14598

Fig. 6 – Stela of Aabnini UC14598

parallel Manchester 3997 from Garstang 1906 fieldwork at Abydos, Marcel Marée has argued convincingly for an Abydos provenance for this and similar statuettes.[32]

The correlation of archival records offers two further examples of Abydos objects among purchases in 1893-1894. At Notebook 93, p.-21 is an entry '*XIII tablet 30*'; the dynasty date and price correspond to the caption '*Tablet bought Abydos 30*' in Notebook 53 beside a copy of the inscription, that identifies the object as the stela of Aabnini, **UC14598**, now heavily eroded (see Figs 5-6). The Notebook 93, p.-17 list includes a 'hieratic tablet', price 20; other items at pp.-16, -17 correspond to objects mentioned in the 26 Jan-9 Feb 1894 Journal, which also reports his purchase of a '*hieratic tablet (XII dyn?) in two columns of writing, said to be from Abydos*'. The only closely matching object in the Petrie Museum collection is **UC14487**, a remarkable stela with the hieratic content arranged in the manner of a letter, or document in letter style. A single vertical column introduces main beneficiaries (first name not preserved, then *imy-r pr snwsrt* and *imy-r ḥwt-nṯr sbk-ḥtp*), with two columns of horizontal lines to the left, giving the names and titles of another fifty or more individuals. Among these are *imy-r ꜥḫnwty n ḏd-bꜣ<w>* 'overseer of the palace interior for Djedbau' Khentkhetyhotep, and *imy-r ḫtmt* 'treasurer' Khentkhetymsaf; the rare and enigmatic first title is once attested with the prefix title *ḫtmty bity*, indicating membership of the inner court circle of officials at the court of the king, and regularly found with the second.[33] One treasurer of the king has the double name Khentkhetymsaf Seneb, and is attested from a stela from Haraga, now Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek ÆIN 967, and a statue from Abusir, Egyptian Museum Cairo CG 408.[34] The absence of prefix title for the treasurer here might be explained by the exceptional intrusion of this epistolary presentation into this neatly carved stela. However, otherwise even hieratic administrative documents include *ḫtmty bity* when referring to a treasurer;[35] therefore the treasurer Khentkhetymsaf on this stela might instead be an official at a regional level, paired for some other reason there with the palace official Khentkhetyhotep.

[32] Marée, in Marée, *The Second Intermediate Period*, see especially pls 92-5 for Manchester 3997 and UC14659, *cf* Connor, *Être et paraître*, 81, 109, 249, 348, pl. 156.

[33] Grajetzki, *Die höchsten Beamten*, 67 Table 3 treasurer, 190-1 *ḫtmty bity imy-r ꜥḫnwty n ḏd-bꜣw* Intefiqer.

[34] Grajetzki, *Die höchsten Beamten*, 55-6, II.19.

[35] Grajetzki, *Die höchsten Beamten*, 58-9, Belege II.22r-s.

2.2 1894-1895 fieldwork focus Naqada and Ballas

archival sources: Journal; Notebook 75 object+nos lists; pocket diary

Notebook 75 contains lists of objects with prices on fifteen pages. Again the Journal (for this year preserved in the form of a copy by Kate Bradbury) and the pocket diary for the year help to pinpoint some of these lists in time, and give further information on names of sellers and place of sale. The pocket diary also has objects+price lists on three pages at the end set of pre-printed monthly budget tables. Petrie bought from the established dealers (a) at Cairo on his way into and out of Egypt, (b) at Luxor on visits from his Naqada base, and (c) at Qena on his way south to Naqada. The Qena dealers regularly brought batches of antiquities to him at Naqada during his fieldwork weeks, and there are also records of smaller-scale purchases at Qift.

At the start of the journey, on the afternoon of 25 November 1894, Petrie bought from Farag Ismail items including a statue-base, mirror disk, and elements of funerary models from '*what he has from the splendid tomb he f<oun>d at Asyût*' (Journal 15-18 Nov; lists in pocket diary). As noted by Hagen and Ryholt, Farag had a permit to search sites for objects '*in return for providing the Gizeh Museum with a share of the discoveries*'; Valdemar Schmidt referred to this 1894 find, the tomb of Mesehty, in a letter the previous month.[36] The small Mesehty statue-base is now UC14344 (Stewart 1983, pl. 38, no. 87), and some of the other items can be identified from the list description as UC30076-7, 71237, 71241 (model axes, hoes and chisels), and UC71242 (mirror). Weigall published the inscription of the statue-base with the following note on the range of items in the Petrie collection at the time of his visit a 'few years ago': '*This object was purchased along with a number of other antiquities, including painted wooden models of a duck, an ibis, an oar; several harpoons and spears; a painted wooden box; some copper knives with wooden handles; a bronze mirror; a copper axe; and some other objects in wood and bronze, all of which came without doubt from the great tomb of Ms3ht at Assiut, from which the famous wooden soldiers, now in the Cairo Museum, were procured*'.[37] Without documentation, the identification as finds from the tomb of governor Mesehty is not certain, and requires further analysis in comparison with other Asyut material. For example, pending targeted research into Asyut finds across museums, the inscribed statue-base might be from the burial of another man with the same name.

At a point when fieldwork was underway, Petrie reports in his 16 December Journal that '*Girghis (dealer) brought me another lot of things*', some recognisable from his descriptions as items in the list at Notebook 75, p.-13. That list contains further items, including a '*sitting figure brown* [hieroglyphs *sš n ḳnbty*]', identifiable in the London collection as the lower part of a statuette of a man seated cross-legged, inscribed in rather roughly cut hieroglyphs for the *sš n ḳnbty n w nḫti* 'secretary to the district councillor Nakhti' (**UC14652**: see Figs 7-8).[38] The stone has the appearance of serpentinite, but may be the baked steatite used in the late Middle King-

Figs 7-8 – Surviving lower part of statuette of Nakhti UC14652

[36] Hagen, Ryholt, *The Antiquities Trade*, 214 with nn. 813, 815.

[37] Weigall, *RT* 29, 216.

[38] Page, *Egyptian Sculpture*, 33, no. 35; Connor, *Être et paraître*, 192, 348.

dom and Second Intermediate Period to produce the effect of hard stone sculpture.[39] To the right of the entry is a note 'How', presumably indicating the provenance given by the seller; in this list, Petrie also marked predynastic or Early Dynastic beads, stone vessels and a flint as from Abydos, Koft, and 'Kuleh nr Esnah' (see Fig. 9). For the statuette, the stated provenance might be assessed from the range of inscribed Middle Kingdom material excavated at the cemeteries around Hu and Abadiya, notably the later fieldwork directed by Arthur Mace there for Petrie in 1898-1899 (Hu cemetery Y, by then heavily plundered).[40]

The 19 December Journal includes the notice that '*Girghis the dealer came over with another cargo*'; one of the items specified here is an inscribed scarab listed in Notebook 75, -18, column 1, and identifiable from the hieroglyphs copied on both sources as **UC11419** for *nbt pr nbt-ỉwnỉt* 'lady of the house Nebetiunyt'. A purchase from a different seller immediately follows the reference to the Nebetiunyt scarab: '*Bought from a native a new type of scarab with funeral formula* [hieroglyphs *ḥtp dỉ nswt sbk nb swmnw n kꜣ n ḫtmty bity smr wˁ snbfty*], *a tolerably long amount to pack in ¾ x ½ inch*'. This scarab for a treasurer Senebtyfy or, taking the *ty* as the missing end of *wˁty*, Senbef, is now **UC11503** (see Fig. 10).[41] This apparently isolated purchase does not seem to figure in the notebook lists; possibly Petrie considered it unnecessary to include a very modest sum outside larger batches of material, though no price for the scarab is indicated in the Journal. By contrast, in the 16 January Journals, he records a more costly acquisition that accordingly does appear in the notebook: '*I bought from a sebakh digger an amethyst scarab with original gold plate on it, for* [hieroglyphs *ḫkr nswt mw-nw-ỉb*], *the royal favourite "waters of the heart". It is very rare to get such complete*'. The scarab is now **UC11353**.[42] In this case, the item appears alongside two other scarabs on Notebook 75 p.-22, though somewhat out of sequence in relation to the 16 January Journal date. That page lists the final purchases in Upper Egypt and calculations summarising the amount spent on antiquities in Naqada/Nubt and Qift; p.-22 column 1 has a heading 'Muhd Mohassib', a prominent Luxor dealer, while column 2 has a heading 'Nubt' with sets of numbers without mention of object types, 'Nubt' with sub-total 628 ½, then an entry 'Koft'

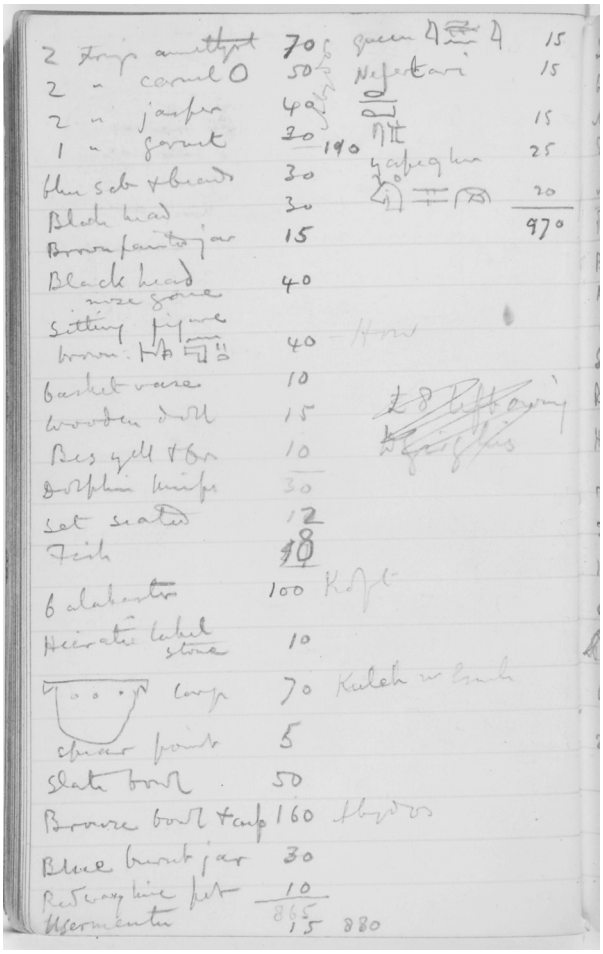

Fig. 9 – Petrie Notebook 75 purchase entries with notes on provenance added by Petrie to the right

with price 16, giving the sub-total 644 ½, followed by a further sum '2'. Below, a closing set of three entries is headed 'scbs': 'Unnptah man' price 10; two wedjat eyes over hieroglyphs *nbw nfr*, so a design scarab, price 10; and 'nuab gold' price '69'. The overall total 717 ½ is the final line on the page. According to the 9 March Journal Petrie stopped to buy 'a few things at Luxor', and the pocket diary confirms for 6 March 'over dealers at Luxor', suggesting that he wrote p.-22 with the Muhammed Mohassib purchases just before leaving Upper Egypt. The 9 March Journal includes references to buying in Cairo, including at the Giza Museum, a visit recorded precisely for 9 March in the pocket-diary, followed on 11 March by 'Various dealers etc.'; the corresponding entries are on Notebook 75, p.-23 (column 1 headings: top 'Ghizeh mus. scbs'; middle 'Cairo'). Thus, even at its higher price, the gold-plated scarab acquired in January escaped entry into the notebook budget lists until the very end of the period in Upper Egypt, in March.

[39] Connor, Tavier, de Putter, *JEA* 101; Connor, *Être et paraître*, 260-3.
[40] Bourriau, in Bourriau, Magee, Quirke (eds), *Sitting Beside Lepsius*.
[41] Petrie, *Scarabs and Cylinders*, 13.CK; Martin, *Egyptian Administrative and Private-Name Seals*, 123-4, no. 1606; Grajetzki, *Die höchsten Beamten*, 65.
[42] Petrie, *Scarabs and Cylinders*, pl. 14, 12.T.

Fig. 10 – Scarab of treasurer Senbef or Senebtyfy UC11503; the alignment of signs explains the reading given by Petrie in his Journal

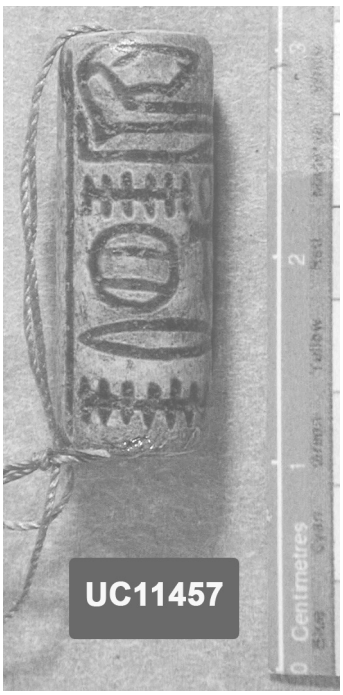

Fig. 11 – Cylinder inscribed for mayor Ankhren UC11457

2.3 1895-1896 fieldwork focus Luxor West Bank temple sites

archival sources: Journal; Notebooks 107, 109 object+nos lists; pocket diary

The Journal for the season provides information on purchases during the stay in Cairo at the start of the season, matching lists in Notebook 109, pp.-3 to -6, with dates pin-pointed by the pocket diary to 3, 4, 5, and 7 December. For the fieldwork weeks on the West Bank at Luxor, only the final Journal, started 15 February 1896, mentions a specific purchase, of a 'model dug-out canoe' that also appears in a list with two further items among other expenses in Notebook 107, p.-3.[43] Between the Luxor canoe purchase and the early season Cairo record in the Journal, Notebook 109 records purchases at p.-7 (45 entries), -8 (27 entries, col. 2 with a sum total in shillings and piasters, marked 'at Luxor'), -9 (4 antiquities among other expenses), -10 col. 1 (20 entries), -11 (8 entries), and Notebook 109, p.-2 (34 entries); plausibly all these relate to the stay at Luxor, though Notebook 109, p.-7 might still be part of the Cairo purchases. Notebook 107 has two further pages with lists: p.-4 (39 entries), col. 1 with heading 'Abu Nur', col. 2 including 8 items from 'Keneh man'; p.-5 (41 entries), col. 1 including 6 entries headed 'Basta'. The pocket diary records at the end of the season '*10 Mar At Luxor. To Mohassib in morn*'; it is not clear which of the Notebook 107 pages relates to this. Petrie does not seem to have had time to buy more in Cairo on his way out of Egypt; the pocket diary entry for 13 March is '*Cairo 5 ½ ... off by 7. Alex by 10.45*'.

The lower parts of columns 1-2 at Notebook 109, p.-7 give a series of royal and other names, several identifiable as scarabs in the collection. One of these is entered as *ḏd-ʿnḫ-rʿ*, probably the finely carved Djedankhra scarab with title *nṯr nfr* above cartouche, within a linear border including at each side three interlocking, but separate, scrolls (**UC11225**).[44] Ben-Tor notes two other scarabs inscribed with this cartouche:[45] British Museum EA40687 (purchased from the Luxor missionary and dealer Chauncey Murch in 1904 according to the museum online catalogue), and Israel Museum 76.31.2173. She emphasises that, while **UC11225** and BM EA40867 have '*features that are almost identical to those of the 13th Dynasty Sobekhotep group*', IM 76.31.2173 is closer to scarabs inscribed with the throne-name Aauserra, attested for the later 15th Dynasty king Apepi (in particular the two v-shaped humeral callosities of the type more regularly found only from the 18th Dynasty onwards).[46] The Notebook 109 p.-7 list cannot be securely ascribed

[43] The model canoe is UC16605, see Merriman, *Egyptian Watercraft Models*, 449, no.B.150, considered as modern.

[44] Petrie, *Scarabs and Cylinders*, 11.E.

[45] Ben-Tor, *Scarabs, Chronology, and Interconnections*, 111, pl. 49.7-9.

[46] Ben-Tor, *Scarabs, Chronology, and Interconnections*, 111, with pl. 47.15.

to Luxor rather than Cairo, and material from a wide geographical reach might reach those two large centres of the antiquities trade in modern times.[47] Nevertheless the entry may be of some help in assessing the evidence for a king Djedankhra, as the earliest appearance of his name in recent times, just before Daressy reported the roughly carved Gebelein block inscribed Djedankhra Mentumsaf, now Egyptian Museum Cairo JE39538.[48]

Among the lists of items acquired during the period of fieldwork at Luxor, p. 109, p.-8 has an isolated entry 'cylinder [hieroglyphs *ḥ3ty-ʿ ʿnḫ-rn*]', now **UC11457**, 7.0x2.0 cm (see Fig. 11).[49] This cylinder is of glazed steatite. Non-royal title and name cylinders of the Middle Kingdom constitute a small and somewhat problematic group. Besides the Ankhren cylinder, Geoffrey Martin noted four examples:

> vizier Ankhu, faience, 2.4x0.8 cm[50]
> mayor of Khasenusret Senebi, green jasper, 7.7x2.4 cm (see Figs 12-13) [51]
> mayor of Khasenusret Senebi, black steatite, lower part not preserved[52]
> overseer of the enclosure Senebtyfy, glazed steatite, offering formula inscription *ḥtp di nswt mry n sbk nb rḥwy n k3 n ḫtmty bity imy-r ḫnrt snbty.fy* [53]

The online collection catalogue entries for the vizier Ankhu faience cylinder and the mayor Senebi jasper cylinder suggest that those items may be modern forgeries, echoing the view of Samuel Birch on the Senebi example, 'of doubtful authenticity', in his 1880 catalogue of the Northumberland collection.[54] The Senebi cylinder fragment in Cairo is made of black steatite, a soft material also used in modern production of Egyptian antiquities.[55] The record of the Ankhu cylinder among notes by Robert Hay (1799-1863) might imply a date earlier than accomplished forgeries of inscriptions in faience. However, Alexander Rhind and others were impressed by the contemporary antiquities makers in the 1850s.[56] In assessing the group, the diversity of materials and proportions should be taken into account. Although they have been identified as having the function of seal-amulets,[57] the small size and shallow cutting argue against that view. It seems more appropriate to refer to the larger examples as cylinder amulets, or simply as cylinders, as Julien Siesse proposes in relation to those with names of early 13th Dynasty kings.[58] For the smallest, Hay captioned his drawing of the Ankhu example '*a big blue bead*' and, indeed, at just 2 cm the Ankhu example in particular seems closer to cylinder beads, compared to the 7 cm Ankhren and 7.7 cm Senebi cylinders. The Hay drawing is among notes now mounted and bound towards the back of the folio volume British Library Add. MS 29816, at f193r; this is towards the end of a series with views of objects that follow an unfolded envelope-style sheet with the title '*Antiquities seen at The-*

Figs 12-13 – Green jasper cylinder inscribed for Senebi, mayor of Khasenusret © Oriental Museum Durham EG460

[47] Hagen, Ryholt, *The Antiquities Trade*, 126.
[48] Daressy, *RT* 20, 72; for all these attestations see now Siesse, *La XIII^e Dynastie*, 94-5.
[49] Petrie, *Scarabs and Cylinders*, 13.AQ; Martin, *Egyptian Administrative and Private-Name Seals*, 31, pl. 46.19.
[50] Brooklyn Museum 44.123.173 = Martin, *Egyptian Administrative and Private-Name Seals*, 31, no. 377, pl. 46.18, bibliography including Robert Hay MSS British Library Add. MS 29816, f. 193.
[51] Northumberland collection > Oriental Museum Durham EG460 = Martin, *Egyptian Administrative and Private-Name Seals*, 119, no. 1544, pl. 46.20.
[52] Fuad collection > Egyptian Museum Cairo JE72671 = Martin, *Egyptian Administrative and Private-Name Seals*, 119, no. 1544a, no drawing.
[53] Blanchard collection > Michaelides collection = Martin, *Egyptian Administrative and Private-Name Seals*, 123, no. 1605, pl. 46.17, bibliography including Newberry manuscripts, PEN/G/VI/ED.
[54] Birch, *Catalogue of the collection*, 156, no. 1160.
[55] Examples identified as modern in London museum online databases include heart scarab British Museum EA7927 acquired in 1839 from the Anastasi collection, and cylinder seal UC11571 and scarab UC12818 in the UCL Petrie Museum of Egyptian and Sudanese Archaeology.
[56] Rhind, *Thebes*, 251-6; Hagen, Ryholt, *The Antiquities Trade*, 147; see also concluding notes below.
[57] Newberry, *Scarabs*, 55-6.
[58] Siesse, *La XIII^e Dynastie*, 39 n. 77, noting the absence of seal impressions.

bes in the possession of Yanni & Piccinini' (f176r). The right-hand half of f193r, originally a folded page, shows an '*alabaster jar found by Sig Piccinini at Carnac*', with an inscription including the cartouches of Amenirdis I, and the reverse bears a long note on '*an harp found by Sig. P. at Gourna*' and '*Section of a dart*' with observations on the arrow. From the late 1810s to the 1830s, Yannis Athanasiou and Piccinini were based at Thebes to collect antiquities for sale, operating independently as well as for Cairo-based diplomatic representatives of European states. There is no accompanying note by Hay as to who was in possession of the object when the drawing was made, or of any connection with the bronze axe drawn alongside, or of when or where it was seen. Despite the title at f176r, it is possible that Hay might have added the 'bead' drawing later; some of the end pages in the bound volume include notes recalling earlier drawings, and f206v has a note '*Salt Colln in BM Thebes*', so postdating British Museum acquisitions at the posthumous Henry Salt collection auction in 1835 in London. Nevertheless, the inclusion of the Ankhu item in the earlier series of object views at f176-f193 perhaps supports in a general way a date of the drawing during the considerable time spent by Robert Hay at Thebes within the period 1824-1834 or shortly after.[59] Further research into 1820s-1830s production of glazed antiquities would contribute to assessing whether it is a late Middle Kingdom artefact.

Notebook 107, p.-2 lists a miscellany of items including '6 figs round block', price 10, a libation basin or offering stand in basalt, unusually with figures in high relief, now **UC14697**.[60] As notebook 107 dates from the period of Theban fieldwork, this purchase entry tends to confirm the suggestion by Grajetzki that the figure on the stand inscribed with name Inheretnakht and a title ending 'treasury' may be a man known from other Upper Egyptian sources (Theban papyrus and three stelae ascribed to Abydos).[61]

The entries dispersed on the next Notebook 107 p.-3, include 'stela [hieroglyphs *ḥby*]', perhaps now **UC14569**, though the signs do not match exactly.[62] More secure is the identification of 'stela [hieroglyphs *nfr-ḥtp*]' on the list of items from the 'Keneh man', where the *p* of *ḥtp* has an internal + (see Fig. 14) matching the distinctive form in the name on **UC14419**, stela of the overseer of cattle Neferhotep (see Fig. 15), dated to the later 13th Dynasty or later by the reverse *ḥtp di nswt* writing in the offering formula.[63] Ilin-Tomich ascribes the Neferhotep stela to his Rizeiqat atelier 9, within the Second Intermediate Period.[64] For the preceding Rizeiqat atelier 8, Ilin-Tomich raises doubts over the Qurna provenance given for three stelae acquired by Schiaparelli, Firenze 6372, 6377, 7601;[65] the Petrie list offers further evidence that Thebes, perhaps even the Theban West Bank, might be place of acquisition rather than find-place for some of the stelae bought for museums.

2.4 1898-1899 fieldwork focus Hu, Abadiya

archival sources: Journal; Notebook 4 (part) object+ nos lists; pocket diary

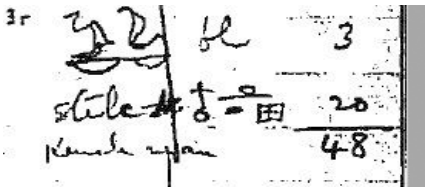

Fig. 14 – Petrie Notebook 107 entry for the stela of Neferhotep with distinctive form of p hieroglyph

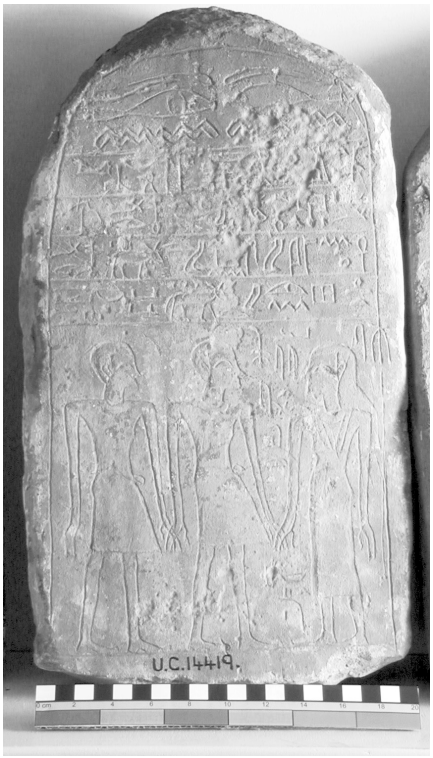

Fig. 15 – Stela of Neferhotep UC14419

[59] Bierbrier, *Who was Who*, 246-7.
[60] Stewart, *Egyptian stelae*, vol. III, no. 101, pl. 38; Grajetzki, *GM* 250, 93-9.
[61] For these sources citing Franke, *Personendaten*, 123, Dossiers 150A-B.
[62] Stewart, *Egyptian stelae*, vol. I, 24, pl. 14.1.
[63] Stewart, *Egyptian stelae*, vol. II, 33, no. 138, pl. 34.3.
[64] Ilin-Tomich, *From Workshop to Sanctuary*, 131-2.
[65] Ilin-Tomich, *From Workshop to Sanctuary*, 131.

Unusually, Notebook 4 spans two seasons, fieldwork at Hu and Abadiya in 1898-1899, and fieldwork at Abydos in 1899-1900. The earlier part of the 1898-1899 season is covered by Notebook 40a, where items in object+number lists match the information in the Journals from 29 November 1898 to 1 February 1899. Lists in Notebook 4, pp.-3, -4, -6, -7 then give items recorded in the 18 February 1899 Journal from a visit to Luxor, and a stop at Qena on the way back to the fieldwork base. The 27 February Journal includes items in a Petrie list at Notebook 4, -8; in her fieldwork notebook Hilda Petrie notes two items acquired by her from Basta and Girghis, and these are marked as separate in an object+number list in her handwriting Petrie Notebook 4, p.-10, col. 1. At Notebook 4, p.-11 the first half of column 2 contains calculations of object purchase totals, demarcated by a frame line under and left of a note by Petrie 'end of Hu'. Apart from three entries on p.-12, two of them marked as separate (presumably again for Hilda), the next lists in Notebook 4, at p.-14, identify purchase sources as the dealer Kyticas and the Museum, corresponding to the 1899-1900 pocket diary entries on arrival at Cairo, 27 November 1899 'To Kyticas etc.' and 28 November 'Museum', 29 November 'Museum' 'Off by 8.0 train', marking the journey south to Abydos for the 1899-1900 fieldwork season there.

Among the 18 February 1899 acquisitions on the visit to Luxor is the lower fragment of a glazed steatite cylinder inscribed with the titulary of an early 13th Dynasty king with throne-name ending -khutawy (**UC11527**).[66]

Beside the limited information that the [...]-khutawy cylinder is from a Luxor dealer, notebook 4 sheds some light on the process of acquisition of items now in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, including a number of stelae. During his 1898-1899 season, Petrie acquired antiquities for the Fitzwilliam Museum on an annual commission, as documented in Martin 2005 from the papers of Frederick Green (1969-1949).[67] Petrie mentions the arrangement with the Fitzwilliam Museum Cambridge in his 15 December 1898 Journal: '*Girghis the dealer was over here yesterday with a cargo, of which I bought most, including some 12£ worth for Cambridge, for which I have a commission to buy a good deal*'.[68] The 1898-1899 pocket diary provides further information in a note on a pre-printed Monthly Cash Account page at the end of the diary: '*For Cambridge £5-10, typical beads, writing materials, Funeral Furniture, small objects for style*'. Notebook 4, p.-7, from the end of the 1898-1899 season, includes a notice of reserving, or perhaps down payment on, one group of objects (see Fig. 16):

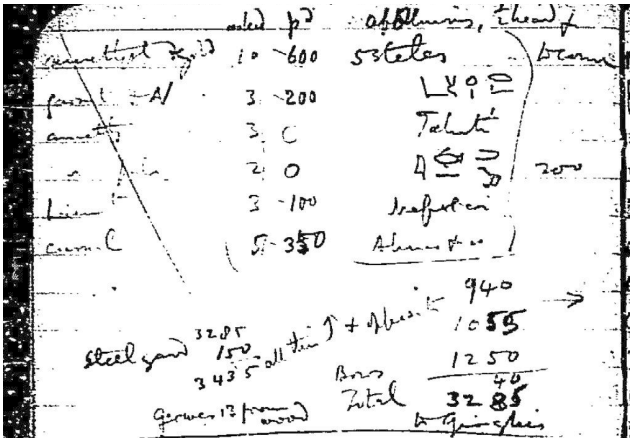

Fig. 16 – Petrie Notebook 4 list of items apparently reserved for later delivery

Apollonius, ½ head &	
5 steles	to come
[hieroglyphs *rˁ-sth*]	
Tahuti	
[hieroglyphs *intw*]	
Nefertari	200
Ahmes + ..	

The catalogue by Geoffrey Martin enables the first and third stelae to be identified from the rare names Rasetekh and Intju as Fitzwilliam Museum E.SS.37 stela of Senebwy son of Rasetekh, and E.SS.30;[69] the second, of Tahuti, would be E.SS.28.[70] The last two lines may convey the names on stela E.SS.31; there, from left to right, Nefertari of Heramun and Nebpehtyra (Ahmes I) face a person whose name Bakenkhons includes a redundant *t* above *n*, and the reading might not have been immediately apparent.[71] Another candidate might be E.SS.38, showing Ahmes Nefertari before a man named Nesamun.[72] The '+..' might denote a fifth stela not yet identified, but agreed in the price 200 as an item to be added when collecting the others. The stela of the lector Senebwy has attracted attention since its publication by Janine Bourriau, for his two unusual extended titles *wr ḫrp ḥmww n nb r-ḏr* and *ḥm-nṯr ꜣ n nṯr=f*, and especially for the reference to the *prt spdt* '(heliacal) rising of Sop-

[66] Petrie, *Scarabs and Cylinders*, 13.15.1 = Siesse, *La XIII^e Dynastie*, 372 source 1.24, and on the object-type pp. 39-41.
[67] Bierbrier, *Who was Who*, 223-4.
[68] Griffith Institute 2018, Journal 1898-99, p. 8 scan and transcript.
[69] Martin, *Stelae from Egypt and Nubia*, nos 29 and 33.
[70] Martin, *Stelae from Egypt and Nubia*, no. 34.
[71] Martin, *Stelae from Egypt and Nubia*, no. 47.
[72] Martin, *Stelae from Egypt and Nubia*, no. 48.

det' in line 5.[73] The stelae are noted in the space above a calculation of payments to Girghis, and between the p.-6 and lower p.-7 list of objects purchased from him in February 1899. It is possible that the note may be an earlier jotting, and so not necessarily from Girghis himself, rather than from the time of the visit to Luxor and purchases from traders there. A purchase in Upper Egypt from a local trader at Luxor or Qena does not exclude the possibility of a Memphite provenance for the Senebwy stela. As Hagen and Ryholt observe,[74] traders moved antiquities from one part of the country to another (compare the November 1899 Journal above, where Girghis from Qena sold items to Petrie in Cairo). For establishing find-place or place of production, place of purchase and persons involved are evidently of less significance than archaeological documentation and analysis of material source, sculpting technique, epigraphy, and style.

2.5 1900-1901 fieldwork focus Abydos

archival sources: Journal; Notebook 3, object+nos lists; pocket diary

Notebook 3 contains object+number lists on twelve pages; names of traders are given at p.-9 col. 2 heading 'Abu Nur', p.-21 col. 1 heading added '(Basta)', and p.-21 col. 2 midway 'Total Abd en Nur'. The 27-29 November 1900 Journal refers to purchases from Girghis while in Cairo at the start of the season; several of these items also appear in the 1900-1901 pocket diary, where the day entries name two of the dealers visited in Cairo: '*21 Nov To Alex by 9 ½ left by special to Cairo 3. To Kyticas & Michel* [Kasira]'. As none of the items there appear in the Notebook 3 lists, the latter may all be from the months in Upper Egypt for the Abydos fieldwork, and perhaps on return to Cairo at the end of the season.

An entry at p.-5 'Ptah sankh stela', price 20, may be **UC14345**, which Weigall published in 1907 from his visit to the Petrie Museum a few years earlier, so not long after the 1900-1901 season, but without adding any information on provenance. [75]

The p.-7 list includes 'Lintel of Ameny', price 20; as other items in the notebook are clearly purchases for Cambridge, this item can be identified securely as the lintel of the deputy treasurer Ameny Fitzwilliam Museum E.SS.46.[76] For other monuments bought for Cambridge, see above on Notebook 4 Petrie purchases in 1898-1899.

2.6 1901-1902 fieldwork focus Abydos

archival sources: Notebook 7a; pocket diary

I found no reference to sellers or purchases in either the Flinders Petrie or Hilda Petrie Journals available for the 1901-1902 season. However, the pocket diary records visiting dealers on 26 November 1901, the day of arrival at Cairo, before visiting the museum on 27 November and leaving on the night train for fieldwork at Abydos. Notebook 7a page -12 is the first of twelve containing lists of purchases, and has one entry 'stela Dudusebek 10 figs', price 10, identifiable in the collection as **UC14454**, a schematically carved and partly eroded round-topped stela with the name *ddw-sbk* legible above the top right figure.[77] The only other stela on this page is the entry 'Senphmois Apollotos', also price 10; the name identifies this as UC14777, a Roman Period stela similar to examples excavated at Abydos among other sites.[78] Therefore, whether purchased at Cairo or in Upper Egypt, at least some of the miscellaneous batches on p.-12 would come from a seller with access to material from the southern Upper Egyptian sites. The names of two such sellers appear at p.-19, Abden Nur, and p.-23, Girghis, the brothers based at Qena, encountered in the first year discussed above, the 1893-1894 Petrie season at Qift. At p.-21, so in the middle of these pages and therefore arguably within the time spent at Abydos, Petrie acquired a third stela at price 10, entered as 'stela [hieroglyphs *dd-nšmt*]', **UC14457**.[79] The stela presents its own internal mixed message on provenance; the primary beneficiary has the name Deduneshmet, invoking the protection of the *neshmet*-barque of Osiris at Abydos, but his title is *wꜥb n ḫnsw* 'pure-priest of Khonsu', a Theban deity. Ilin-Tomich associates this stela with ten others; on one of these is another title relating to a Theban deity, *ḥm-nṯr n mnṯw* 'god's servant of Montu' (Egyptian Museum Cairo CG20661), two are in a collection at Asyut, and there are names typical of the Aswan to Asyut region on three (Asyut TL 210, Cairo CG20289, UC14452).[80] The information on purchased stelae cannot shed much light on these geographical ambiguities, which broadly indicate a certain degree of interconnectedness and perhaps cultural homogeneity in this regional production. However, the limited data on unprovenanced stelae such as **UC14457** may provide in-

[73] Bourriau, *JEA* 68; Ryholt, *The Political Situation*, 185, n. 668.
[74] Hagen, Ryholt, *The Antiquities Trade*, 65, with n. 220, 126-7.
[75] Weigall, *RT* 29, 216.
[76] Grajetzki, *Court Officials*, 47, fig. 19.
[77] Stewart, *Egyptian stelae*, vol. II, no. 116.
[78] Abdalla, *Graeco-Roman Funerary Stelae*, 86, cat. no. 211, pl. 65b: *cf* from Abydos Garstang excavations no. 48, pl. 20b; see too no. 197, pl. 62, bought by Petrie and Green at Abydos.
[79] Stewart, *Egyptian stelae*, vol. II, no. 109.
[80] Ilin-Tomich, *From Workshop to Sanctuary*, 109-10, SIP Theban Workshop 2.

direct hints through the purchase place and the persons involved in the sale.

Eight lines further down Notebook 7a, p.-21 is the entry '[hieroglyphs *ḥ*ˁ-ˁ*nḫ*-*r*ˁ]' at price 2, written with hatching in place of the lower part of the ˁ*nḫ*-hieroglyph (see Fig. 17), so confirming that this is the block fragment with the cartouche of Khaankhra **UC14411** (see Fig. 18).[81]

2.7 1908-1909 fieldwork focus Luxor West Bank cemeteries, and Mit Rahina

archival sources: Notebook 80; 'Journal' letters Hilda Petrie and Flinders Petrie; pocket diary

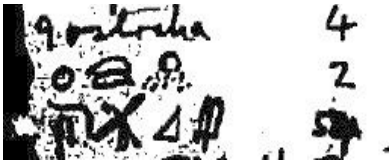

Fig. 17 – Petrie Notebook 7a entry on the Khaankhra inscription with missing lower part of ankh hieroglyph

Fig. 18 – Limestone block with name of Khaankhra UC14411

Notebook 80 contains seven pages with object+price lists, while the pocket diary records Petrie visits to dealers (a) from 29 November arrival at Alexandria and train to Cairo, to 4 December departure for the fieldwork on the West Bank at Luxor, (b) 26 November during Luxor fieldwork; (c) 3 March to Gizeh during Memphis fieldwork. For the start of the season, a 'Journal' in the hand of Hilda Petrie describes the combination activities: '*After the visit to Memphis, & looking over the sites of last year's excavations, we remained 3 or 4 days longer in Cairo, with time enough to spend 3 mornings at the Museum, and see dealers' wares in the afternoons*'; '*finally reached Luxor at night (13 hours) ... next morning we passed on to spend 2 days in the Inspectorate ... I paid two visits to Luxor temple, and three to the temples of Karnak, besides seeing dealers*'. In a 'Journal' letter from Flinders Petrie, two purchases are recorded on site at Memphis, one at a high price, as Petrie himself remarked: 24 February a Khufu seal for £15 (UC11099), and 5 March a fragment of the Palermo Stone (UC15508), entered in the notebook list at 10 (piastres). According to the pocket diary entries, the final two days of the season would not have left much time for further buying in Cairo: 21 March '*Left Memphis*', '*to Cairo*'; 22 March '*To Alex, on board by 2, left at 3*'. Names in the Notebook 80 lists indicate that p. -2 records purchases in Cairo and Giza during 29 November to 3 December, while p.-5 has the heading 'Qurneh'. One of the 37 entries on p.-5 is '[hieroglyphs *iyšw*] *stat 10 Yeshua*' (see Fig. 19), identifiable as limestone fragment **UC14746**, the lower half of a statuette depicting a man seated on a block throne, with the inscription *ḫnms=f yšw* 'his friend Yeshu' after a break on the back pillar (see Figs 20-22).[82] Ilin-Tomich dates this to the Second Intermediate Period on the basis of the wording ˁ*nḫ nṯr im=sn* in the offering formula on the side of the block seat.[83]

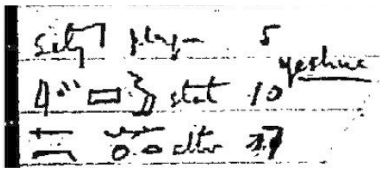

Fig. 19 – Notebook 80 entry for statuette with names including hieroglyphs annotated by Petrie as Yeshua

[81] On evidence for dating Khaankhra Sobekhotep into the mid-13th Dynasty or later, see Ilin-Tomich, *From Workshop to Sanctuary*, 11-13, and Siesse, *La XIIIe Dynastie*, 81-83.

[82] Page, *Egyptian Sculpture*, no. 138.

[83] Ilin-Tomich, *From Workshop to Sanctuary*, 30.

Figs. 20-22 – Top, side and back views of the statuette lower part fragment, with on the back the name Yeshu, UC14746

3. Assessing Acquisition Information from Archival Sources on inscribed Object Types

3.1 Cylinders and seal amulets

(a) Cylinders: [...]-khutawy **UC11527**; mayor Ankhren **UC11457**
(b) Scarabs: Djedankhra **UC11225**; Munuib **UC11353**; Nebetiunit **UC11419**; Senbef **UC11503**
(c) Other forms: cat and kitten seal-amulet **UC11433**

As an easily portable and prototypically ancient Egyptian object type, the inscribed scarab-seal prompts the question of exchange vs territorial exclusion between more prominent antiquities traders: for example, Luxor traders might be expected to guard a near-monopoly over material found at Thebes, potentially obstructing access for an outsider such as Girghis in Qena. For a specific example, might a Theban provenance be less likely for the scarab of Nebetiunyt now **UC11419**, given its arrival in the 'cargo' of material brought by Girghis to Petrie at Naqada in December 1894? More research into the negative geographical scope currently attested for individual traders might offer some clarity in assessment of such instances. In the absence of more precisely verifiable data, even an assessment that generally Girghis did or did not acquire items found at Thebes cannot exclude the possibility of an individual exception. However this line of enquiry may help to reinforce the attention of the researcher to the excavated corpus, in this instance to refine analysis of seal-amulet production in the late Middle Kingdom in Upper Egypt, investigating possible diagnostic features such as name (*iwnyt*) and motif (lateral double strand) along the lines established by research into the relevant corpora by Ilin-Tomich and Ben-Tor.[84] Unusual examples such as the Sehetepibra cat-and-kitten seal-amulet **UC11433** bought from a Luxor seller also raise the question of authenticity, with particular attention to glazed objects (see Fig. 23). A more precisely documented history of the modern faience and glazing industry requires further chronologically-oriented research into the acquisition and exact composition of glazed objects now thought to be modern products made for sale as antiquities.[85]

At the centre of the trade in small glyptic items are king-name seal-amulets (e.g. **UC11225**, **UC11527**), a magnet for collectors such as Petrie with their intense

[84] Ilin-Tomich, *From Workshop to Sanctuary*, 39-69 on personal names; Ben-Tor, *Scarabs, Chronology, and Interconnections*, on diagnostic features of seal-amulet production in Egypt and in the southern Levant.
[85] *Cf.* Rhind, *Thebes*, for the 1850s, and Wakeling, *Forged Egyptian Antiquities*, for the 1900s.

Fig. 23 – Blue-glazed cat and kitten seal-amulet of Sehetepibra UC11433

focus on king-lists and chronology.[86] Relatively little new information results from knowing that Luxor or Cairo or Giza[87] is the place of acquisition for an item in this highly prized object category. However, these reminders of the extreme demand for seal-amulets are an important prompt to check the material basis for any continuing chronological research now, and so to return to the material object in the collection in order to establish a secure foundation for any positive or negative assessment of individual items. The example of the Ankhren cylinder **UC11457** illustrates both the difficulty and necessity of re-considering the object form 'cylinder' and reviewing the history of acquisition across all examples.

The emphasis placed by collectors on inscribed items may have encouraged them to record their purchases across a wider range of sources beyond the principal traders alone, even if the names of sellers do not appear. In the brief notes on **UC11353** as *'bought from a sebakh digger*' and **UC11503** '*bought from a native*', the acquisition record may give the impression of an acquisition place remote from main centres of trade (*cf.* the stela fragment **UC14326**, apparently from a rural desert-edge environment at unstated distance east of Qift). In turn, this different style of acquisition prompts the question of possible social and commercial networks behind an apparently individual source. Here we need to consider whether we have evidence and means for assessing or verifying first the information from a seller to buyer, and then the information from the archaeologist-buyer to archaeology-readership. The self-narration exemplified in the Petrie Journals and in his published statements on purchases may be misleading in its stylistic effect of a casual or informal encounter; historical methods, overlapping with methods of literary studies, might ensure closer analysis of tone or linguistic/communicative register, echoing the discourse analysis applied by Said in *Orientalism*. Such analysis would still allow for the possibility of acquisitions from individuals outside the dominant antiquities trading networks, as seems more plausible where a price entered in a Petrie notebook seems low, as for the Palermo Stone fragment (above on 1908-1909 season).

3.2 Statuettes and related material

(a) statuettes In (or Sen) **UC14659**; Yeshu as donor **UC14746**; Nakhti **UC14652**
(b) high relief six-figure basin or stand **UC14697**

Petrie seems to have acquired the statuette of In/Sen? **UC14659** in a batch from the Qena-based Girghis Gabriel; epigraphic research by Marcel Marée indicates an Abydos origin, consistent with the presence of objects plausibly from Abydos among purchases from Girghis. Here the acquisition history acts only as slight reinforcement of a result obtained already on internal criteria. In contrast, statuette Nakhti **UC14652**, also from Girghis, came with a provenance 'Hou', presumably stated by the seller; this provides a point for further research to corroborate on internal evidence, in the same manner as the In/Sen statuette. From the 1908-1909 season, the statuette with name of a 'colleague Yeshu' **UC14746** is in a list headed 'Qurneh', orienting further research towards diagnostic epigraphic features of Second Intermediate Period objects excavated at Thebes and adjacent regions, and towards archives relating to West Bank Theban finds and purchases of the same years, such as the papers of Newberry and Carter. For the 6-figure offering stand **UC14697**, the place of the purchase entry within the 1895-1896 records broadly supports an Upper Egyptian place of acquisition, in keeping with the name Inheretnakht. In sum, information on sculpture acquisition adds little additional information, though these pur-

[86] An example of this particular selective focus on scarabs is an initial friendly encounter between Petrie and the Director of the Antiquities Service Eugène Grébaut, Griffith Institute 2018, Journal 7-15 May 1887: '*When I came down with all my things two days later, & gave Grébaut a list of contents of the boxes duly numbered, he looked over it & said he only wanted to see one tablet; we took it out, & seeing how extremely obliging he wished to be, I pressed him to take it & give me some exchange. He asked what I should like: I said scarabs. But he had none available; if however I would give him a list of the kings I had he would make up a little collection for me of those I needed from what were offered for sale by dealers to the Museum. Nothing could be more friendly or painstaking in the matter*'.

[87] As the main centres of the antiquities trade, see Hagen, Ryholt, *The Antiquities Trade*, 65, 73.

chase records may help in focussing research towards particular sites or sets of parallels.

3.3 Stelae and inscribed blocks

(a) architectural blocks: block of Khaankhra **UC14411**; lintel of Ameny Fitzwilliam E.SS.46
(b) rectangular stelae: Sankhptah **UC14345**; Heby **UC14569**
(c) round-topped stelae: Senusret group **UC14487**; Aabnini **UC14598**; Deduneshmet **UC14457**; Dedusobek group **UC14454**
(d) fragments: Sobekemheb fragment **UC14326**
(e) stelae with reverse offering formula orthography: Neferhotep **UC14419**; Rahotep **UC15524**; Senebwy Fitzwilliam E.SS.37

The lists recording the entries of both architectural blocks (**UC14411**, Fitzwilliam E.SS.46) and of three of the stelae (**UC14345**, **14454**, **14457**) are in 1900-1902 Abydos season notebooks where names of Upper Egyptian sellers appear. As with the other categories of finds, further research into the geographical reach of the sellers might shed light on possible provenances, but this can provide only corroboratory evidence to a comparative analysis of internal criteria of style, form or inscription content (e.g. **UC14457** titles and names). The same applies to **UC14419**, among purchases from the 'Keneh man', and **UC14569**, both in a notebook written during the Luxor fieldwork period, rather than in Cairo, in the 1895-6 season, so several years earlier. Further research into the sources of sale stock at Qena and Luxor may provide more detail on any changes in procurement patterns from one decade to the next. Among the items bought in the Abydos years, the stela with the group including Dedusobek **UC14454** has such curious details among the figures and the hieroglyphic inscriptions as to raise doubts over its authenticity (see Fig. 24, noting order of signs in offering formula; ring off-centre in roundel; leaf-like elements at bottom right line, joined curved forms at bottom of bottom centre line; sidelock-like effect of left-hand figures in the three registers; gourd held by figure at right on register 2). Parallels might help to reveal which if any of these features betray retouching in modern times, rather than regional or individual idiosyncracies in ancient production;[88] the information that the stela was purchased in 1901-1902, and probably in Upper Egypt, might help to focus that comparative research. In the season before the start of fieldwork at Abydos, Petrie recorded the stela of Senebwy at a page listing purchases on a February 1899 visit to Qena, but in a subset of items destined for the Fitzwilliam Museum, possibly written earlier; even the modern regional provenance of the acquisition thus remains tantalisingly out of reach.

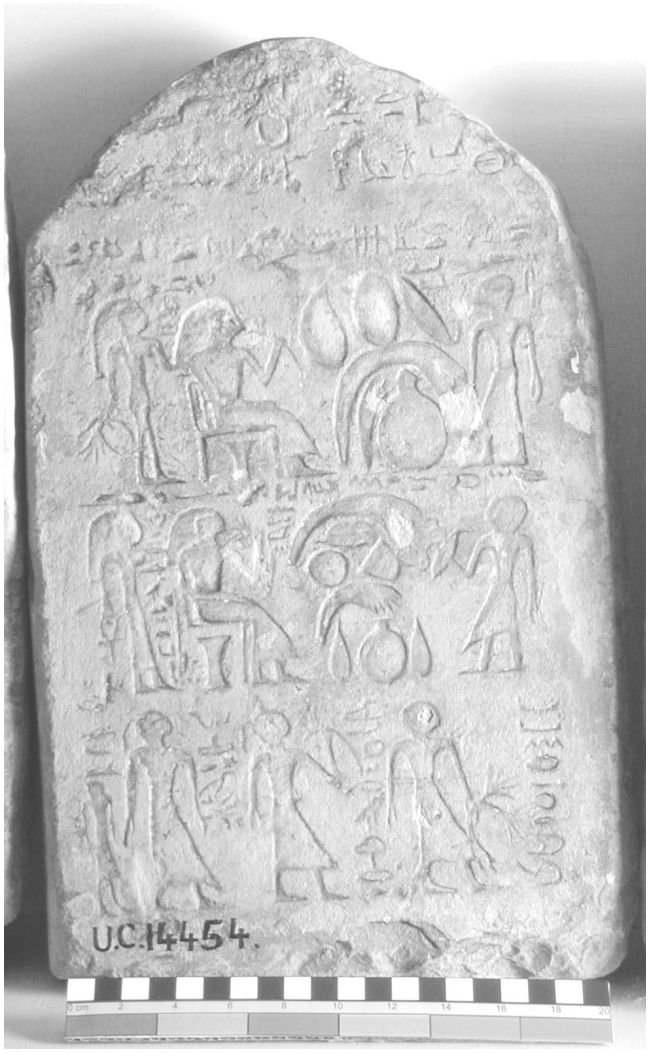

Fig. 24 – Stela UC14454 with figures and inscriptions, including name of man Dedusobek at upper right figure

The records from the 1893-1894 Qift season illustrate the extent to which the presence of multiple types of source in the archives can expand our information on purchases. Although the Sobekemheb fragment **UC14326** is the most significant item in relation to chronological debates, it does not appear in the main purchase lists in notebook 93, a reminder that all these records have partial and personal focus, rather than constituting a formal inventory. Instead Petrie entered the piece in notebook 53, the only example in his archive of a book of inscription copies with price notes, and commented on it at two points in his Journal. Notebook 53 and Journal entries also help to identify three stelae purchased that year (**UC14487**, **UC14598**, **UC15524**).

[88] Fischer, *MMJ* 9.

Three of the Issues for further Research

1. On the database field 'provenance'
Hagen and Ryholt raised the question of where the larger-scale antiquities sellers obtained their stock. The available documentation may only allow a broad regional assessment. Allowing for that constraint, it would still be of significance to researchers to determine whether, in addition to the flow of items from around the country into Cairo and Giza, there are examples of movement in the other direction. The available documentation might be reviewed for any instances where a Qena or Luxor dealer received material from Cairo by exchange, for example during a visit to sell to one of the main traders in the Cairo-Giza hubs. For an earlier generation, in an account of the antiquities trade in the mid-1850s, Alexander Rhind describes one north-to-south flow, arising from supply of one type of antiquity exceeding demand in one region, and finding a market through a major seller in another:[89]

> '*The Copt, Tadrous, whom I have already mentioned as prominently connected with the traffic in antiquities there, having been by trade a silver-smith, has some knowledge of metal work, which he is not averse to turn to account in his antiquarian business, in the way of producing some ill-finished casts. But generally, when he does have bronzes, their origin is of a different kind, although not the less they may not be what they are represented. At Thebes the ordinary statuettes of this metal, although they have been discovered among the ruins of Karnak, are unknown as a product of the tombs. At Geezeh, on the other hand, and especially at Sakkara, they abound. And a few inferior specimens, which there overstock the market, are occasionally consigned to Tadrous, to be sold with the prestige of having been found under the shadow of the Theban temples*'

It remains to be researched whether the scale and appetite of the market fifty years later had grown to the point where Cairo-Giza sellers no longer 'consigned' bronze figurines to Luxor sellers.

2. On the interface between history of museums and archaeology
A second line of enquiry would be further critical evaluation of the fraught but symbiotic relation of excavating to collecting. Petrie acquired material from the Hou-Abadiya area several years before he started to excavate there (December 1894 purchase of statue of Nakhti **UC14652**; 1898-1899 Hou-Abadiya fieldwork). He also seems to be buying material coming from the sites where he was active, sometimes later, sometimes in the same year (Qift material during 1893-1894, Luxor material 1895-1896, Abydos material during 1899-1903). In the first case, by removing substantial quantities of finds from a particular location, traders or their suppliers might guide excavators to important sites or site clusters. In the second case, antiquities traders evidently benefited from the removal of covering layers in supervised excavations. Beyond that practical assistance to their work, archaeological fieldwork might alert traders to the locations of object-rich sites, and documented archaeological excavation and expertise provided traders with a value guide to finds site. Early 20th century archaeologists and Egyptologists did not solve the dilemma of their own involvement in the trade, as can be seen in their comments and practice.[90]

3. A challenge to research practice?
Only a proportion of Petrie purchases entered the notebooks in itemised form; many more appear in generic terms, as for example funerary cones (over 450 in the UCL collection, as entered in the collection database), ostraca (over 1500 in collection), and weights (over 6,000 in collection). As seen with the Sobekemheb fragment in 1893-1894, an unknown proportion of purchases did not enter the lists. For parts of some seasons, no lists appear in the extant notebooks and pocket diaries, and I have found no lists for the entire season of 1902-1903. Within the already small minority of purchases that are itemised, again just a fraction appear in the supplementary sources often necessary to identify the object (e.g. Rahotep stela **UC15524** above) and to provide more information on the processes of acquisition. As a result, any investigation into unprovenanced material must serve primarily as a reminder to researchers of the uncertainties involved, including very often the uncertain authenticity of the object, from simple forgery to the widespread intrusion of retouchers and would-be embellishers in the modern antiquities trade (as with the stela of Dedusobek and others, **UC14454**). The secure ground for any area of study can only be the provenanced material from securely documented excavation. This fundamental point still needs greater emphasis in study of the Egyptian past. As Jaromir Malek insisted over twenty years ago, '*Egyptian monuments which appear at auction sales all over the world deprived of any record of their provenance should cause us more concern than currently appears to be the case*'.[91]

[89] Rhind, *Thebes*, 253.

[90] Hagen and Ryholt, *The Antiquities Trade*, 132-133.

[91] Malek, *Topographical Bibliography,* vol. VIII, xvii.

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A new Occurrence of CT 398 on two Coffin Fragments in the Louvre Museum

Patricia Rigault

Abstract

The two coffin fragments from the Louvre collection presented here, probably coming from Meir, are inscribed with excerpts from Coffin Texts spell 398. This spell deals with the crossing of a watercourse by the deceased and the dialogue which takes place between him and the ferryman. Of the usual three parts, only a part of the list and a small part of the conclusion are preserved, while the introduction is missing. The aim of this paper is to compare this fragment with the already known versions.

Coffin Fragments

The two coffin fragments presented here formed the base of a canopic chest acquired by the Louvre Museum during a public sale held in May 1944 in Paris. The short notice written in the 'Bulletin des Musées de France' specified that the fragments of coffin were covered with inscriptions from Coffin Texts and that they had been nailed to the canopic box in modern times, probably by a dealer of antiquities.[1] They were removed from the chest right after arriving at the museum. The canopic box which belongs to Khakheperreseneb/Iy received the number E 17108 while the two fragments of coffin received the number E 17109.[2]

Dimensions

no. 1: Height: 14 cm; Width: 45 cm; Thickness: 3 cm.
no. 2: Height: 31cm; Width: 45 cm; Thickness: 3,5 to 4 cm

Description (see Pls LXII-LXIII)

According to the xylological analysis which was carried out, the boards are made of sycamore fig wood.[3] They underwent a conservation treatment a few years ago which made it possible to make some interesting observations.[4] Traces of tools, ancient and modern, are visible. The two boards are not contiguous but the content of their inscriptions shows that they both come from the base of a coffin. They are made up of several fragments glued together: two for board no. 1 and four for board no. 2. In modern times, these boards were sawn to fit the canopic box. Nevertheless the original lower edge of fragment no. 1 and upper edge of no. 2 are preserved. Many holes

[1] Vandier, *Bulletin des Musées de France* 11/1, 9.
[2] For the publication of the canopic box: Rigault, in Miniaci, Grajetzki (eds), *The World of Middle Kingdom Egypt I*, 325-331, pl. XXIV-XXVII.
[3] Study carried out by Victoria Asensi Amorós (wood anatomist), Xylodata laboratory.
[4] Conservation treatment carried out by Hélène Gruau in 2008.

are visible on both of them, most of which were used to insert pegs. Some are original and were used for the assembly of the different parts constituting the base of the coffin or for the fixing of the sides on this base. In one case, it was a repair and five pegs were used to hold a chip of wood in place. Others are modern and were used to fix the sides of the canopic box to the boards to form its base. The wood has suffered several insect attacks.

Sixteen columns remain on the fragment no. 1, presented in the form of a table, fifteen on the fragment no. 2 (see Fig. 1). Both are excerpts from *Coffin Texts* spell 398,[7] very common on the base of Middle Kingdom coffins from Meir in particular. It is one of the spells dealing with the crossing of a watercourse by the deceased (whether to cross the winding canal or access the fields of Ialou or offerings) and the dialogue which takes place

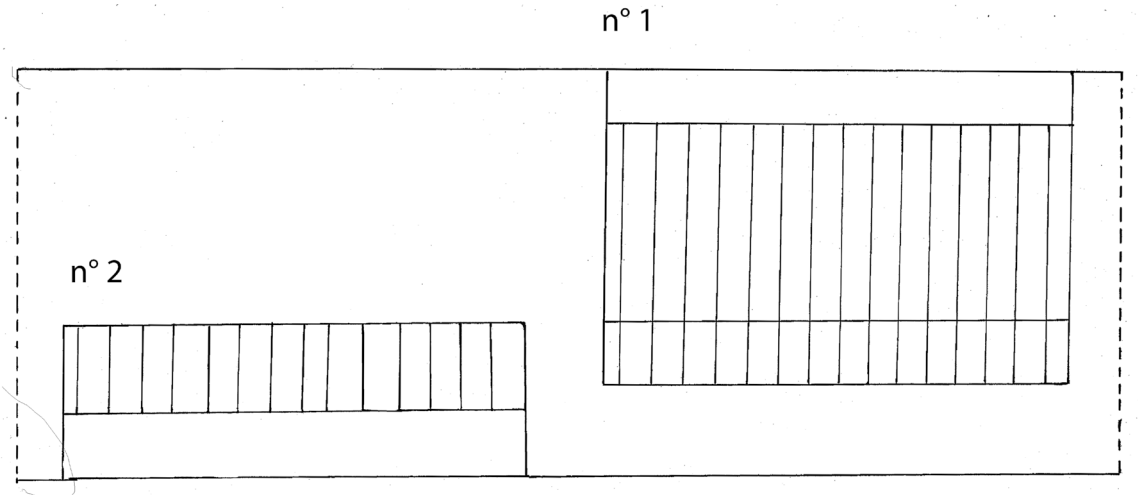


Fig. 1 – Position of the fragments

During the conservation treatment, plant debris were found in insect tunnels made before the old preparation layer and polychromy were applied.[5] The dimensions of these tunnels made it possible to formulate the hypothesis (to be confirmed) that 'marine borers', which only act on submerged materials, could have caused this damage. If this is correct, it suggests that this piece of wood was intentionally dipped into water, echoing a tradition recorded by Theophrastus, according to which sycamore fig wood was immersed in water after being cut, to dry it out and make it stronger.[6]

The boards are not in a very good state of conservation. They are only painted on one side, the reverse being left unworked. The main face has been coated with a thick creamy white material which has been covered with a layer of yellow ocher matte paint. Inscriptions are painted on this background but are poorly preserved and the texts have suffered a lot.

The inscriptions, not very well preserved, are written in black inside large regular columns in cursive hieroglyph in a retrograde fashion. The columns are read from left to right, the hierglyphs facing right.

between him and the ferryman.[8] The ferryman is generally not well disposed towards the deceased who must demonstrate his magic power and his knowledge of the divine world. According to this text, the boat claimed by the deceased is dismantled and nobody knows where the ropes associated with it are. The deceased must then begin its symbolic reconstruction by stating equivalences between each parts and mythological references.

The text is divided in three parts: a short introduction,[9] a long list giving the names of all the parts of the boat (up to fifty-one mentioned, depending on the version)[10] and a conclusion.[11]

The introduction and the beginning of the list are lost on our fragments. The text begins in the upper part of fragment no. 1, with the 29th equivalence of the list. It continues up to the 45th equivalence.

[5] See Rigault, Thomas, in Miniaci, Moreno Garcia, Quirke, Stauder (eds), *The Arts of Making in Ancient* Egypt, 216.

[6] Theophrastus, IV, 2,1, 2. Thanks to Victoria Asensi Amorós who gave us this information.

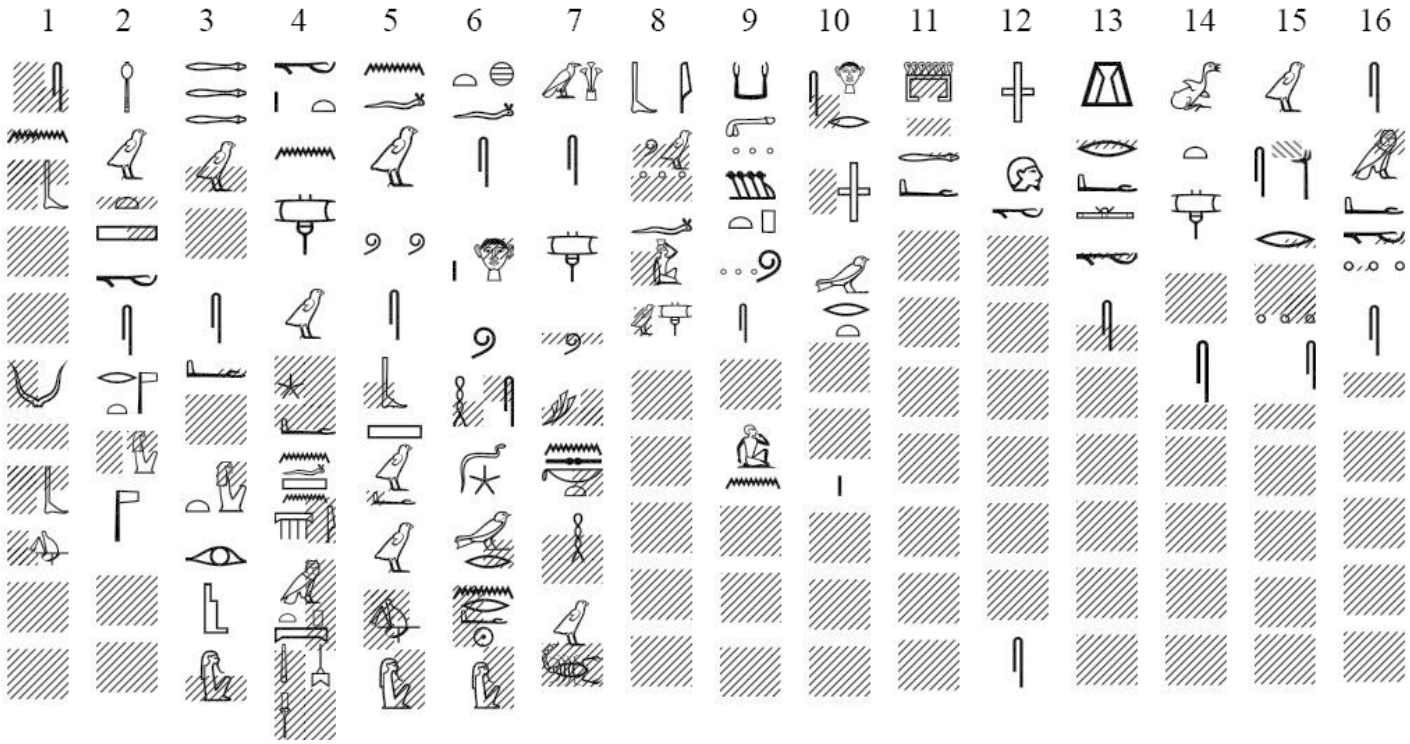
[7] *CT* V 120-160.

[8] *CT* 396-405. This theme has already appeared in the Pyramid Texts and has been the subject of a number of studies, among which: Bickel, in Bickel, Mathieu (eds), *D'un monde à l'autre Textes des Pyramides & Textes des Sarcophages*, 91-117; Hays, *JEOL* 40, 43-59; Willems, *Heqata,* 156-177; Jacq, *Le voyage dans l'autre monde*, 37-80, Müller, "An Early Egyptian Guide', 99-125.

[9] *CT* V 120a to *CT* V 124c.

[10] *CT* V 125a to *CT* V 149c.

[11] *CT* V 150a to *CT* V 160c.



A small part of the conclusion remains, starting on fragment no. 2 and continuing after a few column break on the lower part of fragment no. 1. Thus, the fragments were positioned as shown in Fig. 1 on the base of the coffin:

The many translations of this text reveal a real difficulty in identifying the different parts of the boat mentioned in the list[12]. The aim of this paper is not to discuss in detail the content of this list but to compare this fragment with the already known versions. Notably, a particularity of this list is its fluctuating aspect: the order of appearance of the different parts of the boat does not seem fixed and differ according to the versions. It has already been pointed out that there are at least two list models for the different known versions, allowing us to distinguish at least two groups of coffins. One, called here group 1, includes one coffin from Gebelein (G1T), one from Aswan (A1C) and two from Meir (M3C and M13C)[13]. The other is composed of all the other coffins of Meir (M46C, M21C, M6C, M2NY, M5C, M4C)[14] and is called here group 2. In one of these groups, the succession of the parts of the boat is shifted by one place while the mythological identifications remain the same. [15]

Text

List:
Fragment no. 1, upper part*: CT V 139a-147a*

Transliteration:

1: *snb.w* [...][...] [a] <*m*> *wp*[*.t*] [*mnty*] *Bb* [...] […] [aa]
2: *ḥḏwt=s* [b] <*m*> *Nṯr.ty* (?) *Nṯr:w* [...][...] [bb]
3: *ꜥ3.w=s* [c] <*m*> *ꜥ*[*rw.t*] *3s.t Wsjr* [cc]
4: *ḫ.t n ṯ3w=*<*s*> [d] <*m*> *sb3* [*wꜥ.*(*t*)] [*wḏ*(*w*)] *n=f šnj.t m p.t wḏꜥ mdw* [*m*] *sḫm* [dd]
5: *nfw=s* [e] <*m*> *b*[*d*]*š ꜥ.wy Bb* [ee]
6: *ḫft-ḥr=*<*s*> [f] <*m*> *sḥḏ wr n*(*y*) *Rꜥ* [ff]
7: *ḥꜥs-ṯ3w*<*=s*> [g] <*m*> *ḥnsk.t ḥ*[*dd*]*wt* [gg]
8: *Jb.w* [*n*(*y*).*w*] *f3j.t ṯ3w* [h] <*m*> [...] [...] [...] [...] [...] [hh]
9: *k3.w šsp.wt=s* [i] <*m*> [...][...][*Jmn*] [...] [...] [ii]
10: *ḥr=s jm*(*y*)-*wr.t* [*ꜥ3*] <*=s*> [j] <*m*> [...] [...] [...] [...] [...] [jj]
11: *t3-*<*wr*> *ꜥ3*[*=s*] [k] <*m*> [...] [...] [...] [...] [...] [kk]
12: *jm*(*y*)-*tp* [*=s*] [l] <*m*> [...] [...] [...] [...] *s* [ll]
13: *ḥr*(*y*)-*ꜥ=s* [m] <*m*> [...] [...] [...] [...] [...] [mm]
14: *ṯ3w.t=s* [n] <*m*> [...] [...] [...] [...] [...] [nn]
15: *Wsr.w=s* [o] <*m*> [...] [...] [...] [...] [oo]
16: *smꜥ.w=s* [p] <*m*> [...] [...] [...] [...] [pp]

Comment:

[a]: 139 a = group 1 (= 139 b for group 2). Only a half-column, the board having been sawn in the middle. Few traces of the top of an '*s*' in the middle, the end of a

[12] On nautical terms, see more specifically Jequier, *BIFAO* 9, 37-82; Jones, *Glossary*.
[13] M13C has many lacuna.
[14] M46C also has many lacuna as well as M6C (to a lesser extent). Note also that M5C differs in several places from the two groups (especially 145 a-b and 146 a).
[15] See Bickel, in Bickel, Mathieu (eds), *D'un monde à l'autre Textes des Pyramides & Textes des Sarcophages*, 109-112.

very faded *n* and the end of the wood determinative. This can therefore correspond to *snbw* as for group 1. The other versions (except M46C and M4C but including M9C) give *mḏ3b.wt=s*.

[aa]: *wp* well recognizable and some traces of the determinative of *mnty* and divine determinative.

[b]: 139 b = *ḥḏwt* as M13C, *ḥmw* for G1T, A1C and maybe X3Bas[16] , *šwt* for M3C (= 140 a for group 2 with *šwt*).

[bb]: *nṯr nṯr.t* for G1T, A1C, *Nṯr.ty* for almost all Meir versions.

[c]: 140 a = group 1 probably, although very destroyed (= 140 b for group 2). With a sign *w* as M5C.

[cc]: *ꜥrw.t* for all versions except M2NY which presents *ꜥnw.t*.

[d]: 140 b = group 1: (= 141a for group 2). Without the wood determinative after *ṯ3w* as M3C and M13C.

[d d:] signs mostly erased in this part, however our version could be close to M2NY and M4C ending with '*wḏꜥ mdw* [*m*] *sḫm*'.

[e]: 141 a = group1and M6C (= 141 b for group 2). With two ropes determinative like several versions from Meir.

[ee]: according to the traces of signs which remain visible in this area, our text seems close to other Meir versions with in particular the presence of a '*w*' after the 'ꜥ'.

[f]: 141 b = group1 and M6C of group 2 (= 142 a for group 2) but close to the last two again with *ḥr* after *s* and the rope determinative after *ḥr* (as M13C and M6C).

[ff]: *sḫḏ* with a star determinative as in all versions from Meir.

[g]: 142 a = group1 (= 143 a for group 2). Unfortunately the signs have disappeared after *ṯ3w*.

[gg]: *ḥddt* instead of *M3fd.t* (for G1T, A1C). The inscription is very faded but the top of the *ḥ* remains as well as *w* and the very faded remains of a scorpion determinative. Written here with '*w*' after '*dd*'.

[h]: 142 b = group 2 (= 143 a for group1) . Our text no longer follows group 1.

[hh]: erased

[i]: 143 b = group 2 (=142 b for group 1). Very close to almost all Meir versions.

[ii]: almost completely erased but the sign is still recognizable as found in M46C, M21C and M4C.

[j]: 144 a = group 2 (= 143 b for only M3C, M13C in group 1). Close to M2NY and M4C especially with *s* next to *jm*(*y*).

[jj]: erased.

[k]: 144 b = group 2 (= 144 a for group 1). Follows exactly M2NY and M4C. *Wr* seems to have been omitted as often.[17]

[kk]: erased.

[l]: 145 a = group 2 (= 144 b for group 1). With a wood determinative as all versions from Meir.

[ll]: erased except *s* at the end.

[m]: 145 b = group 2 (= 145 a for group 1). Our version is the only one to show a sign before the wood determinative.[18]

[mm]: erased.

[n]: 146 a = group 2 (= 145 b for group 1). With a sail determinative like all versions from Meir.

[nn]: erased.

[o]: 146 b = group 1 and 2. M3C, M6C, M5C, M4C add the *šmꜥ.w* which is the next sentence with the *wsr.w* for the other versions.

[oo]: erased.

[p]: 147 a = group 1 and 2.

[pp]: erased

Translation:

1: *Her Snbw*[a] <are> *what separate* [the thighs of Babi]; [aa]

2: *Her rudder* [b] <is> *the two gods of Netjerw*; [bb]

3: *Her supports* [c] <are> *the jaws of Isis and Osiris*; [cc]

4: *Her mast* [d] <is> *the Lone Star which has severed for itself the storm in the sky, who gives judgement with a sceptre*; [dd]

5: *Her two Nfw* [e] <are> *the weakness of Babi's* [*arms*]; [ee]

6: *Her forestay* [f] <is> *the great light of Rê*; [ff]

7: *Her backstay* [g] <is> *the tress of Hedjedet*; [gg]

8: *Her hoists* [h] <are> […]; [hh]

9: *Her kȝ.w šsp.wt* [i] <are> [the right arm of Atum]; [ii]

10: *Her starboard rope* [j] <is> […]; [jj]

11: *Her port rope* [k] <is> […]; [kk]

12: *Her jm*(*y*)*-tp* [l] <is> […]; [ll]

13: *Her ḫr*(*y*)*-*ꜥ[m] <is> […]; [mm]

14: *Her sail* [n] <is> […]; [nn]

15: *Her oars* [o] <are> […]; [oo]

16: *Her sounding poles* [p] <are> […] [pp]

Comment:

[a]: Barguet: '*le sommet des cuisses de Bébon*' and Carrier '*le haut des cuisses de Bébon'*.

[aa]: end of the column erased. All versions: '*when he goes around the earth*'.

[b]: the terms *ḥḏwt*, as *snbw* and *šwt* does not seem to correspond to a known part of a boat.[19] Meyer Dietrich: '*šwt*': '*shade canopy*' (Schattendach) for M5C.[20] For M13C, in place of *ḥḏwt*, Willems reads '*Wd.wt*', a term used for '*sounding pole*'.[21]

[16] See LAPP, *Särge*, pl. 32, 40, WILLEMS, *Heqata*, 439, n. *bf*.

[17] WILLEMS, *Heqata*, 441, n. *bv*.

[18] This could be interpreted as a confusion for *ḫr*(*y*)-ꜥ (*cf.* Wb III, 394).

[19] FAULKNER, *AECT* 38, n. 39.

[20] MEYER-DIETRICH, *Nechet und Nil*, 119 (140a).

[21] WILLEMS, *Heqata*, 439, n.*bf*.

bb: our version seems close to those of Meir in this case. *Nṯrw* is the ancient Behbet el Hagar where Isis and Osiris were revered.[22]

c: *ꜣ.w* is understood as supports by most authors.

c c: Barguet: '*ses colonnettes sont les anus (?) d'Isis et Osiris*' probably due to the determinative of G1T as Willems noted.[23]

d: '*double mât'* for Barguet and Charrier due to the determinative of G1T (also present on A1C).

dd: end attested only on two other versions, from Meir.[24]

e: *nfw* is not easy to understand: Barguet reads: '*sa double voile*'. Faulkner has argued that *nfw* is constantly written in the dual and such double sails are not attested in ancient Egypt.[25] Willems states that this term '*can only designate the sailing gear or some part of it*'.[26]

ee: same equivalence on all versions.

f: the same for all versions .[27]

ff: star rather than light for Faulkner and Willems.[28]

g: *s* after *ḥꜥ* like M3C.

gg: enough traces remain to restore the text, in particular the name of the deity whose braid is mentioned: *Hedjedet*, like most versions of Meir, including M3C (M13C is destroyed) rather than *Mafedet* (G1T and A1C). [29]

h: Barguet: '*les haubans (?) de support*', Carrier; '*les cordes de hissage (?)*', Faulkner: '*her braces (?)*' (to him, the expression could perhaps refer to the braces controling the yards[30]) and Willems: '*its hoists*' (to him, there is no doubt that it is the ropes for hoisting the sail that are so designated[31]).

hh: for all versions: '*the gods and bas of Pe*'.

i: follows group 2 in 143b.

ii: seems to follow group 2 according to the part of the boat mentioned.

j: does not exist for G1T and A1C.

jj: same text for all versions: '*the left arm of Atum*'.

k: Barguet: '*son cordage de tribord*', Carrier: '*son cordage de babord*', Faulkner: *'Her larboard side*', Willems: '*its port rope*'.

kk: in group 1 *Sakhmet* is in motion, which is rendered differently according to the authors: Barguet: '*Sekhmet à sa venue*', Carrier: '*Sekhmet quand elle s'éloigne*', Faulkner: '*Sakhmet when she dances*',Willems: '*Sakhmet while she goes away',* in group 2 '*Sakhmet protects*'.

l: translations vary a lot for the term *jm*(*y*)-*tp*: Barguet: '*drisse*' (?), Carrier: '*cordage imytep*', Faulkner: '*stern-post*', Willems reads *jm*(*y*)-*tp* and notices that the nautical terms '*jm*(*y*)-*tp*' and '*ḫr*(*y*)-ꜥ' are always mentioned in close conjunction in texts about the ferry. Due to the wood determinative present on all versions of Meir, he doubts it is a rope.[32]

ll: about *Sakhmet*: '*she becomes beneficial*' (Carrier), *she protects* (Faulkner, Meyer Dietrich), *while being served* (Willems).[33]

m: again, various translations for '*ḫr*(*y*)-ꜥ: Barguet: '*hauban* (?)', Carrier: '*Khérya*', Faulkner: '*tiller*', Willems: simply '*ḫr*(*y*)-ꜥ'.[34]

mm: '*Nut the equipped*' in all versions.

n: it is the sail which is evoked in our text, like all the versions of Meir while this is the cabin, with a specific determinative, in G1T and A1C.[35]

nn: '*Nut that spreads out*' ('*the messengers of Hâpy*' for M2NY).

o: our text separates '*wsr.w*' and '*smꜥ.w*' which are mentioned in the next sentence.

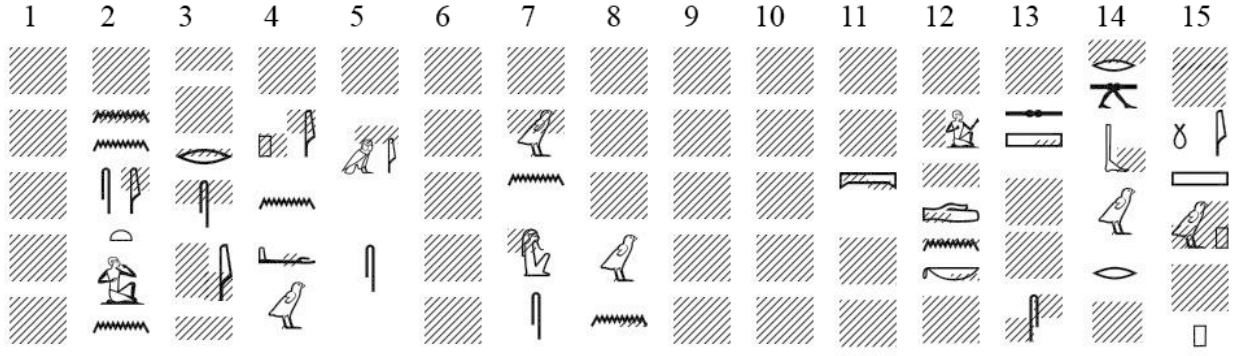
oo: all versions of Meir simply compare these elements of the ship to '*the gods and bas of Pe and Nekhen*'. G1T and A1C differ completely and is translated by Faulkner: '*the movements which are in the hand(s) of Horus when he travels*' while Willems considers that this passage is 'simply erratic' and following the Meir versions opts for '*the bas of Pe and Nekhen*' for the last two sentences combined into one. [36]

p: '*sounding poles*' for all versions.

pp: again all versions of Meir simply compare these elements to '*the gods and bas of Pe and Nekhen*'. G1T and A1C add '*for her guide-lines to the horizon*'.

The list ends here on our fragment, thus about six sentences are missing.

[22] See Favard-Meeks, *Behbet el Hagara*, 369-400.
[23] Willems, *Heqata*, 440, n.*bi*.
[24] Faulkner, *AECT*, 38, n. 41.
[25] Faulkner, *AECT*, 38, n. 42.
[26] Willems, *Heqata*, 440, n.*bn*
[27] Jones, *Glossary*, 179.
[28] Faulkner, *AECT*, 38, n. 43, Willems, *Heqata*, 440, n.*bo*.
[29] On the goddess Hedjedet represented with a scorpion on her head, see *LGG* V, 597.
[30] Faulkner, *AECT*, 39, n. 45.
[31] Willems, *Heqata*, 441, n. *bt*.
[32] Willems, *Heqata*, 441, n. *bw*.
[33] Who wonders what is the best reading of the different phonetically similar verbs that are used.
[34] See previous note.
[35] For differing opinions on this cabin, see the discussion in Willems, *Heqata*, 442 n. *bz*.
[36] Willems, *Heqata*, 442, n. *ce*.



Conclusion:
Fragment no. 2: *CT V 150a-151e*

Transliteration:

1: [...] [...] [...] [...] [...] [a]
2: [...] [*t*]*n njs*(*w*).*t*~*n*=
3: [*j*] *r* =*s* [b] *j*[*n*]
4: [...]*jpn di* [...]
5: [...]*jm* =*s* [c]
6: [...] [...] [...] [...] [...] [d]
7: [...] *w n* (*?*) *nṯr* (*?*) *s* [e]
8: [...] [...] *w n*
9: [...] [...] [...] [...] [...]
10: [...] [...] [...] [...] [...] [f]
11: [...] [...] *pt* (*?*) [...] [...] [g]
12: [...] [*rmṯ*] *d n*=*k* [...] [h]
13: [...] *sšs* [*š.t*] =*s* [i]
14: *r sy bw r* [...] [j]
15: [...] *isš.t pw* [...] *p* [*n*] [k]

Comment:

[a]: only a half column, erased: probably 150 a.
[b]: 150 a.
[c]: 150 b: *i*[*n nṯrw*] *jpn di* [*wi*] *jm* =*s*. Like all Meir versions. *in nṯrw jpn nty.w jm* =*sn* for the other versions .[37] '*d*' written with 𓈙 like M5C. Due to the lacuna after *s* at the end of the column, it is difficult to say if it was written *jm*=*s* as M5C again or *jm*=*sn* like most of the others versions.
[d]: erased. Beginning of 150c ?
[e]: 150 c ? Only the legs of a *w* remain, a horizontal sign below which may be *n* (?), a divine determinative perhaps and finally *s*. Not really clear and the signs can hardly match the part of 150 c that may be expected here.
[f]: 150 c ? Mostly erased, except *w* and *n* at the end of column 8.
[g]: 151 a probably: '[*m prt*=*f r*] *p.t* [*špt*(=*w*) *r rmṯ*]' The only sign partly preserved in this column is very likely the sky sign.
[h]: end of 151 a with the determinative of *rmṯ* at the top of column 12 and beginning of 151 b.
[i]: 151 b: *d n*=*k* [*r*=*k mm*] *sšs* [*š.t*]=*s*.
[j]: 151 c-d.
[k]: 151 d-e. *Ỉmyt* most likely in the lacuna before *išs.t,* written like all Meir versions (*isš.t* for the other versions (G1T, G2T, A1C, T3C)

Translation:

1: [...]; [a]
2-3: *about which I was questioned*; [b]
3-4: *by these gods who place me*;
5: [...] *in them (in it* ?); [c]
6: [...];
7: (?);
8: (?);
9: [...];
10: [...]; [d]
11: [when he ascended to the] *sky* [angry with the men]; [e]
12: [Indeed] *put* [in it];
13: *its rope equipment*; [f]
14: *Where to* ? *To* [Imyt]; [g]
15: *What are* [...] [h]…

Comment:

[a]: the beginning of 150 a, generally read: '*all the elements that I have forgotten in this boat'* was probably here and in the previous column.
[b]: Willems expresses doubts about this translation which highlights what the deceased forgot, which indeed seems strange[38].
[c]: only for versions from Meir, '*by those gods who are in them'* for the others .
[d]: the content of these columns is difficult to identify precisely. The text should follow 150 c which, accordind to the Meir versions, can be read: 'the storeroom from which they took them'. The other versions can be read a little differently:[39]

[37] WILLEMS, *Heqata*, 419, n. *b*.

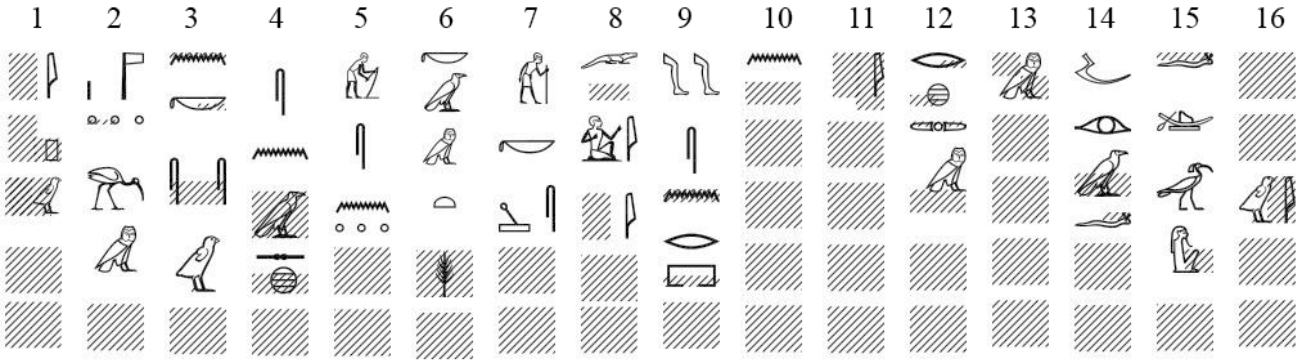
[38] WILLEMS, *Heqata*, 419, n. *c*.
[39] '*It is they who will take them from the storehouse ; they took (something) thence for Horus the Lord':* FAULKNER, *AECT*,

[e]: generally read '*when he ascended to the sky angry with the men'*.

[f]: translation and meaning of *sššš.t* very uncertain. Jones suggests: *gear* (?)[40], Faulkner and Willems read simply *sššš.t*, Barguet and Carrier opt for '*matériel de cordage*' which may be plausible given the rope determinative.[41]

[g]: only in versions from Meir.

[h]: the text which no doubt continued in the following columns must have been equivalent to that found in almost all versions: 'Which *are these two imyt towns from which you have come ?'*…



Fragment no. 1 – lower part: *CT V 153a-154c*
The top of the text is preserved, but one square is missing at the bottom.

Transliteration:

1: *j* [*pw*] [...] [...] [a]
2: *nṯr.w gm* [~*n=j s*] [b]
3: *n kss.w* [c]
4: *sn* [d] [*ȝ*]*s*[*ḫ*] [...] [dd]
5: *=sn* [*bd.t ?*] [...] [e]
6: *kȝm*(*w*)*t* [f] [*ks*] [ff]
7: *=k*(*w*) *sʿḳ* [g]
8: [~*n*]*=j j* [*myty*] [h]
9: *mn.ty=s*[*n*] *r* [*pr.t*] [i]
10: *n* = [*sn ḫrw*] [...][...] [j]
11: j[*m*] [...][...][...] [k]
12: *r ḫm* [...][...] [l]
13: *m* [...] *w* [...] [m]
14: *mȝ=f* [...][...] [n]
15: *f dpt ȝḫ* [...][...] [o]
16: [...][...]*jw* [...][...] [p]

Comment:

[a]: 153 a. Only a half column again with *j* and only a few tiny traces of *p* and *w*.

[b]: 153 a. *gm~n=j sn*: the *s* probably took place in the missing square and the *n* is at the top of the next column.

[c]: 153 a. *kss.w*: same writing as M2NY and M4C. The determinative was probably at the bottom of the column.

[d]: end of 153 a. *ks.w sn* only found in Meir versions

[dd]: beginning of 153 b. Same determinative as M4C, at the beginning of the next column.

[e]: 153 b. Some indistinct traces under *sn* in which we can see perhaps as in M5C ?[42]

[f]: 153 b. The sign following *kȝm*(*w*) *t is* not very clear. It could be the same determinative as *bd.t*.

[ff]: *ks* has probably disappeared in the lacuna but the determinative appears at the top of the next column.

[g]: end of 153 b – beginning of 153 c.

[h]: 153 c. End of *j myty* completely erased. *mn.t* probably written at the bottom of the column.

35 '*it is they who will take them <from> this storeroom. For every Horus took them (?)'*: Willems, *Heqata*, 418 and his remarks about the accepted reading of 150 a and b: 419 n. *c, d.*

[40] Jones, *Glossary*, 188, n° 152.

[41] Faulkner, *AECT*, 35, n. 60, Willems, *Heqata*, 420, *f. g*.

[42] *bd.t* can present a determinative which could be close to what is seen on M5C. See Wb I, 486, 14,18.

[i]: 153 c: Determinative of *mn.t* at the top of the column.
[j]: 153 c. *pr.t* almost completely lost.
[k]: 153 c. Very faded traces of a barely visible j.
[l]: 153 c. Traces of a horizontal sign still visible. It could be the sign like the other versions except M5C which uses alphabetic writing, as our text, and seems to have been provided with an additional *n* (unless it's a poorly written *ḫm*). End of the column lost.
[m]: 153 c. Almost all the column lost except the first sign, *m* and a very faded *w* ?
[n]: 153 c. A divine determinative may have followed Maef's name, as in M5C and M4C. *jn n* most certainly in the lacuna.
[o]: 154 a-b. As in the other versions of Meir, the sign of the boat is used alone while the others write *dpt* phonetically.
[p]: End of 154 b and the two first signs of 154 c erased

Translation:

1: *These* <seven>
2: *gods*, [a] [I] *found* [them],
3: *bowed down,*
4: *reaping*
5: [emmer?]
6: *and barley* [b] *bowed down.* [c]
7: *I have gathered*
8: *what was between*
9: *their thighs, for* [invocation offerings]
10: *for them* [d]
11: [when travelling] [e]
12: *to Letopolis*
13: [to meet]
14: *Maef*. [f] [Bring the]
15: *boat* [for him] [for he is an <equiped>] *Akh*
16: [he has brought the fare !]. [g] […]

Comment:

[a]: the number seven is usually indicated.
[b]: as noted by various authors, this passage is very close to CT 397 (99 d).
[c]: there, it is the dead who is bowed down.
[d]: after harvesting the cereals, the deceased presents the offering required for his passage.
[e]: '*when travelling'* in all versions as expected.
[f]: *Maef*: one of the names of the ferryman.[43]
[g]: the ferryman finally agrees to make the deceased cross. This one is now presented as an 'equipped' *Akh* and he has paid his due

General Comments

The light yellow polychromy as well as the presence of spell *CT 3*98 allow us to link precisely fragments to the group of coffins from Meir without too much uncertainty. This provenance is further reinforced by their association with the canopic chest of Khakheperreseneb with which they were associated at the time of their acquisition. Although the inscriptions are not very well preserved, a close examination allows us to make some interesting remarks.

Regarding the list, as stated previously, two groups can roughly be differentiated in the way this it is structured. The first seven columns of our list follow exactly the model of group 1, then from the 8th column, it follows the model of group 2. A similar alternation between the two models is found in a coffin kept in Warsaw.[44]The last two sentences on our fragment, 146b and 147a, are equivalent for both groups but it is interesting to note that in any case, from this point, all versions are identical up to the end[45]. If the structuring model of the list is, up to a certain point, similar to group 1 and then follows group 2, the spellings are almost always close to those of group 2 and in general, to the coffins from Meir, including those belonging to group 1 (M3C, M13C). However, if we can easily compare it to Meir's group, in a very surprising way, there is a characteristic that it does not share at all with the latter: the *m* of equivalence is never indicated unlike all Meir's versions. In this, our version is closer to those from Aswan (A1C) or Gébelein (G1T). Unfortunately, nothing allows us to link our fragments to somebody or to situate them chronologically compared to other coffins. They illustrate the difficulty in understanding the modes of transmission of this type of text and the way in which they evolved over time or maybe inside the workshops.

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[43] See HAYS, *JEOL* 40, 46-7; BICKEL, in BICKEL, MATHIEU (eds), *D'un monde à l'autre Textes des Pyramides & Textes des Sarcophages*, 92, n. 5.

[44] M9War, see DABROWSKA-SMEKTALA, in ENDESFELDER *et al.* (eds), *Ägypten und Kusch,* 115-20.

[45] As the first five sentences (125a-127a).

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The Late Middle Kingdom Stela Louvre N 196 = C 42 from the Louvre Museum

Julien Siesse

Abstract

Publication of a Late Middle Kingdom stela from the Salt collection (Louvre N 196 = C 42). The Abydos stela is linked with six more stelae, which were probably made in the same workshop or artistic centre based in the Memphite-Fayum region around the transition between the Twelfth and the Thirteenth Dynasties. Fifthteen artistic and epigraphic traits can now be associated with this workshop.

A Late Middle Kingdom stela currently held in the Egyptian Department of the Louvre Museum in Paris and registered under the inventory number N 196, corresponding with de Rougé's *Notice sommaire*'s number C 42, is hereby published.[1] The stela was bought in 1826 as part of the Henry Salt collection for the Charles X Museum[2]. Its original provenance is unknown[3] but can be deduced from its study, as we will see below. This stela was previously known from short descriptions in Champollion and de Rougé's Egyptian galleries guidebooks from the early-late Nineteenth Century and a colour photograph was recently published in the re-edition of Champollion's *Notice*.[4] Carved in limestone, the stela is 28,2 cm high, 20 cm wide and 5 cm thick (see Pl. LXIV). It belongs to the rectangular cavetto cornice type, with painted, and not incised, palm leaves. A torus runs along the top, right and left sides of the main field, which is cut in sunken relief. Sides are roughly smoothed and the back, even rougher, displays many parallel chisel marks. Except for a few shallow holes, mainly concentrated around the edges and in the cornice, the stela is well preserved.[5] It retains parts of its original colouring, mostly the red of one in four palms of the cornice, human carnation, some of the offerings and a horizontal band at the bottom of the main field.

Scenes and Inscriptions

The main field is divided in two registers and the inscriptions are delimited by borderlines. The bottom of the field ends with three lines, forming two bands, one of which is painted in red. The first register covers the first half of the main field. There, a man, facing right,

[1] De Rougé, *Notice sommaire*.
[2] On this collection, see Guichard (ed.), Champollion, *Notice descriptive*, 30-2.
[3] PM VIII [3], 220, [803-031-019].
[4] De Rougé, *Notice sommaire*, 72, no. 42; Champollion, *Notice descriptive*, no. X. 4; Guichard (ed.), Champollion, *Notice descriptive*, 323, no. X. 4. The stela is also mentioned in Olette-Pelletier, *RdE* 67, 65-6, fig. 2.
[5] Its surface was cleaned and the modern plaster on its sides and back removed by Anne Courcelle in 2005.

Fig. 1 – Hieroglyphic text of stela Louvre N 196 = C 42

is sitting on a chair with leonine legs, low drums and a small backrest covered by a pleated cloth. His right hand rests on his right thigh, clutching a piece of cloth, while he holds a lotus flower with detailed petals to his nose with his left hand. He wears a plain long kilt, a broad collar and a short wig leaving his ears uncovered. In front of him, at the centre of the first register, is an offering table with eight half-loaves slices. Under the table are shown two jars, a *ḥs*-type libation jar with a beaker on the left and a *mrḥt-type* unguent jar on the right. A heap of offerings is represented on the right side of the table. It consists of three more jars placed on ring-stands. The central jar, painted in red, is of an ovoid type with a narrow neck and a circular white stopper. Two pear-shaped jars, also painted in red, are depicted on the sides. Their stopper is white and incised with parallels lines. Two lettuces are shown upright in the background between the three jars in the foreground. Above, various food offerings are placed on a tray. An ox head, painted in red, and a white round loaf between two red conical loaves are topped by a bundle of onions, a red ox leg, and two trussed plucked geese. A singular horizontal line of hieroglyphic inscription, bearing a *ḥtp-dj-nswt* formula dedicated to the main owner of the stela, is carved from right to left above the scene (see Fig. 1).

← (1) *ḥtp dj nswt Ptḥ prt-ḫrw*[a] *t ḥnḳt kꜣw ꜥpdw n kꜣ n jry-ꜥt*[b] *wdpw*[c] *Rn-snb*[d]

(1) An offering that the king gives to Ptah (may he give) an invocation offering of bread, beer, beef and fowl for the ka of the chamber-keeper and cupbearer Reniseneb

A secondary line of inscription is carved on top of the offering table:

→ (2) *ḫꜣ m t ḥnḳt kꜣw ꜥpdw ꜥs mnḫt*

(2) A thousand of breads, beers, beefs, fowls, alabaster vessels and linen

The inscriptions of the second register are arranged in a symmetrical fashion on each side of a central column of text, bearing a shortened offering formula dedicated to ten members of the family of the owner, listed in five lines on each side:

← (3) *ḥtp dj nswt Wsjr nb ꜣbḏw*[e] *prt-ḫrw t ḥnḳt n kꜣ n*
(4) *jt.f twbj*[f]
(5) *mwt.f Jy.tj*[g]
(6) *sn.f Mr.tw.f*[h]
(7) *sn.f Jꜥtw*[i]
(8) *sn.f Ḫpr-kꜣ*[j]
→ (9) *sn.f Sn.j-jy*[k]
(10) *sn.f Gbw-wr*[l]
(11) *snt.f Py*[m] *mꜣꜥt-ḫrw*
(12) *snt.f Mrt*[n] *mꜣꜥt-ḫrw*
(13) *snt.f ttj*[o] *mꜣꜥt-ḫrw*

(3) An offering that the king gives to Osiris (may he give) an invocation offering of bread and beer for the ka of
(4) his father, Tubi;
(5) his mother, Iyti;
(6) his brother, Mertuf;
(7) his brother, Iatu;
(8) his brother, Kheperka;
(9) his brother, Seniiy;
(10) his brother, Gebu-wr;
(11) his sister, Py, true of voice;
(12) his sister, Meret, true of voice;
(13) his sister, Teti, true of voice

Textual notes

[a] The *dj.f* formula that usually precedes the *prt-ḫrw* on Late Middle Kingdom stelae is here omitted. For other similar omissions on contemporary stelae, which could be interpreted as an archaism sign, see Franke, *Egyptian Stelae*, 129.

[b] Ward, *Index*, 57, no. 452. For a list of bearers: Ber-

lev, *Общественные*, 246-52. According to Franke, *Egyptian Stelae*, 75, the stela Cairo CG 20314 would record the oldest attestation of this title in the Middle Kingdom. On the phonetic writing of the title, see the discussion below.

[c] Both titles are often associated in the Late Middle Kindom: Ward, *Index*, 58, no. 467. For a list of title bearers: Berlev, *Общественные*, 254.

[d] Ranke, *PN* I, 222, 26. On this man, see Franke, *Personendaten*, 239, dossier no. 369.

[e] *LGG* III, p. 562-563.

[f] Ranke, *PN* I, 379, 11. This very rare personal name appears as *Tbj* for the same man on stela Cairo CG 20317 (see discussion below).

[g] Ranke, *PN* I, 11, 10. On this woman, see Stefanovic, *Dossiers of ancient Egyptian Women*, 34, dossier no. 63.

[h] Ranke, *PN* I, 162, 15 (who reads *Mrwt.f*).

[I] Ranke, *PN* I, 12, 7. This man also appears on the other stela of his brother, Cairo CG 20317 (see discussion below).

[j] Ranke, *PN* I, 268, 23.

[k] Ranke, *PN* I, 308, 10.

[l] Ranke, *PN* I, 350, 17, quotes stela Turin Cat. 1613 as the sole source for this personal name. Ranke, *PN* I, 350, 18, reads *Gbw-šrj* on our stela, but this reading is based on the transcription of Lieblein, *Dictionnaire*, 174, no. 525. However, the bird sign could either be a G36 sign or a G37 one.

[m] Ranke, *PN* I, 129, 28.

[n] Ranke, *PN* I, 158, 13.

[o] Ranke, *PN* I, 384, 4.

Discussion

The titles of the main owner of our stela, the chamber-keeper and cupbearer Reniseneb, link him to the administration of the Treasury, and to that of the food production area (*šnˁ*) in particular. This middle ranking function was enough to be able to have this stela made for him. Although small, it displays a good quality of workmanship and thus was made by a qualified artist. According to Franke,[6] Reniseneb should be identical with the owner of another, bigger stela, found in Abydos and exceptionally carved in sandstone (Cairo CG 20317).[7] Even though he does not bear any title on that stela, the names of his parents guarantee this identification. However, the link with the man of the same name, who appears on stela Geneva MAH 6875,[8] should be carefully considered, since it is only based on the homonymy: the personal name Reniseneb is extremely popular in Middle Kindgom Egypt. Anyway, stela Louvre C 42, from unknown provenance, might have come from the same abydenian chapel as stela Cairo CG 20317. The deities mentioned in the offering formulas do not contradict this hypothesis: one mentions the god Osiris lord of Abydos and the other Ptah,[9] who was a member of the local pantheon, as indicated by a mid-Thirteenth Dynasty stela, where he is mentioned as 'the one who dwells in Abydos' (*ḥry-jb ꜣbḏw*).[10] But his presence could also indicate the Memphite origin of Reniseneb or that he belonged to the Residence's central administration.

Indeed, it is proposed to connect the stela Louvre C 42 with a Memphite workshop from the late Twelfth, early Thirteenth Dynasty. Ilin-Tomich first identified five stelae from this workshop[11], that all shares many traits with our monument.[12] To the list of works of this production centre, we would also add a seventh stela, previously in the Bois-Aymé collection (see Fig. 2),[13] the lunette's decoration of which is nearly identical to that of stela Turin Cat. 1613 (see Fig. 3).[14] The Bois-Aymé collection stela also displays traits 3-5 of Ilin-Tomich's study. Of the six characteristic traits of this workshop highlighted by him, our stela Louvre C 42 only shows two: the writing of the *t ḥnḳt* group and the small size of the *b* (D58) sign (traits 4-5).

[6] Franke, *Personendaten*, 239, dossier no. 369.

[7] Lange, Schäfer, *Grab- und Denksteine des Mittleren Reichs*, vol. I, 329-30 (64 x 36 cm).

[8] As suggested by Grajetzki, Stefanovic, *Dossiers of Ancient Egyptians*, 65, dossier no. 129.

[9] Not taking into account the syncretic entities Ptah-Sokar and Ptah-Sokar-Osiris, Ptah does not appear very often in the offering formulas of Late Middle Kingdom monuments from Abydos. With around twenty mentions, he is the sixth most mentioned deity on private monuments from there, after Osiris, Wepwawet, Anubis, Min-Horus-the-victorious and Ptah-Sokar/Ptah-Sokar-Osiris. Ptah is cited without any epithet on statue Louvre E 27353 and stelae Cairo CG 20128, CG 20281, CG 20520, Copenhagen AEIN 1540, Louvre C 42, Philadelphia E. 16012 and Trento 5220; as 'South-of-his-wall' (*rsy jnb.f*) on stelae Avignon A 31, London BM EA 177, EA 428, EA 905, Oxford AM 1926.213 and Vienna ÄS 191; as the lord of Ankhtawy (*nb nḫ-tꜣwy*) on stelae El-Arabah E.247, London BM EA 177, EA 428, Oxford AM 1926.213 and Vienna ÄS 191; as 'the noble one' (*šps*) and the 'heir of Ra' (*stj Rˁ*) on statue Pittsburg 4558-3, stelae Cairo CG 20062, Louvre C 12 and Vienna ÄS 191 (only as the 'heir of Ra' on the a latter one); as 'beautiful of face on his great seat' (*nfr ḥr ḥr st wr*) on stelae Avignon A 31 and Louvre C 85; and as 'the one who dwells in Abydos' (*ḥry-jb ꜣbḏw*) on stela Cairo CG 20015.

[10] Cairo CG 20015: Lange, Schäfer, *Grab- und Denksteine des Mittleren Reichs,* vol. I, 14-15.

[11] Cairo CG 20092, Lacock Abbey 50028, Marseille 227, Turin Cat. 1532 and Cat. 1613.

[12] Ilin-Tomich, *From Workshop to Sanctuary*, 86-7.

[13] Tresson, *Kêmi* 1, 69-82, pl. VII.

[14] As previously pointed out by Grajetzki, *Two Treasurers*, 80.

Fig. 2 – Stela previously in the Bois-Aymé collection (from Tresson, *Kêmi* 1, pl. VII)

Fig. 3 – Stela Turin Cat. 1613 (Creative Commons, Museo Egizio, Torino)

Stela	Trait 1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15
Bois-Aymé collection	-	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	+
Cairo CG 20092	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	n/a
Lacock 50028	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	n/a
Louvre C 42	-	-	n/a	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Marseille 227	+	+	n/a	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	n/a
Turin Cat. 1536	-	-	+	+	n/a	+	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	n/a
Turin Cat. 1613	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+

Table 1 – Characteristic traits from the Late Middle Kingdom Memphite workshop (+: trait featured on stela; -: trait not featured; n/a: not applicable)

However, it shares many epigraphic and iconographic similarities with the other five stelae and the one from the old Bois-Aymé collection (szee Table 1). First of all, some of them feature a similar layout of their lower register with lists of names in either one or two columns (trait 7).[15] Secondly, determinative signs are used for non-illustrated persons: A50 or A52 signs for men and B1 sign for women like on our stela (trait 8).[16] Besides, the *jr.n*-type of maternal filiation is used exclusively (trait 9).[17] On the iconographical side, the design of the

[15] Bois-Aymé collection, Cairo CG 20092, Louvre C 42 and Marseille 227.

[16] Bois-Aymé collection, Cairo CG 20092, Louvre C 42, Marseille 227, Turin Cat. 1532, and Cat. 1613. The use of these determinatives is systematic on the Louvre stela, except when there's no room for them (for Mertuf and Iatu).

[17] Bois-Aymé collection, Cairo CG 20092, Lacock Abbey 50028, Louvre C 42, Marseille 227, Turin Cat. 1532 and Cat. 1613.

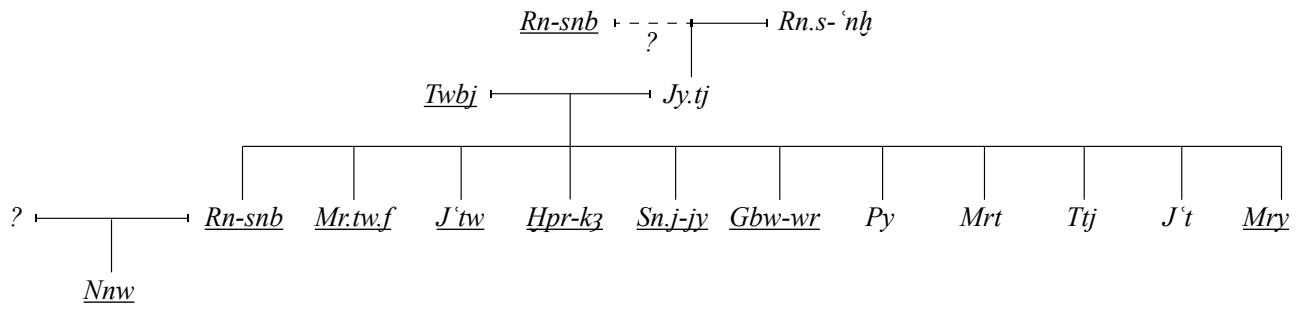

Fig. 4 – Genealogic tree of Renseneb's family

standing lettuce partially hidden behind pear-shaped jars with conical streaked stoppers appears on several stelae (trait 10).[18] The representation of the lettuce and the three vases is almost identical on the first register of stela Louvre C 42 and in the lunette of stelae Bois-Aymé collection and Turin Cat. 1613 (compare pl. LXIV with Figs 2-3). Other iconographical peculiarities include the figuration of the ox thigh instead of the whole leg (trait 11),[19] the main owner clasping a cloth in his right hand (trait 12),[20] the two bands decorating the lower part of the stela, the first one painted in red, (trait 13)[21], and the *mrḥt*-type jar shown under the offering table (trait 14).[22] Finally, the phonetic writing of the *jry* element in the *jry-ʿt* title, is used on the three stelae where it appears (trait 15).[23] This writing is rather rare in the Late Middle Kingdom, but more common on Twelfth Dynasty monuments.[24] The writing using the A47 sign, , is the most frequent at the end of the Twelfth Dynasty and under the Thirteenth Dynasty.[25] Other, rarer, writings are known during the Twelfth Dynasty, like , *jry-ʿyt*[26] and, *j(ry)-ʿt*.

Our proposition could be supported by the appearance of the *wdpw n ʿt ḥnḳt* ('cupbearer of the beer magazine') Gebu-wer, son of the lady Titi, on the stela Turin Cat. 1613. Considering the rarity of his name, he might well be identical with Reniseneb's homonymous brother, whose mother's name, Iyti, is written as Ititi on the stela Cairo CG 20317. Thus Titi, Iyti and Ititi could be variants of the same personal name.

In its lower register, Louvre C 42 stela mentions Reniseneb's parents as well as five brothers and three sisters. His family tree can be further reconstructed with the help of his other stela, Cairo CG 20317, which adds up a son, the steward Nenu, his maternal grandmother, Renesankh, a sixth brother, Mery and a fourth sister, Iat (see Fig. 4). As for the high steward Reniseneb, who appears on the third register of this stela with his own offering formula, he could be our Reniseneb's grandfather, his grandson having been named after him, following a longue-standing naming tradition.

As for the date of this workshop, Ilin-Tomich favours the late Twelfth Dynasty, around the reign of Amenemhat IV. This date is supported by many features, which are rare or disappear after the very beginning of the Thirteenth Dynasty. The symmetrical layout of the inscriptions in the lower register is common on late Twelfth Dynasty stelae from the Memphite region, like Durham EG 510.[27] A similar setup is displayed on stela Cairo CG 20553, another Memphite monument datable to the late Twelfth Dynasty, on which determinatives are also used for non-represented persons.[28] Besides, the disposi-

[18] Bois-Aymé collection, Lacock Abbey 50028, Louvre C 42, Marseille 227 and Turin Cat. 1613.

[19] Bois-Aymé collection, Cairo CG 20092, Lacock Abbey 50028, Louvre C 42, Marseille 227, Turin Cat. 1532 and Cat. 1613.

[20] Cairo CG 20092, Lacock Abbey 50058, Louvre C 42, Turin Cat. 1532 and Cat. 1613.

[21] Louvre C 42, Turin Cat. 1532 and Cat. 1613.

[22] Louvre C 42 and Turin Cat. 1532.

[23] Bois-Aymé collection (using two different writings), Louvre C 42 and Turin Cat. 1613.

[24] See, for example, contemporary stelae Louvre C 25 and E 20350 (currently on a long-term loan in Lyon's Museum of Fine Arts), and earlier stelae Louvre C 172 (year 3 of Amenemhat II), Louvre C 5 (year 1 of Amenemhat III), ex-Amherst collection no. 554 (Ilin-Tomich, in Miniaci, Grajetzki (eds), *The World of Middle Kingdom Egypt*, 152, fig. 5) and The Hague 46/92 (Spiegelberg, *Die aegyptische Sammlung*, 1, no. 1, pl. I; both from Amenemhat III's reign), as well as on the Late Middle Kingdom private-name scarab London BM EA 66731 (Martin, *Egyptian Administrative and private-name seals*, 102, no. 1311, pl. 33, no. 29).

[25] Both writings are used on stela London BM EA 831 (year 13 of Senwosret III).

[26] See stela Cairo CG 20314.

[27] Ilin-Tomich, *From Workshop to Sanctuary*, 86.

[28] For other examples of contemporaneous stelae showing two-columns lists of people with determinatives, see also stela London BM EA 233 from the reign of Amenemhat III or Louvre C 173 from the late Twelfth Dynasty. For two-columns lists without determinatives, see for example stela Vi-

tion of the vases and the lettuces on our stela is similar to that of stela London BM EA 249, which is linked to the same late Twelfth Dynasty workshop as stela Durham EG 510.[29] Furthermore, the *ḥs*-type jar displayed under the offering table is very common in the early Twelfth Dynasty,[30] following an Old Kingdom tradition, but quite rare after the passing of that Dynasty.[31] Likewise, *mrḥt*-type jars are rarely shown under offering tables on Middle Kingdom stelae, and the only known examples are to be dated to the Twelfth Dynasty.[32] Finally, the occurrence of the *ḫȝ m t ḥnḳt kȝw ȝpdw šs mnḫt* formula above the offering table points towards the same direction, as similar types are frequently shown on early Middle Kingdom stelae.[33] However, they are rare at the end of the Twelfth Dynasty, and even rarer after the beginning of the Thirteenth Dynasty.[34] All in all, the combination of these various criteria invites us to date stela Louvre C 42 between the end of the Twelfth Dynasty and the very beginning of the Thirteenth Dynasty.

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enna ÄS 144, more or less contemporary.

[29] Ilin-Tomich, *From Workshop to Sanctuary*, 86.

[30] See stelae Cairo CG 20165, CG 20300, CG 20357, CG 20470, CG 20516, CG 20535, CG 20541, CG 20544, CG 20568, CG 20589, Leiden AP 64, AP 65, AP 67, London BM EA 106, EA 241, EA 584, Louvre C 1, C 32, E 20149, Munich Glypt 35 and New York MMA 12.182.1.

[31] Among the rare post-Twelfth Dynasty examples, two stelae belong to the Memphite tradition: Cairo CG 20563 (early Thirteenth Dynasty) and CG 20459 (mid-Thirteenth, from treasurer Senebsuma's time). A third one, Cairo CG 20649, was produced by a workshop based at Tod and active around the very end of the Thirteenth Dynasty and the Second Intermediate Period (Sixteenth or Seventeenth Dynasties): Ilin-Tomich, *From Workshop to Sanctuary*, 135.

[32] See Brussels E.5264, Cairo CG 20629, CG 20719, Cherbourg MEL 2006.0.4, Durham EG 578, Firenze 2504, London BM EA 152, EA 566 and Turin Cat. 1532. That last one belongs to the same workshop as stela Louvre C 42.

[33] See Berlin 1188, 1191, 1192, 1200, Brussels E.2161, Cairo CG 20094, CG 20288, CG 20566, CG 20568, CG 20750, London BM EA 106, EA 241, EA 563, EA 971, Louvre C 172, C 176, C 180, C 184, E 20149 and New York MMA 12.182.1.

[34] See London BM EA 235 (*ḫȝ t ḥnḳt kȝw ȝpdw*; early Thirteenth Dynasty), Louvre C 255 (*ḫȝ t ḫȝ ḥnḳt*; mid-Thirteenth Dynasty) and Pittsburg 2983-6701 (*jrt ḥtp dj nswt ḫȝ m t ḥnḳt kȝw ȝpdw*; mid-Thirteenth Dynasty, from treasurer Senebsuma's time). The last stela seems to be the product of a Memphite workshop.

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‘Death ends a Life, not a Relationship’. Some Thoughts on Designating the Deceased *3ḫ* and *Wsir NN* in the Middle Kingdom

Uta Siffert

Abstract

Fundamental changes happen as a consequence of death. As it pertains to the individual, these changes concern the interwoven aspects of the role in society, the ontological status and potency (‘effectiveness’), and the corporal form of the deceased. The changes are realised by ritual performances (s:3ḫ.w) and are understood as a transformation process into an 3ḫ that happens during a transitional phase following the death of the individual. In funerary texts, this process is made possible by the use of a mythological matrix that endows the deceased with a ritual role, the role of Osiris (Wsir NN). The designation Wsir NN serves as a crucial expression for indicating and affirming that proper ritual acts are being performed during the transformative processes after death. The designation is almost exclusively used in this specific context as it conveys a certain state of the deceased. Therefore, 3ḫ and Wsir NN appear to be complementary expressions of the same funerary and social discourse and environment, yet alluding to different spheres of action. Their common nexus are ritual performances. The present article is concerned with the 3ḫ and Wsir NN designations and their role in Egyptian concepts related to the deceased. However, the aim is not a direct comparison but rather a contrasting characterisation, in order to discuss specific characteristics, mechanisms and possible functions.

1. Introduction: The physical State and Designations of the Deceased

Ontology captures the conceptual structure of the Egyptian cosmos as it refers to what modes of being and entities exist in the social reality, and makes assumptions about the nature, status, potency and form of these beings and entities.

Based on the notion of a maximal range of beings and entities in the ancient Egyptian cosmos, three distinct categories are often defined as main agents:[1]

> *rmṯ.w* / *ʿnḫ.w* (*tpj.w t3*) for living human beings;
> *nṯr:w* for supernatural beings such as deities (e.g. Osiris);
> *mwt.w* / *3ḫ.w* for the deceased.[2]

When used in combination, they are collective terms and designations referring to the entire community of beings and entities. Yet, there is a clear categorisation of the groups and thus also differentiation from each other. These beings and entities are often enumerated in the form of a list with a tripartite scheme that typically maintains a hierarchical structure, since *rmṯ.w*/*ʿnḫ.w* and/or *nṯr:w* are almost always listed first.[3] Moreover, variations only occur with *rmṯ.w* and *ʿnḫ.w*, which suggests that they can be used interchangeably with each other. *nṯr:w*

[1] Although depending on context and purpose, the boundaries of these categories may also overlap with other categories.

[2] For example lists like: *rmṯ.w*, *nṯr:w*, *mwt.w* – *rmṯ.w*, *nṯr:w*, *3ḫ.w*, *mwt.w* – *nṯr:w*, *ʿnḫ.w*, *mwt.w* –*nṯr:w*, *3ḫ.w*, *mwt.w* – *ʿnḫ.w*, *3ḫ.w*, *mwt.w*; Wb I, 16; Assmann, *Altägyptische Totenliturgien*, 21. This definition differs slightly from the interpretation of Baines, Lacovara, *JSA* 2/1, 16, as they state that the Egyptian world would be understood as consisting of four kinds of entities: ‘*the gods, the king, the dead, and humanity*’.

[3] Just to reference a few examples: stela of Sobekdedu-Bebi, probably from Abydos, Thirteenth Dynasty (Paris, Musée du Louvre, inv.no. C 285), and stela of Khentikhetiemhat (The Queen’s College, University of Oxford, inv.no. Oxford QC 1109), on both stelae is written: ‘*(...) m jb n rmṯ.w nṯr:w 3ḫ.w mwt.w (...)*’, compare for the complete texts: ‘Thesaurus Linguae Aegyptiae’, version October 31, 2014, https://aaew.bbaw.de/tla/index.html ,<accessed 21.12.2021>.

are a constant element of these lists and so are *mwt.w*. *3ḫ.w* seem to be supplements but never replace *mwt.w*.[4]

In relation to the human categories (*i.e*. non-divine), it is an individual's physical state that defines them: *ʿnḫ* for living human beings and *mwt* (respectively *3ḫ*) for deceased human beings. In respect of the question posed in this article, the latter category, that of the deceased (*mwt.w* and *3ḫ.w*), will be examined more closely.

However, in addition to *mwt.w/3ḫ.w*, there are various Egyptian expressions, terms and designations attested for the deceased such as *jmn.tjw* – 'the Westerners';[5] *n.tjw-jm* – 'those who are there';[6] *jm.jw-bʿḥ* – 'the ones who are in abundance'.[7] Some of these designations are metaphors and euphemisms and will not be dealt with here.[8] Moreover, such designations are abstract and emphasise a spatial, temporal, emotional and personal distance to the respective deceased. These are therefore descriptive designations that on the one hand express a neutrality and distance in relation to one's own relationship with the deceased person(s) referred to, and on the other hand are a – sometimes metaphorical – description of the notion of the deceased in general.

In contrast, there are designations for the deceased that do express a specific relationship with a specific deceased. They are often a reference to an attribute and notion of the deceased that has relevance for the living. These designations are therefore much more concrete and informative with regard to their meaning and function. They can be defined as relational designations.

Thus, it is the personal relationship between the living and the deceased which mainly affects the choice of words. Designations incorporate different ways of communicating salient information about the relationships between the two parties. As they are by no means used arbitrarily it is reasonable to divide the designations for the deceased into two categories: 1) descriptive, impersonal designations; and 2) relational designations. They are not synonyms and are not unconditionally interchangeable. They are always used in a specific context with a specific function and intention and are dependent on the speaker/communicator.

In the following, two designations for the deceased as well as the related concepts and ideas will be discussed in the context of the funerary processes and rites that immediately follow the death of an individual, and in the context of the mortuary cult and ancestor veneration afterwards.

Since different contexts may well imply different concepts, intentions and purposes, it can also be assumed that heterogeneous concepts of the relationship with the deceased will emerge within the individual contexts. Hence, it is not contradictory that different designations can be used in parallel, especially when alluding to different spheres of the perceived world.

The following analysis will focus on the two designations most frequently used for the deceased, and on their connection to each other:

3ḫ (and *mwt*)
Wsir NN

2. 'What's in a Name?'

Although not actually being a term or designation for a deceased person, the name should still be briefly addressed here. Strictly speaking, it does not belong to one of the categories mentioned before, as it is not connected with the state of being deceased. Nevertheless, it is basically the only constant within the transformation process from a living to a deceased person, as will be shown. The Egyptian meaning of the name has been well explored in modern literature.[9] However, it is relevant and legitimate to address it here in particular in relation to the often-postulated identification/identity of the deceased with the deity Osiris (see below).

In Egypt, a change in physical condition (namely being alive or deceased) did not necessarily imply a change in personal identity.[10] He or she principally remained the

[4] For example in the pyramid of Pepi I: '*(...)* [*j*] *nṯr.w ʿnḫ.w mwt.w (...)*', compare for the complete text: PT 698A/PT 1066, 'Thesaurus Linguae Aegyptiae', version October 31, 2014, https://aaew.bbaw.de/tla/index.html, <accessed 21.12.2021>.

[5] Wb I, 86.20-21 ('*die Westbewohner; die Westvölker; die im Westen ruhenden Toten*').

[6] Wb I, 72 ('*Toten; Bewohner im Totenreich*'); Wb II, 355.9-10 ('*die, welche dort sind*'); Leitz, LGG IV, 368.

[7] LGG I, 266; compare: 'Thesaurus Linguae Aegyptiae', lemma no. 859962, version October 31, 2014, https://aaew.bbaw.de/tla/index.html, <accessed 11.12.2021>.

[8] Vernus, in Hsu, Laisney, Moje (eds), *Ein Kundiger*, 290-1. This applies equally to designations such as *ḥr.j-tȝ* / '*the one who is upon earth*' which are used for the living. Wb III, 136, 1-5; compare: Thesaurus Linguae Aegyptiae', lemma no. 108880, version October 31, 2014, https://aaew.bbaw.de/tla/index.html, <accessed 11.12.2021>. Or *ʿnḫ.w tp tȝ*.

[9] Ranke, *Personennamen* II, 173-258; compare also: Bickel, in Nyord (ed.), *Concepts in Middle Kingdom funerary culture*, 32-3; Assmann, *Tod und Jenseits*, 59-73; Assmann, *Stein und Zeit*, 96-100.

[10] The term 'identity' and the associated concept of identity is understood and conceptualised in various ways in different disciplines such as sociology, philosophy, psychology or mathematics. As it is difficult to define it in a way that is universally accepted and useful, there is no analytical, systematic and stringent definition of it. In particular, there is no definition within Egyptology and with regard to ancient Egyptian culture (and its different functional contexts). Thus, it is by no means an attempt of this paper to establish a definition. Nevertheless,

same person before and after dying. Strictly speaking, the living and the very same deceased individual differ from each other in various aspects (see below), but are ontologically both (temporal) parts belonging to the same (temporally extended) whole. Therefore, personal identity should here be understood as identity across/through time and being separate and independent from the continuous existence of a physical body. It is not a physical, bodily continuity but an ontological connection that is necessary for a (enduring) personal identity. In terms of Egyptian material culture, the connection is made visible not least by the constant use on funerary objects of an individual's name and title(s) as well as his/her filiation/parentage.[11] Thus, it is not surprising that the name does not change during the process of dying,[12] and remains the same during the process of burial and transformation of the deceased, and finally (the eternal continuum) afterwards. Irrespective of the post-mortem phase and state the person is in, he or she is always addressed by his or her name. The name can be joined with other designations, but is never replaced (see below). However, it should be emphasised that the name does not express an individual's identity or is coterminous with it, but serves to identify him or her.

3. The Role of the Deceased Person in Society

Since the designations of the deceased to be discussed here represent concepts of relationships and function within and/or through a social framework, their meaning can be inferred by understanding these social relationships.[13]

In Egypt, every person functions as a member of a properly structured society. The Egyptian notion of a person is social, wherein each individual becomes aware of himself/herself as one among (specific) others with whom his/her life is in some sense connected, especially kin and associates.[14] The society permits multiple role sets, and social roles like father, mother, child, etc. are interactive, so that being a child implies that there is a father and a mother. However, this society consists not only of the structures and relations of living people, but also and just as centrally those of the deceased (and supernatural beings such as deities). They are connected by social and ritual relations, which can be broadly characterised as mutually dependant due to kinship responsibilities (see below). It is the funerary and mortuary cults, that form the main nexus between the living and the deceased.[15]

The funerary and mortuary cults have various functions. The religious function is to help the bereaved cope during mourning and grieving, with remembering the deceased, and ensuring the continued well-being of the deceased in order to maintain a positive disposition towards the living, thereby also negotiating claims between the

a brief explanation is necessary and provided in order to give the term 'identity' a contour in the context of the overarching topic of that paper and especially of the designation '*Wsir NN*'. Identity is here understood as the totality of peculiarities that characterise a person and distinguishes him or her from others as a unique individual. Identity is subjective and depends on the respective perception. While different people in different contexts may have different perceptions of their own identity, the identity of the same person remains unchanging even under varying conditions. The term 'identity' is used here to denote individuality and selfhood (even personhood), yet also persistence over time, especially after death. Compare further: Brubaker, Cooper, *Theory and Society* 29, 1-47. For an overview and a differentiated discussion of 'identity' and 'identity over time' (in philosophy) as well as further literature, compare the entry in the Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy: https://plato.stanford.edu/entries/identity/ and https://plato.stanford.edu/entries/identity-time/#2.1, <both accessed 11.11.2021>.

[11] However, it should be noted that a name is not an identity-generating factor per se.

[12] Although a person's titles may change in the course of life, but not because of death.

[13] An important aspect that the living and the deceased share (in some form, at least) is the Ka. However, the concept of the Ka will not be discussed here. Compare further for example: Olabarria, *JAEI* 17, 88-113.

[14] This paper deliberately sidesteps the discussions about the Egyptian conception of family and the kin-group called *3b.t*, compare further: Fitzenreiter, in Fitzenreiter (ed.), *Genealogie*, 69-96; Miniaci, in Nyord (ed.), *Concepts in Middle Kingdom funerary culture*, esp. 127-39; Olabarria, *Kinship and Family*; Willems, in Nyord, Ryholt (eds), *Lotus and laurel*, 447-72; Donnat, Moreno García, in Mouton, Patrier (eds), *Life, death and coming of age in antiquity*, 188-95, esp. 191-2, and many more.

[15] The following terms will be used in the present paper:

ritual = a complex of cultic activities (rites/actions including acts of speech) performed for a specific occasion and purpose (as part of the cultic identity);

cult = religious acts of all kinds referring to the entire set of ritual activities;

funerary cult (funerary rituals) = actions including actions of speech that took place at the tomb during the burial, performed by relatives or professionals commissioned by them;

mortuary cult (ancestor cult) = actions including actions of speech that regularly took place at the tomb (or some other appropriate place, like shrines, temples, etc.) after the burial, when relatives or professionals commissioned by them came to the tomb, chiefly at various feast dates;

ritualist = someone who performs a ritual activity (upon a ritual object, e. g. an amulet, but also a mummy).

Compare further: Hays, in Dieleman, Wendrich (eds), *UCLA Encyclopedia of Egyptology*, 1-14. However, Hays mainly discussed sources from after the Middle Kingdom; compare further for cult and ritual: Lang, in Auffarth *et al.* (eds) *Metzler Lexikon Religion. Gegenwart — Alltag — Medien*, 799-806.

Fig. 1 – Stela of Khonsu; Thirteenth or Seventeenth Dynasties; probably from Abydos; dimensions: H. 69 cm, W. 44.5 cm, D. 8 cm; Kunsthistorisches Museum Wien, Ägyptisch-Orientalische Sammlung, Ägyptische Sammlung, INV 180; © KHM-Museumsverband

living and the deceased,[16] and so on. The veneration of direct familial deceased and ancestors conducted by the living and descendants has one additional, non-religious function: the cultivation of kinship structures. The cult is a social act and an important cornerstone of the social community. Besides serving several essential functions for society during lifetime, as it pertains to the processes following death, the social role (as father, mother, child, etc.) defines a set of duties, responsibilities, and behaviours that are expected of an individual who holds or attains a particular status. The processes and the cult in general are therefore crucially structured by the social relationships.[17] The main participants are generally the deceased as the central reference person of the rites, the next of kin and/or persons socially or contractually obliged to participate and carry out the rites (such as

[16] Fitzenreiter, in Kümmel, Schweitzer, Veit (eds), *Körperinszenierung – Objektsammlung – Monumentalisierung*, 97.

[17] Donnat, Moreno García, in Mouton, Patrier (eds), *Life, death and coming of age in antiquity*, 179-83. Compare the meaning of biographies within the society: Bickel, in Nyord (ed.), *Concepts in Middle Kingdom funerary culture*, 24-46.

priests, professional mourners, etc.). Above all, the social roles allocate a temporal, ritual role to the main participants (see below).

In terms of the social role, a transitional process takes place through the performance of the proper rites (e.g. *s:3ḫ.w*, see below) and acts during the funeral process and is then perpetuated in the subsequent mortuary cult. This transitional process affects all participants, as they receive new roles in the social framework. Ideally, the deceased father becomes an ancestor, the son performing the funeral rites now takes on the social role of his father, etc.[18] Thus the practical experience of the funerary cult (and mortuary cult) defines, regulates and realigns the social community and the affiliations. A 'renegotiation' of the relationships and subsequent stabilisation of social groups is realised through the cult.[19] Hereby, specific designations are deployed to facilitate the interaction between all parties.

The depictions of the various festivities and activities in tombs[20] in the company of his/her living kin and associates visualise the reintegration of the deceased's social position and the new social roles.[21] The hoped-for ideal of the deceased's mode of existence as an *3ḫ* and his/her presence in the tomb as a place of manifestation is expressed and retained in tomb depictions and texts serving as a scheme for the continuing mortuary cult and the cultic community consisting of the deceased themselves and the living kin and associates as central participants. Moreover, it demonstrates that the strict separation of the world of the living and the world of the deceased (the 'Beyond' or 'Afterlife') is not entirely reasonable, since these two spheres overlap and are interdependent.[22]

Many so-called family stelae from the Middle Kingdom show precisely this social structure (see Fig. 1). In general, they usually depict a main reference person (the deceased) for whom the stela was made, and show or list various family members and other associates who are either marked with kinship terms in relation to the stela owner ('his daughter', 'his son', 'his brother', etc.) or are connected by their social role to the deceased (colleague, client, etc.).[23] The fact that the living and the deceased are depicted side by side is evident from iconographic details (for example holding a lotus blossom[24]) or from the inscriptions (designating them as *im3ḫ.w ḫr NN*, *nb im3ḫ*, *m3ʿ ḫrw*, etc.) and demonstrates the aforementioned unity of the living and the deceased.[25]

4. *mwt* vs. *3ḫ*. Who is Who in Death?

Both words, *mwt* and *3ḫ*, are attested during all periods of Ancient Egypt and are used in various contexts. While earlier research often assumed that *mwt* distinguished the evil or bad deceased from the good deceased called *3ḫ*,[26] doubts about that distinction have more frequently arisen recently.

mwt as a verb means 'to die / to be deceased', as a substantive *mwt* / *mwt.t* can be translated as 'the one who dies/has died/is deceased' or generally 'dying/death/the deceased'. However, the rationale behind the term *mwt* is hardly ever spelled out explicitly in Egyptian texts. Judging from the contexts of use, *mwt* seems to be a neutral and general term for the deceased, equally for (a) specific deceased person(s) or (a) deceased person(s) in general. Above all, however, it is a term referring indistinctly to all deceased people as a collective – as opposed to the living – and to a physical state – as opposed to that of being alive. It seems, therefore, to be a non-judgmental term that does not designate the characteristics but the state of the person, namely that of being deceased.[27] Unsurprisingly, it can be found in different kinds of (con-) texts, such as literary texts[28]; medical texts[29]; funerary texts and others.

[18] Nevertheless, these structures were certainly more complex and flexible when, for example, the cult was performed for a deceased son or daughter or siblings, *i.e.* relatives who are not in lineage and therefore not ancestors in the actual meaning of the term.

[19] Donnat, Moreno García, in Mouton, Patrier (eds), *Life, death and coming of age in antiquity*, 179-83.

[20] Compare the various entries in the *Meketrepository*, a repository for Middle Kingdom tomb decoration, https://meketre.org/, <accessed 21.10.2021>.

[21] Smith, in Dieleman, Wendrich (eds), *UCLA Encyclopedia of Egyptology*, 2-3.

[22] Fitzenreiter, in Kümmel, Schweitzer, Veit (eds), *Körperinszenierung – Objektsammlung – Monumentalisierung*, 75-106.

[23] Fitzenreiter, in Fitzenreiter (ed.), *Genealogie*, 69-96; Miniaci, in Nyord (ed.), *Concepts in Middle Kingdom funerary culture*, 133-6; Whelan, in Miniaci, Grajetzki (eds), *The world of Middle Kingdom Egypt*, 285-338.

[24] Fitzenreiter, in Kümmel, Schweitzer, Veit (eds), *Körperinszenierung – Objektsammlung – Monumentalisierung*, 79.

[25] It has already been stated often by various scholars that the emphasis on kin-related and social affiliations increased in the Middle Kingdom in comparison with earlier epochs (e.g. the number of people represented on so-called family stelae; multiple burials, etc.); compare for example: Miniaci, in Nyord (ed.), *Concepts in Middle Kingdom funerary culture*, 117-49; Willems, *Historical and archaeological aspects*, 184-201.

[26] Translations such as 'damned dead'; 'ordinarily dead'; 'evil dead'; 'ghost'; 'glorious spirit'; 'blessed spirit', etc. are often used.

[27] Against Janák, *JARCE* 46, 17-8.

[28] For example the debate of a man with his Ba, compare: Parkinson, *The Tale of Sinuhe*, 151-65.

[29] Borghouts, *Ancient Egyptian Magical Texts*, passim, esp. spells 2-5; Fischer-Elfert, *Altägyptische Zaubersprüche*, passim, esp. 360-74; Nunn, *Ancient Egyptian medicine*, 24-41.

However, in ritual contexts and in funerary texts the term *mwt* is not used to directly address a specific deceased. In principle *mwt* is rarely used. A common explanation for this is that *mwt* was a taboo word.[30] This idea may be true to a limited extent, but it cannot be convincingly applied in all contexts. The logic of the argument that the term *mwt* was avoided so that the situation of death would not occur (*i.e.* that by naming or using it something would 'magically' happen) is not easy to follow and does not seem conclusive. If this were the case it would ultimately mean that the term should never be used (except for enemies). However, the term is documented in various funerary contexts, albeit often negated. Phrases like *n mwt=k* / 'you did not die' or *n mwt=f n mwt* (*NN/* cartouche) *pn* / 'he will not die and this (NN/cartouche) will not die' known from the Pyramid Texts may deny or paraphrase death in terms of content, but the word *mwt* is still used.[31] Thus a 'magical' realisation due to simple usage can be excluded. Besides, the designation *ꜣḫ* also denotes a deceased person, yet it is never questioned in this way. If the aim was to avoid death to begin with, a taboo would equally be expected here in order to do justice to the argument proposed. But this is by no means verifiable, since *ꜣḫ* appears just as frequently. However, it should be emphasised that the deceased can be an *ꜣḫ*, but being an *ꜣḫ* does not mean 'being dead'.[32] Anyhow, it is not entirely logical that such a taboo would apply in this context, since funerary texts serve precisely the purpose of being effective for a person who is already deceased. Therefore, other motives should be considered to explain the respective choice of the word.

In general, there seems to be no evidence of a fear of dying; only premature, violent or wrongful death is described as problematic or even unfair.[33] Dying seems to have been perceived as unavoidable, there was no idea or concept of immortality[34] and probably also no concept of non-existence after death.[35] Therefore *mwt* is not inherently a negative term. It seems more likely that the meaning or the connotation associated with *mwt* is slightly different than has been assumed and that the decision to choose this word rather than *ꜣḫ* seems to depend on the context and the content of the text or the situation of the speech. The context determines whether the word *mwt* is appropriate or not for addressing a deceased person. Thus, *mwt* is a term that is not used for addressing a particular deceased in the mortuary cult (and ancestor cult) because it is inadequate, but not because it needed to be avoided or was considered harmful and dangerous. It therefore should not to be expected to find the deceased addressed thus in this context.

4.1. *s:ꜣḫ.w*

The meaning and notion of the word *ꜣḫ* has been well studied by many scholars.[36] According to Dunn Friedman, a single definition of this notion is impossible to achieve, yet the original and fundamental meaning seems to be 'effectiveness'.[37] Karl Jansen-Winkeln further refined the meaning stating that the *ꜣḫ* is 'Wirksamkeit mit verborgener Ursache' (an effectiveness whose origin is hidden).[38] In light of the following section one might add with reference to the deceased: '*ꜣḫ*' is the notion of a concrete effectiveness in relation to someone else.

The semantic content of *ꜣḫ* depends significantly on the respective context and various meanings can be found in different circumstances.[39] In a funerary context and

[30] Compare: Guilhou, in Marconot, Aufrère (eds), *L'interdit et le sacré*, 25-37.

[31] Compare for the use of antiphrastic euphemism: Vernus, *GM* 258, 129-50; Vernus, in Hsu, Laisney, Moje (eds), *Ein Kundiger*, 290-1; Posener, *ZÄS* 96, 30-5.

[32] Considering the aforementioned Egyptian perception of cosmos with a maximal range of beings and entities including the deceased as main agents (e.g. having agency) it might even be asked, what 'being dead' means at all, *i.e.* in a genuine Egyptian sense. Maybe *mwt* does not mean 'dead', but should be conceived as another mode of being in consequence of the process of dying and being deceased.

[33] Nyord, in Steinert (ed.), *Systems of classification*, 94-6; on different aspects of death in general see Zandee, *Death as an enemy*, passim; Willems, in Willems (ed.), *Social aspects of funerary culture*, 342.

[34] Fitzenreiter, in Serova, Backes, Götz (eds), *(Un)Sterblichkeit*, 9-27.

[35] The reexamination of the Egyptological narrative of a 'second death' is long overdue. This idea is based on a translation error of *mwt m wḥm* with major consequences. It seems to be more a case of the unconscious adoption of terminology and concepts from the Bible, in Judaism and Christianity. The 'second death' is a concept of punishment after a first natural death on Earth. However, as Anja Kootz clearly states, a translation of the term *wḥm* with '*(re-)aktivieren, verwirklichen, manifestieren; ausführen, durchführen; sowie umsetzten, durchsetzen*' seems to fit more accurately, therefore: *mwt m wḥm* should be translated '*der Tod in der/als Verwirklichung*' = '*Death in/as realisation*' / '*to activate death*' (Kootz, *Afrikanistik Aegyptologie* 2019/1, 1-27). A 'second death' is therefore not proven at all in Egyptian conceptions of death. In the relevant literature, the so-called second death always seems to be cited unreflectively as a justification when no other explanation seems obvious. The context of the use of that term is hardly ever considered. A differentiated study of the contexts of use and the exact meaning of this term would be desirable.

[36] Assmann, *Altägyptische Totenliturgien*, passim, esp. 13-37; Dunn Friedman, *On the meaning of Akh*; Friedman, *Serapis* 8, 39-46; Janák, *JARCE* 46, 17-31; Jansen-Winkeln, *SAK* 23, 201-15; Shalomi-Hen, *The writing of gods*, 124-31.

[37] Wb I, 13-16; Friedman, *Serapis* 8, 46.

[38] Jansen-Winkeln, *SAK* 23, 201-15, esp. 208-11.

[39] The various usage and meaning of *ꜣḫ* (in non-funerary con-

when referring to the deceased *3ḫ* (and *s:3ḫ.w* respectively) seems to be one of the most important concepts, as indicated by the frequency of its use since the Old Kingdom.[40] With regard to their cultic function Harold Hays states (echoing Kurt Sethe and Laurent Coulon), that '*s3ḫ.w* was actually the technical term for mortuary literature in general' and 'since the attainment of the state of being an Akh is a chief goal of the Pyramid Texts (and Coffin Texts, inserted by the author[41]), (…) it may be said that the title *s3ḫ.w* indicates the purpose of the whole body of mortuary literature'.[42] In this respect, Jansen-Winkeln's observation is plausible, that the general *3ḫ* concept does not seem to have evolved or changed significantly over time, as there is hardly any difference in meaning between the oldest texts and those from much later periods.[43]

Due to the broad time frame, but also because of the various contexts of use of the designation *3ḫ* and the different meanings, only one aspect will be discussed and emphasised in the following, namely the social component expressed by this designation when used to designate and address the deceased, which is constitutive for the relationships between the living and the deceased.

Through dying, individuals automatically become deceased (*mwt*). No ritual or human intervention is necessary. In contrast to this, Egyptian sources clearly state that the deceased becomes an *3ḫ* only through the performance of certain rites and utterances, namely *s:3ḫ.w*. The texts explicate that this state can be attained by means of rituals (*iḫ.wt* / 'things') and knowledge (*rḫ*)[44], as the deceased often ensure that 'I am an excellent/trustworthy *3ḫ* (*3ḫ iḳr*) who knows his speech' or 'I know everything by which an *3ḫ* becomes an *3ḫ*', and 'every ritual by which one becomes an *3ḫ* has been performed for me'.[45] Thus *s:3ḫ.w* are texts designed to ritually bring about a particular state of the deceased, the state of an *3ḫ*, and at the same time epitomise these rituals through recitation.[46]

Texts and pictorial representations from the Old and Middle Kingdoms show the rituals (*iḫ.wt* / 'things') being performed by participants during the funeral processes, mainly by the next of kin and a lector priest.[47] Afterwards they are perpetuated and reactivated regularly during feasts and the mortuary cult in general.[48]

Here again, it is the social framework that provides the key to our understanding. The result was to ensure the reintegration of the deceased into society as an *3ḫ*. By means of *s:3ḫ.w* during the transitional phase of dying, the ontological status shifts from a living human being to that of an *3ḫ*. Thus, the status of the *3ḫ* is always to be understood as one reliant on other factors. The deceased cannot become an *3ḫ* by him-/herself or automatically by dying, but is always dependent on others. In other words, the deceased individual is induced to be (an) *3ḫ* by *s:3ḫ.w*. So the deceased is activated and empowered, whereby he/she is endowed with that specific capacity of effectiveness (*3ḫ*) by – and for – the living. When the designation *3ḫ* is used, it is not addressing just any deceased person, but always a specific one, namely one who is in an '*3ḫ*-connection' with the addressee. This also applies contrariwise, when a deceased person refers to him-/herself as an *3ḫ*, as it implies the proper and successful performance of *s:3ḫ.w*.[49] Thus, a reciprocal dependency and relationship is expressed and established, which in the context of burial is often understood as a relationship between the deceased and the living, and more specifically between father and son,[50] 'each one serving the other in a *quid pro quo* relation-

text) will not be discussed here.

[40] Hays, in Strudwick, Strudwick (eds), *Old Kingdom, new perspectives*, 123. With reference to the deceased, the noun *3ḫ* is already attested on Early Dynastic cylinder seals, Shalomi-Hen, *The writing of gods*, 124-5; Kaplony, *Inschriften der ägyptischen Frühzeit*, 37.

[41] Taking into account the aim of Hays' article to prove the death of the (idea of) democratisation of the Afterlife, his focus lies naturally on Pyramid Texts. However, he also states, that the actions ritually done during mortuary cult for the king and the non-royal deceased are essentially the same from the Old Kingdom to the New Kingdom. Hays, in Strudwick, Strudwick (eds), *Old Kingdom, new perspectives*, 128-30.

[42] Hays, in Strudwick, Strudwick (eds), *Old Kingdom, new perspectives*, 127. One might add that of course not all texts are *s:3ḫ.w* in the terminological sense of the word, some are only *s:3ḫ.w* in function, some belong to other categories.

[43] Jansen-Winkeln, *SAK* 23, 215.

[44] Hays, in Strudwick, Strudwick (eds), *Old Kingdom, new perspectives*, 123-30; Assmann, *Altägyptische Totenliturgien*, 20-38.

[45] Compare for many examples and further references to statements like this: Hays, in Strudwick, Strudwick (eds), *Old Kingdom, new perspectives*, 123-5, n. 80; Edel, *MDAIK* 13, 19-30.

[46] Ritner, *The Mechanics of Ancient Egyptian Magical Practice*, 30-5.

[47] Hays, in Strudwick, Strudwick (eds), *Old Kingdom, new perspectives*, 126, fig. 1, 127; Assmann, *Altägyptische Totenliturgien*, 13-5.

[48] Donnat, Moreno García, in Mouton, Patrier (eds), *Life, death and coming of age in antiquity*, 186-7.

[49] *s:3ḫ.w* can also be performed by deities. This aspect will be excluded here, as the focus is on the relationship between the deceased and the living.

[50] For father-son-constellations compare: Assmann, *Stein und Zeit*, 115-34; Willems, in Willems (ed.), *Social aspects of funerary culture*, 253-372, esp. 324-44; Willems, in, van Dijk (ed.), *Essays on ancient Egypt*, 343-72, esp. 349, 361.

ship'.[51] (*ꜣḫ*) *sꜣ n jtj=f ꜣḫ jtj n sꜣ=f* / 'It is by his father that the son is *ꜣḫ*-effective. It is by his son that the father is *ꜣḫ*-effective'.[52]

Racheli Shalomi-Hen proposed an interesting, yet not widely quoted hypothesis: The noun *ꜣḫ*, when it refers to and is confined to the deceased, should be understood as the notion of a 'counterpart' or an 'equal (other)' to the living person ('equal otherness').[53] Even though she assumes that it might refer to another state of being, her interpretation could be slightly nuanced in that it might rather indicate the mentioned expression of a specific relationship between entities. This interpretation is not incompatible with Jansen-Winkeln's assumption that *ꜣḫ* describes an effectiveness without a recognisable, physical cause[54], but expands it to include a social, relational aspect, thereby even connecting both ideas.[55]

4.2. Textual sources referring to the abilities of the deceased (*ꜣḫ.w* and *mwt.w*)

Many texts express the involvement of the deceased (*mwt* and *ꜣḫ*) in the life of the living and vice versa; these are mostly funerary texts (such as Pyramid Texts and Coffin Texts), but also tomb inscriptions, magical/protective spells, and medical/healing texts[56], ritual instructions, etc. In terms of general phraseology and structure they are quite similar as they draw on a common entanglement of the direct phenomenal experience on the one hand and on the conceptual and theoretical knowledge as well as the perception of the abilities of the deceased – and other beings – on the other hand. Moreover, lately it has been more frequently emphasised that it is hard to define a sharp distinction between these texts (and religion, magic and medicine in general), as they are supposed to function in similar ways: by recitation and performance.[57]

However, in regard to the *sꜣḫ.w* it should be kept in mind that there are two different kinds of sources in relation to the *ꜣḫ* concept. The *sꜣḫ.w* are the ritual texts (= funerary texts such as Pyramid Texts and Coffin Texts), causing the *ꜣḫ* into being, the other texts mentioned and discussed in the following section (such as medical texts, tomb inscriptions, and so on) are not themselves understood as a means by which the *ꜣḫ* state could be achieved, but relate or make reference to that particular state, its abilities and manifestation.[58] They are therefore secondary in respect of the timeline and process of *sꜣḫ.w* expressed in the funerary texts, and show another aspect of the concept: its result, consequences, experience and concrete usage.

Hence, it is not surprising that the living and the deceased approached each other with their complaints and requests precisely in relation to the special abilities belonging to the *ꜣḫ* status. The *ꜣḫ.w* were seen as being able to intercede on behalf of or against the living. Medical (and magical) texts make apparent that a high level of potency and ability is attributed to the deceased (*mwt* and *ꜣḫ*), as they are regarded to be responsible for illness, fertility, family trouble, nightmares and so on due to their ability to enter the human body as an intruder.[59]

[51] Friedman, *Serapis* 8, 41.

[52] de Buck, *The Egyptian Coffin Texts*, vol. VII, 109h, Translation after Friedman, *Serapis* 8, 44.

[53] Shalomi-Hen, *The writing of gods*, 128-30.

[54] '*Gemeinsames Merkmal bei allen ꜣḫjw-Wesen ist eine Wirksamkeit ohne erkennbare, physische Ursache*'. Jansen-Winkeln, *SAK* 23, 201.

[55] Although Jansen-Winkeln's focus lies mostly on the hidden connection of cause and effect of *ꜣḫ*, he emphasises the relevance of the relationship between them: '*Entscheidend für die ꜣḫ-Qualität ist also nicht etwa die "jenseitige", übernatürliche oder heilige Natur der Personen, Gegenstände oder Handlungen, denen sie zukommt, sondern die Natur der Beziehung zwischen der Wirkung und ihrer Ursache*' (Jansen-Winkeln, *SAK* 23, 212). This statement can easily be applied to the deceased as they are *ꜣḫ* in relation to other beings. The nature of relationship is therefore a social one. The deceased are being *ꜣḫ* for the living and vice versa ('*Wirksamkeit/Wirkung*'), even if the corpse itself is placed in the tomb ('*verborgene Ursache*').

[56] Borghouts, *Ancient Egyptian Magical Texts*, passim, esp. spells 2-5; Fischer-Elfert, *Altägyptische Zaubersprüche*, passim, esp. 360-74; Ritner, *The Mechanics of Ancient Egyptian Magical Practice*; Nunn, *Ancient Egyptian medicine*, 24-41.

[57] Dieleman points out that Egyptologists traditionally distinguish between medical and magical texts, although there are no criteria to support this distinction, Dieleman, in Bohak, Harari, Shaked (eds), *Continuity and innovation in the magical tradition*, 88, 92-3; Smith, *Following Osiris*, 145; Ritner, in Lloyd (ed.), *Studies in Pharaonic Religion and Society*, 189-200; Gutekunst, in Roccati (ed.), *La magia in Egitto*, 77-98; Ritner, *The Mechanics of Ancient Egyptian Magical Practice*, 1-67, esp. 30-5; Nyord, in Nyord (ed.), *Concepts in Middle Kingdom funerary culture*,7-14; Willems, in Nyord (ed.), *Concepts in Middle Kingdom funerary culture*, 243.

[58] An example is the message from Merirtyfy to Nebetitef written on a stela (Michael C. Carlos Museum, 2014.33.1); transliteration and translation after Nyord, *JEA* 107, 10: '*(...) ḏr mrt nt ḥ ͨ=j jḫ ꜣḫ=t n(=j)* […] *ḥr=j mꜣ=j ͨḥꜣ=t ḥr=j m rswt wꜣḥ=j n=t ḫt* […*šw?*] *wbnw grg(=j) n=t ḥtpt* (…)' / '*(...) Drive out my body's illness, and then become manifest as an akh for me* […] *my face, so that I may see you fighting on my behalf in a dream. I will present offerings to you* […the sun] *has risen, and I will furnish the offering stone for you (...)*' Nyord points out that as Nebetitef already belongs to the *ꜣḫ* category, therefore '*(...) belonging to the category of akhs is not in question, rather it is the manner and circumstances of the stela owner's manifestation as such that is stressed*' (Nyord, *JEA* 107, 10, n. 37). Hence, it is referred to the deceased becoming manifest as *ꜣḫ* in a particular situation. I would like to thank Claus Jurman for drawing my attention to this example.

[59] Westendorf, *Handbuch der altägyptischen Medizin*, passim,

Aggressive linguistics embedded in ritual structures/instructions intend to help defend and protect against the attacks and to threaten potential attackers.[60]

A well-known text corpus in this regard are the so-called Letters to the Dead, which date mainly from the end of the Old Kingdom to the Twelfth Dynasty.[61] The recently deceased person is addressed as one being in a close (familial) relationship with the author and can be invoked as an '*3ḫ*'.[62] The fact that this is not private correspondence but documents in the nature of official administration concerning family matter is evident from the formal structure of the texts, which all follow a certain composition and scheme, as Donnat has shown: 1) a reminder of ritual duties regularly fulfilled by the living; 2) a presentation of the problem (often within the household) wished or demanded to be solved; 3) a demand for the solution of the problem as the *3ḫ* was the alleged cause of it + threat of direct consequences in the event of non-compliance in relation to the provision supply of offerings.[63] This structure implies some sort of social contract between the two parties. The letters are crucial for understanding the functions, mechanisms and perceptions of the interrelationships, as they are not an abstract description, but an active part in the process of being performed (a performative act). Another important aspect of these letters, in addition to the insight provided through their content (the reason for their writing), is the way in which the aforementioned structure of approach indicates the status and relationship of the sender as well as that of the recipient.

The conceptual counterpart to the so-called Letters to the Dead is formed by tomb depictions, inscriptions and objects which are expressions from the other perspective, namely with the deceased addressing the living ('Appeals to the Living'). For example, in inscriptions addressing tomb visitors, the deceased on the one hand makes promises for the wellbeing and support of those serving the mortuary cult and on the other hand threatens discomfort for those wanting to compromise the integrity of the tomb or for being disrespectful in any way.[64] The effects of the wishes and threats on the living are formulated and described in some detail in the texts and there are many examples known from the Old Kingdom onwards.[65]

The examples show that the different addresses of the deceased express different functions. With the status as *3ḫ*, the deceased is assigned a new social role that brings with it certain abilities, but also duties. The *3ḫ* status of the deceased is the aspect which has the highest relevance and most concrete manifestation for the living in relation to their own concerns and needs.[66] By using the designation, a specific status and relationship between the deceased and the living is indicated as well as incorporated and entangled in the social network.[67] Therefore, *3ḫ* is a social term, a relational word ('Beziehungsbegriff'[68]). Moreover, a communication route is established and regulated. *3ḫ* is thus a designation for a deceased person, which is used in direct address to them or when the deceased him-/herself speaks.

As is written in the texts, the connection is manifested in material terms with offerings. All negotiations are realised through offerings. The living make offerings and remember that they have always made them – the deceased, in turn, make promises in exchange for offerings.

Consequently, I assume that there are not two different groups of deceased, but two different perceptions of the deceased that relate to the respective personal relationships and social entanglements, being defined by the social roles. A deceased individual becomes an

esp. 483-4; Nyord, in Steinert (ed.), *Systems of classification*, 84-106; Nunn, *Ancient Egyptian medicine*, 24-41; Dieleman, in Bohak, Harari, Shaked (eds), *Continuity and innovation in the magical tradition*, 94.

[60] Nyord, in Steinert (ed.), *Systems of classification*, 93.

[61] Donnat Beauquier, *Écrire à ses morts*; Donnat, Moreno García, in Mouton, Patrier (eds), *Life, death and coming of age in antiquity*, 179-207; Miniaci, *Lettere ai morti*, 39-82; Nyord, in Steinert (ed.), *Systems of classification*, 97; Wente, *Letters from ancient Egypt*, 210-20; Troche, in Dieleman, Wendrich (eds), *UCLA Encyclopedia of Egyptology*, 1-14; Donnat, in Nyord (ed.), *Concepts in Middle Kingdom funerary culture*, 46-62; Willems, in Willems (ed.), *Social aspects of funerary culture*, 344-55; Willems, *Historical and archaeological aspects*, 184-201.

[62] Troche, in Dieleman, Wendrich (eds), *UCLA Encyclopedia of Egyptology*, 5; Donnat, in Nyord (ed.), *Concepts in Middle Kingdom funerary culture*, 46.

[63] Donnat Beauquier, *Écrire à ses morts*, 98-114, 143-9; Donnat, Moreno García, in Mouton, Patrier (eds), *Life, death and coming of age in antiquity*, 184-5. Compare further Troche, in Dieleman, Wendrich (eds), *UCLA Encyclopedia of Egyptology*, 2-3, 6.

[64] Nyord, in Christensen, Willerslev (eds), *Taming time, timing death*, 201; Edel, *MDAIK* 13, 3-30. For lists of common threats see Morschauser, *Threat-formulae in ancient Egypt*, passim, esp. 145-76; Nordh, *Aspects of ancient Egyptian curses and blessings*, passim, esp. 59, 168-77; Colledge, *The Process of Cursing*, passim, esp. 33-6, 44-5.

[65] Colledge, *The Process of Cursing*, passim, esp. 33-6, 44-5, 47-8, 52-3; Nyord, in Christensen, Willerslev (eds), *Taming time, timing death*, 207; one example can be found in the Mastaba of Ankhmahor (Saqqara, Teti-Pepi I), Badawy, *The Tomb of Nyhetep-Ptah*, 11-57, fig. 16-64, pl. 20-90.

[66] Nyord, *JEA* 107, 10, n. 37.

[67] Donnat Beauquier, *Écrire à ses morts*, 89-90.

[68] Assmann, *Altägyptische Totenliturgien*, 21-2, '*3ḫ ist ein Beziehungsbegriff, wobei die Größen, die er zueinander in Beziehung setzt, den beiden durch die Grenze zwischen Hier und Nicht-hier getrennten Sphären angehören*'.

3ḫ and occupies the associated status when he/she dies and the proper rites are performed by the kin. This status as an *3ḫ* is therefore referential and ontological. While the term *mwt* refers to a deceased person in general, the designation *3ḫ* refers to a deceased person with a specific status and role within the personal social framework. Thus, generally speaking, every *3ḫ* is also a *mwt*, but not every *mwt* is necessarily an *3ḫ*. So *mwt* could indeed be used in contrast to *3ḫ*, but not in the sense of a valuation of 'character' nor as an expression of some kind of state of a deceased, but as a specific relationship to the living. It is a distinction of reference and potency, not a distinction of ethical evaluation. They are not mutually exclusive categories of the deceased, but a result of personal social connection and different ritual interaction.

Finally, it should be mentioned that there seems to be no reason to assume that the individual only becomes an *3ḫ* if he/she succeeds a post-mortem judgement, nor that he/she becomes a *mwt* if he/she does not, as such a connection is not given in the sources.[69]

As indicated before, it might be worth considering whether funerary objects ('grave goods') and offerings could be related to this very social aspect and be intended for the purposes of establishing connections and regulating relationships rather than just for 'magical use' by the deceased.[70] The mortuary cult should be understood as a social and reciprocal process. The twofold function of offerings would then not only be to provide for the deceased, but rather to socially integrate all participants and connect the deceased and the living.[71] Furthermore, they would be a medium to articulate and communicate the social relationships. It is the cult that endows the offerings and objects with the capacity to 'sustain' the deceased through the efficacy of the rituals (*s:3ḫ.w*) performed for the deceased and to ensure their effectiveness for him/her. The offerings are therefore a medium to channel the abilities given by *s:3ḫ.w*. Representations of the deceased and tomb wall decorations in general (and obviously the offering place) were therefore mainly displayed in accessible parts of the tomb where the living descendants would regularly perform rituals during the mortuary cult. Following the common understanding of Egyptian representations, there is an intrinsic connection between the representation and the person (or object, processes, etc.) it represents, which ensures, renders and maintains a permanent ontological connection and social relationship, as images are 'relation-makers *par excellence*'.[72]

5. 'Osiris is in the Details': Osiris and/vs. Khentiamentiu

Egyptological scholarship commonly proposes that the designation *Wsir NN* expresses that the deceased becomes (an) Osiris, transforms into him or is (gets the identity of) the deity.[73] This interpretation seems primarily to be based on the ubiquity of representations that render the deceased together with Osiris, such as the so-called Judgment of the Dead scene from the New Kingdom (onwards). Most of these representations and sources show Osiris in a very specific role, namely as the ruler of the deceased ('Underworld') and as supreme judge of the deceased, while the deceased is dependent of him. But this specific role and its significance was not the same or even existed in every epoch, it developed over a long time. Moreover, in the role as the judge of the deceased, Osiris is often called Khentiamentiu ('The Foremost of the Westerners'). So, since Osiris did not have just one role,[74] there is an urgent need for a clear differentiation between his roles depending on contexts.

The role of Osiris-Khentiamentiu as the supreme judge starts to develop both conceptually and iconographically as late as the end of the Middle Kingdom and becomes perceivable in various media (depictions, texts) in the New Kingdom. Osiris-Khentiamentiu is a syncretic deity with common areas of competence regarding the welfare of the deceased. Elsewhere I have

[69] Contra Assmann, *Altägyptische Totenliturgien*, 21. Designations for the deceased centred on the concept *im3ḫ* such as *im3ḫ.w ḫr NN*, *nb im3ḫ*, and *m3ʿ ḫrw* are probably rather related to some kind of post-mortem judgement (Smith, *Following Osiris*, 152). They seem to belong to a different category as they are not ritually induced empowerments by the living like the *3ḫ*. It is self-evident, however, that these categories are not to be understood as being absolutely distinct or separate, as they can be combined efficiently in favour of the deceased. They draw on different themes and particular types of relationships relating the deceased to different beings yet in similar ways; Smith, *Following Osiris*, 152-4. For the concept *im3ḫ* compare further: Jansen-Winkeln, *BSEG* 20, 29-36, esp. 36. Compare also: 'Thesaurus Linguae Aegyptiae', lemma nos. 25090, 81950, 66750, version October 31, 2014, https://aaew.bbaw.de/tla/index.html, <accessed 11.12.2021>.

[70] Compare: Nyord, *JAEI* 17, 77-9. '*And finally a new approach would have to abandon the trope of preserving the body for eternity and focus instead on mummification and grave goods as the material aspects of the transformation of the deceased into an ancestor*'.

[71] Nyord, in Schmidt, Pissis, Uhlmann (eds), *Wissensoikonomien*, 206; Donnat, Moreno García, in Mouton, Patrier (eds), *Life, death and coming of age in antiquity*, 186-7.

[72] Nyord, *JAEI* 17, 79; compare also: Nyord, in Miniaci, Betrò, Quirke (eds), *Company of images*, 337-59.

[73] Such as: Kákosy, *Selected Papers*, 230-1; Kákosy, in Eldamaty, Trad (eds), *Egyptian museum collections*, 630-6.

[74] For example, another relevant role of Osiris was that of Wennefer ('The Beautiful One').

argued that Khentiamentiu is more than just an epithet, but (still) a distinct deity.[75] During the Old and Middle Kingdoms, Osiris, Khentiamentiu and Osiris-Khentiamentiu can be distinguished depending on the context (also still in the New Kingdom and in later epochs), as they are associated with different, yet overlapping and merging beliefs, aspects and roles.

In short, Khentiamentiu is a deity of the deceased associated with and having a special focus on Abydos as the burial place of the kings of the First and Second Dynasties (thus the royal ancestors), which is why he is 'The Foremost of the Westerners'. Osiris is also a deity closely associated with the deceased from the beginning and who generally takes care of the deceased in offering contexts. In royal contexts, Osiris is furthermore the deity by whom the king's death is made plausible. So the commutative bonds between Osiris and Khentiamentiu are the royal nexus and the offering context, transferring ideas vice versa due to coinciding tasks and responsibilities. As both of their spheres of significance overlap, the introduction of Osiris-Khentiamentiu should be regarded in that specific context.

Therefore, it is important to note that in the Old and Middle Kingdoms using *Wsir NN* for designating a deceased person does not refer to Osiris in the role of the judge, but to Osiris as the prototype of a deceased. It is moreover not surprising that the deceased is never addressed as *Wsir Ḫntj-jmntjw NN* in that time.[76]

Hence, the most common interpretation and conventional understanding of Osiris-Khentiamentiu as the judge of the deceased is valid for the aforementioned representations from the New Kingdom (onwards). Yet it often functions as a universal interpretative pattern and is perpetuated as an overall explanatory framework for all evidence of the relationship of Osiris and the deceased, regardless of time and context. Moreover, these younger sources are used precisely to fill supposed gaps in evidence from prior epochs. Their meaning and interpretation are thus projected back to earlier times, although there is no need or even a reason for this. Therefore, the 'standard' Egyptological characterisation of the relationship between the deceased and Osiris is merely a composite assemblage of a high number of (Egyptian) sources of very different dates (covering a time span of more than 3000 years, but mostly dating to after the Middle Kingdom), different places and contexts and extremely different meanings and functions, especially from a diachronic perspective.

Sometimes it might be helpful or even necessary to consider later sources, however, one should be very cautious about using later materials and it is necessary to evaluate them critically. Thus, when there is no evidence of any kind it could in some cases be because there never was any evidence and actually there is no gap in the material at all, but simply a different feature. In this regard, an evaluation of later sources might be useful in order to recognise and draw attention to precisely this difference, and thus not to conceal it. It is more reasonable to consider that there exists no single, correct interpretation that applies to all sources and epochs. In fact, the relationship between Osiris and the deceased is quite ambiguous and open to several interpretations regarding different contexts and epochs.

5.1. *Wsir NN*

In recent literature doubts have increasingly been expressed as to whether the interpretation that the designation *Wsir NN* means that the deceased is in identity with or becomes (an) Osiris is correct.[77] There is good reason and evidence to question or at least nuance the mentioned understanding of the relationship, especially in times before the New Kingdom. An important aim is thus to investigate when, where and why the designation *Wsir NN* was used in the Old and Middle Kingdoms.

So, if *Wsir NN* does not refer to Osiris in the role of a judge of the deceased, what does it refer to? And subsequently: what is it expressing? In order to answer these questions and to gain a better understanding of the meaning of *Wsir NN* it is necessary to examine the wider context of use. *Wsir NN* is one of many designations used exclusively to refer to deceased persons, but it is restricted to certain contexts.

There are only two contexts in which the designation *Wsir NN* occurs in the Old and Middle Kingdoms[78]: 1) contexts involving offerings (like offering lists)[79], and 2)

[75] Siffert, in Franci, Ikram, Morfini (eds), *Rethinking Osiris*, 175-88.

[76] As far as I know, the designation of the deceased as *Wsir NN* is in general mostly limited also in later epochs to just *Wsir*. Epithets – in the actual sense – of the deity Osiris are not mentioned, only occasionally composite forms. Among others, the designation *Wsir Ḫn.tj jmn.tjw* is also occasionally used in the Eighteenth Dynasty, but not more frequently until the Greek-Roman period. Moreover, this designation is also rare in later epochs, Smith, in Backes, Munro, Stöhr (eds), *Totenbuch-Forschungen*, 325; Smith, *Following Osiris*, 244.

[77] Mainly by Smith, *Following Osiris*, 155-65, 210-22.

[78] In non-royal contexts first attested during the reign of Pepi II, Hays, in Strudwick, Strudwick (eds), *Old Kingdom, new perspectives*, 121; Smith, *Following Osiris*, 159-61.

[79] Smith, *Following Osiris*, 159-61, 216-9; Hays, *The organization of the Pyramid Texts*, vol. I, 233.

funerary texts. However, funerary texts form the main sources as they contain more references than any other source type.[80]

The Pyramid Texts and Coffin Texts are perceived as the main corpora of funerary texts from the Old and Middle Kingdoms.[81] Basically, all texts have the function of being in some way effective for the deceased and structure his/her situation, regardless of whether it is a royal or non-royal person.[82]

In terms of content, funerary texts draw on mythology. In terms of genre (or form), especially for the Pyramid Texts, their ritual character has been emphasised more often recently.[83] Following this epistemic stance and considering the texts being ritual in nature they can be perceived as sources using rhetoric in order to cite mythological precedents for rituals during the funerary cult, but thus would not (or should not) necessarily have to be understood figuratively or literally. Although converging, ritual texts – precisely their recitation and actual performance – are not equivalent to belief, but have one main function and aim: a change (of a situation, person, condition, etc.) is supposed to happen. But they are not self-explanatory, nor do they describe a reality beyond the ritual. They do not aim to recite the (entire) myth, as the myth (the 'story') underlying the texts is more likely presumed as common knowledge to most of the participants.[84] According to Rune Nyord, their efficacy does not even depend on the receiver decoding them, as they are 'representative acts'.[85] They were not and (still) cannot be read for concrete information, as they are not descriptions of the deceased him-/herself, but functional texts using a specific ritual language. They are structural patterns drawing on mythology and being applicable to the specific situation of the deceased, forming a mythological framework of/for ritual action and speech. Ritual texts performed in certain situations sometimes even give a new structure to the underlying myth thereby forming an adapted concept in order to ritually communicate – a coherent format is not to be expected to begin with. Usage always changes theory. Usage is a cause of change.[86]

The genre/form (of practice), purpose and semantic content should thus be differentiated. 'If the texts are ritual texts, this means that the mythological situations alluded to should be understood within the framework of the ritual, rather than as literal and concrete beliefs about the Afterlife'.[87] Nyord – referring to Harco Willems's method of 'sequencing' for reading funerary texts[88] – points out, that the texts are structured and based on essential 'narrative patterns'[89] construing the 'situations, roles, and sequences of events on which a given ritual draws'.[90] Thus it is not contradictory that some texts state to be spoken by or about the king, some are directly addressed to him by an unknown speaker.[91] A few texts are preceded by the phrase *dd mdw* / 'Recitation, words to be spoken'.[92] Hays highlights an important aspect of ritual contexts, the 'authorization for participating in

[80] Smith, *Following Osiris*, 216.

[81] As well as the Book of the Dead from the New Kingdom. The distinction between them is quite vague and has often been discussed in recent literature. Willems summarises, that '*(...) it is now widely accepted, 1) that the three text corpora are not different text genres, 2) that text genres can actually be discerned within the corpora, and 3) that these latter transcend the categorization into PT, CT and BD*' (Willems, in Nyord (ed.), *Concepts in Middle Kingdom funerary culture*, 210). For further reading see: Gestermann, in Backes, Munro, Stöhr (eds), *Totenbuch-Forschungen*, 101-13; Willems, in Nyord (ed.), *Concepts in Middle Kingdom funerary culture*, 204-47.

[82] Hays, in Strudwick, Strudwick (eds), *Old Kingdom, new perspectives*, 115-30; Willems, *Historical and archaeological aspects*, 165; Smith, in Dieleman, Wendrich (eds), *UCLA Encyclopedia of Egyptology*, 1-16; Bickel, in Bickel, Díaz-Iglesias (eds), *Egyptian funerary literature*, 119-48.

[83] Smith, *Annuaire de l'EPHE* 121, 88; Nyord, in Schmidt, Pissis, Uhlmann (eds), *Wissensoikonomien*, 199-210; Hays, *The organization of the Pyramid Texts*, vol. I, 13, 17, 78, 228-9; Nyord, *Claroscuro* 19/2, 1-23; Willems, in Bickel, Díaz-Iglesias (eds), *Studies in ancient Egyptian funerary literature*, 599-619; Smith, *Following Osiris*, 141-7 with many references to additional literature.

[84] Hays, *The organization of the Pyramid Texts*, vol. I, 228-9.

[85] Nyord, *Claroscuro* 19/2, 17.

[86] In the figurative sense: '*Form follows function*'. And even in a more practical sense in terms of the ritual: '*Usage of texts is supposed to change the deceased's situation*'.

[87] Nyord, in Schmidt, Pissis, Uhlmann (eds), *Wissensoikonomien*, 201.

[88] Willems, in Bickel, Díaz-Iglesias (eds), *Studies in ancient Egyptian funerary literature*, 599-619.

[89] Willems, in Bickel, Díaz-Iglesias (eds), *Studies in ancient Egyptian funerary literature*, 601.

[90] Nyord, *Claroscuro* 19/2, 9; Willems, in Bickel, Díaz-Iglesias (eds), *Studies in ancient Egyptian funerary literature*, 600-1.

[91] Compare further: Willems, in Nyord (ed.), *Concepts in Middle Kingdom funerary culture*, 204-47.

[92] Nyord understands this phrase in this particular context as a statement that the following is a recitation, which '*makes rituals materially present in the sacred space thus constructed around the deceased*' (Nyord, in Schmidt, Pissis, Uhlmann (eds), *Wissensoikonomien*, 200) and which enables the texts '*to transform a ritual into a new, material shape*' (Nyord, in Schmidt, Pissis, Uhlmann (eds), *Wissensoikonomien*, 204). He does not exclude the possibility of a twofold usage though, thus being also used to instruct that the text is to be read aloud during the actual ritual performance during the funerary or mortuary cult. See Nyord, in Schmidt, Pissis, Uhlmann (eds), *Wissensoikonomien*, 200.

rites'[93] as 'a dogmatic or abstract precondition to do the performance of the rites'.[94] He argues, that '(…) the actions of the ritual cannot of themselves be efficacious; the utterances recited for the god and the actions done for him are not of themselves *performative*: their illocutionary force is not inherent; the performance of cult by living priests demands the imprimatur of authority'.[95] This can without hesitation be applied in principle to the ritual actions concerning the deceased, e.g. also in the Coffin Texts. That statement means, the performance of the ritual itself is not sufficient, but it needs to be done by persons with appropriate qualifications and under certain circumstances. It confirms the assumed ritual, essentially recitative character of the texts and the necessity of action and speech. In my opinion, the texts seem have more than simply an effect of their own accord. However, the exact mechanisms of how the texts attain their ritual efficacy (in the tomb) such as the agency of their epistemic authority are not yet completely understood, as script is not equivalent to ritual, and written word is not equivalent to action. In addition, the 'imprimatur of authority' explains the fact that the people represented in texts and images (such as the deceased, lector priest, relatives, etc.) are obligatory participants in the process.[96] It forms a stabilising factor in and is part of the balance of the interrelationship between the deceased and the living in the larger context of mortuary cult as it contributes in its maintenance, thereby eventually being a structure of the society generally (see before).[97]

Concerning the assumed identification with Osiris, Mark Smith points out that paratextual elements (titles, rubrics, colophons, instructions, etc.) are important evidence, as they are not part of the ritual. They inform and comment upon the function of the Pyramid Texts and state that no durable identification is meant by reciting the spells.[98] Furthermore, Smith draws attention to the fact that similarly in the non-royal offering formulae found in tombs of the same period, no other concepts are perceptible regarding the mode of existence after death. The ideas and conception were principally the same, differing only in status and scale (of execution). Even the same spells and ritual texts (*s:3ḫ.w*) were used as the medium.[99]

Some changes from the Pyramid Texts to the Coffin Texts can be discerned, since the Coffin Texts contain a much smaller proportion of ritual texts.[100] On the one hand the very same texts or sequences of the Pyramid Texts can be found in the Coffin Texts, and on the other hand a large number of edited, adapted, and new texts are used and introduced.[101] Moreover, certain spells may originally have derived from other contexts outside the funerary domain, such as medicine, magical practice, temple rituals, etc.[102] Yet again, paratextual information and rhetorical patterns generally confirm a ritual background and usage.[103] Therefore, the mechanisms and modes of function described above are also valid.

Funerary practices and performative rituals (ritual texts) are a means to an end, as both are supposed to initiate transformative processes of the deceased. The processes are made plausible by using a mythological matrix providing/endowing the deceased with a ritual role, specifically the role of Osiris (*Wsir NN*). Inserting the name of the deceased into a narrative or (mythological) description of Osiris used in ritual contexts can thus be understood as a vehicle in order to govern the specific (real-life) situation and even effect a beneficial outcome for him/her, but with no a priori identification.[104] Mythological patterns and references are a linguistic medium ('technical language'[105]) used to paraphrase, explain and conceptualise the transformative processes of the deceased, leading finally to perceptible and phenomenal effects (see above, *3ḫ.w* perceived as

[93] Hays, in Nyord, Kjølby (eds), *'Being in ancient Egypt'*, 18.
[94] Hays, in Nyord, Kjølby (eds), *'Being in ancient Egypt'*, 19.
[95] Hays, in Nyord, Kjølby (eds), *'Being in ancient Egypt'*, 19. With numerous references to further literature on ritual.
[96] If the texts were self-effective, all documented ritual acts would be unnecessary, or at least not mandatory.
[97] Performing mortuary services and presenting offerings on various feast dates is one of the main themes and the basis for negotiations of both parties in the 'Letters to the Dead' and the 'Appeals to the Living'.
[98] Smith, *Annuaire de l'EPHE* 121, 89; Smith, *Following Osiris*, 147-55, 199-210.
[99] Smith, *Annuaire de l'EPHE* 121, 89; Nordh, *Aspects of ancient Egyptian curses and blessings*, 169-70, 172.
[100] Assmann, in Israelit-Groll (ed.), *Studies in Egyptology*, 3; Gestermann, in Backes, Munro, Stöhr (eds), *Totenbuch-Forschungen*, 112.
[101] Willems, *Historical and archaeological aspects*, 124-229; Hays, in Strudwick, Strudwick (eds), *Old Kingdom, new perspectives*, 118; Goebs, in Nyord (ed.), *Concepts in Middle Kingdom funerary culture*, 63-99 (with numerous references to further literature); Willems, in Nyord (ed.), *Concepts in Middle Kingdom funerary culture*, 210.
[102] von Lieven, in Bickel, Díaz-Iglesias (eds), *Studies in ancient Egyptian funerary literature*, 345-54; von Lieven, in Nyord (ed.), *Concepts in Middle Kingdom funerary culture*, 100-16. Nyord states that the same patterns and mechanisms are used in all ritual texts, whether private, cultic, or funerary, they all correspond linguistically and structurally. E.g. in medical texts, patients can take on the role of Horus, Isis or Ra (Nyord, *Claroscuro* 19/2, 15). This indicates anyway that not all texts are to be understood in a funerary context, *i.e.* they are not descriptions of the Afterlife of the deceased.
[103] Nyord, in Schmidt, Pissis, Uhlmann (eds), *Wissensoikonomien*, 208.
[104] Besides the obvious function of personalising the texts.
[105] Nyord, *Claroscuro* 19/2, 17.

possessing agency; illness understood as 'attacks' from the deceased, etc.). By being able to concretely describe these processes, they become tangible, manipulable and controllable (see below, mummy). The designation *Wsir NN* serves as the crucial indication expressing that the deceased is in a certain state and affirming that proper ritual acts are being performed. *Wsir NN* means that *NN* is in the state of *Wsir*, *i.e.* a deceased person with the potency to reactivate.[106] The conception of the role is basically relational and ontological as it evokes and emphasises analogies. In other words, its role is to relate. The designation *Wsir NN* forms a nexus between ritual practice and mortuary belief.

It should be emphasised that the Osiris mythology is not the only concept used in funerary texts to ritually affect the real-life situation of the deceased.[107] However, Osiris is indeed the only deity who is directly combined with the deceased's name in the specific form *Wsir NN*, although certainly not consistently.[108] This constitutes a different significance and might be due to the specific ritual nature of some texts – requiring action and speech – as described before. Both Willems[109] and Hays[110] have emphasised the different roles of the participants in ritual performances and their blurring (division) of identities. The exact course of funerary rituals is not known and, in fact, it is not possible to determine whether there was only one speaker (ritualist) reciting the texts or whether there were several. It is much more important, firstly, to keep in mind the speaker's function (in real-life and in ritual), and secondly, that ritual roles are differentiated in the texts themselves.

The ritualists are mostly anonymous (for example the lector priest on the funerary boat, see below), as their name or even personal identity within the ritual is irrelevant, because they themselves are not meant to be part of the ritual.[111] The only relevant factor is that they are specialised ritualists with 'authorization for participating in rites'.[112] In a manner of speaking, they are efficiently anonymous performers, thus being part of the execution of the text, but they have no personal role of their own and do not exist in the text as themselves. During the ritual, they do not speak/act *as* Atum, but they are

[106] Osiris was one of the most popular and enduring of all the Egyptian deities. His worship spanned thousands of years from the Fifth Dynasty to the Graeco-Roman Period. Therefore, he is nowadays one of the best documented deities from Egypt. He was of crucial significance for the Egyptians over such a long period of time, chiefly because he was most relevant in relation to their own post-mortem fate. Yet, there is no continuous or comprehensive account in Egyptian sources about the relationship between Osiris and the deceased. This is not at all unexpected, as this relationship is constantly changing and developing. This corresponds to the continuous increase of importance and the developing roles of Osiris as a deity (see above). However, the data from a timespan of about four millennia is not homogenous. Therefore, in this paper it shall be refrained from investigating whether *Wsir NN* can actually be understood as *Wsir n NN* even before its first attestation as proposed by Smith (see below; contra: Hays, *The organization of the Pyramid Texts*, vol. I, 167-75). The designation of the deceased as *Wsir n NN* is first attested in the Third Intermediate Period (possibly Twenty-first Dynasty or Twenty-second Dynasty), yet the majority of sources occur in the Ptolemaic and Roman Period (Smith, *The Mortuary Texts of Papyrus BM 10507*, 77; Kákosy, in Eldamaty, Trad (eds), *Egyptian museum collections*, 631). This development of the Egyptian language is due to a tendency to replace the direct genitive by an indirect genitival construction using the genitival adjective *n* (Kákosy, in Eldamaty, Trad (eds), *Egyptian museum collections*, 631). Smith argues that both *Wsir NN* and *Wsir n NN* are genitival constructions and that therefore the two forms are synonymous and both should be translated as 'Osiris of NN' (Smith, *The Mortuary Texts of Papyrus BM 10507*, 75-9; Smith, in Backes, Munro, Stöhr (eds), *Totenbuch-Forschungen*, 325-37; Smit, *RdE* 63, 187-96; Smith, *Annuaire de l'EPHE* 121, 90, 94-5; Smith, *Following Osiris*, 155-61, 210-22). Smith argues that '*the Osiris of an individual (...) is that form which comes into existence after the proper rites of mummification have been performed for him or her, the transfigured mode of being which the deceased acquires through the efficacy of those rites, in which he or she is supposed to endure for the rest of eternity*' (Smith, *RdE* 63, 187). Moreover, sporadically the designation *Ḥ.t-ḥr NN* and *Ḥ.t-ḥr n NN* – both being likewise translated and interpreted by Smith as 'Hathor of NN' – is applied to deceased women since the Third Intermediate Period (possible since the Twenty-third Dynasty) and increasingly in the Graeco-Roman Period (Smith, *RdE* 63, 193-6). There are also attestations of the composite locutions *Wsir Ḥ.t-ḥr NN* and *Wsir Ḥ.t-ḥr n NN,* but they are all from the Ptolemaic Period or later (Smith, *Papyrus Harkness*, 88; Smith, *RdE* 63, 195).

[107] Hays, *The organization of the Pyramid Texts*, vol. I, 230.

[108] NN can be referred to Osiris in different kinds of relations, such as to follow, serve, worship him, being his son, etc. The associations of the deceased can change repeatedly within the same text. Yet, there are no attestations for 'Horus NN', 'Atum NN', etc. in funerary texts of the Old and Middle Kingdoms, even though there are plenty of attestation like: 'I am Horus…', 'I am Atum…' and so on. Apart from that, NN can be associated with various deities, as their embodiment, son, father, brother, etc. At least since the Third Intermediate Period and increasingly in the Graeco-Roman Period the designation *Ḥ.t-ḥr NN* and *Ḥ.t-ḥr n NN* are sporadically applied to deceased women (Smith, *RdE* 63, 193-6); *cf.* n. 108.

[109] Willems, in Nyord (ed.), *Concepts in Middle Kingdom funerary culture*, 204-47.

[110] Hays, in Nyord, Kjølby (eds), *'Being in ancient Egypt'*, 15-30.

[111] Hays, in Nyord, Kjølby (eds), *'Being in ancient Egypt'*, 26.

[112] Hays, in Nyord, Kjølby (eds), *'Being in ancient Egypt'*, 18.

Atum. And, proceeding from Willems's assumption that the role of the deceased was also taken over by a ritualist, therefore: They do not speak/act *as* NN, but they are NN. The only name (and identity) of relevance that is 'imported' into the myth/ritual is that of the deceased. All other participants, namely the 'technical staff' such as priests as well as relatives, disappear behind their institutionalised ritual roles.[113] The designation *Wsir NN* rather prevents blurring the distinction of identities (as it is intended for the other participants).[114]

Therefore, being *Wsir NN* means nothing more than that, being *NN* (deceased) in the role of Osiris, it is not equivalent to being Osiris himself.[115]

When reciting such texts, the focus is essentially on the person for whom they are recited. *Wsir NN* is in that sense a linguistic marker expressing that this person has assumed the main role.

The ritual function of *Wsir NN* explains why this designation is mainly found in the context of such funerary texts. Nevertheless, there are other contexts in which *Wsir NN* and other comparable role designations generally make sense. As stated before, even within the ritual context of the Osiris mythology, Osiris is not the only temporal role. Not just the deceased himself, but other participants are given a specific ritual role as well, such as the lector priest or other deities. While there are countless references in the funerary texts, this can also be proven by extra-textual sources – more precisely, sources that are not regarded as part of the funerary texts, such as representations of precisely these actions and rituals. In this instance, it is basically a matter of a different perspective, namely one coming from an external point of view on the situation. As it represents the ritual situation (and is not the ritual text itself, nor the actual ritual event, nor the actual recitation of the texts) other roles, in addition to *Wsir NN*, can also be filled with concrete real-life persons, namely, for example Isis (= *3s.t NN*).

An example is the funerary boat probably from Meir (MMA 12.183.3[116]) showing five persons inscribed with their ritual role. While one man is simply designated 'lector priest' / *ḫr.j-ḥ(3)b*, another is identified by name and ritual role 'attendant Neferiu' / *wdp.w Nfr-jw*. Two women are designated 'Isis Hetepet, true of voice' / *3s.t ḥtp.t m3ʿ.t ḫrw* and 'Nephthys Hetepethathor, true of voice' / *nb.t-ḥw.t ḥtp.t-ḥw.t-ḥr m3ʿ.t ḫrw* respectively. These four ritualists surround a mummy on a bier representing the deceased (see Fig. 2).

Nevertheless, only a few funerary boats are inscribed. Some inscriptions simply identify the deceased by their name. In addition, the papyrus, from which the lector priest usually recites for the deceased, may be inscribed. For example, '*Oh Osiris "so and so"*' is written on the papyrus of the lector priest on the boat of Djehuty (MMA 32.1.124a[117]) according to Dorothea Arnold (see Fig. 3).[118]

These examples give an impression of ambiguous ritual roles. In the funerary context 'Isis' may simply mean 'widow / mourner' and 'Osiris' may be understood as 'deceased' and in terms of ritual: the ritualists are the mythical mourners of the deceased who is cast in the role of Osiris. Moreover, both women and men could be designated *Wsir NN*. The gender difference between women and Osiris was no problem since '*Wsir*' referred to a state of being and was of general application to all deceased persons, regardless of their sex.[119] So *Wsir NN* denotes a deceased human being, not a deity. The name

[113] Willems, in Willems (ed.), *Social aspects of funerary culture*, 358-9.

[114] However, if the role of the deceased was impersonated by a ritualist, then basically a meta level becomes visible, as the deceased thereafter takes over the role of Osiris.

level 0 (beyond mythological context): ritualist = deceased

level 1a (within mythological context): deceased = *Wsir NN*

level 1b: ritualist = Atum

level 1c: ritualist = Horus, etc.

level 2 (within mythological context): *Wsir NN* = association with various deities, as their embodiment, son, father, brother, etc.

Even though all texts and speeches are voiced by one or more ritualists, taking these different levels into account there also seem to be different levels of citation. Within his/her role as *Wsir NN* he/she can say: 'I am Hours…'. This is then a citation voiced by (the ritualist being) *NN* in the role of *Wsir NN*, yet alluding to a specific situation; compare: Willems, in Willems (ed.), *Social aspects of funerary culture*, 371-2; Willems, in, van Dijk (ed.), *Essays on ancient Egypt*, 343-72. These complex structures show the difference between '*the conceptual reality conjured up by the text (...), and the performative context*' (Willems, in Nyord (ed.), *Concepts in Middle Kingdom funerary culture*, 227), as different speech acting on different spheres of reality (deceased, ritualist, ritualist as deceased, etc.) can converge in certain moments, either on a practical level, or on a conceptual level with regards to content.

[115] This understanding also fits better into the time of the Old Kingdom and especially the Middle Kingdom. Whereas in later epochs ritualists were considered to be acting on the same hierarchical level as deities, this is not the case in the Middle Kingdom. In the role *Wsir NN* the deceased is not directly communicating with the deities as it is known from the sphere of 'persönlicher Frömmigkeit' (personal piety) in the New Kingdom onwards. Compare: Willems, in Willems (ed.), *Social aspects of funerary culture*, 363-4.

[116] From Meir, Twelfth Dynasty, https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/545439, <accessed 29.11.2021>.

[117] MMA 32.1.124a, https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/555733, <accessed 29.11.2021>.

[118] Arnold, in Oppenheim *et al*. (eds), *Ancient Egypt Transformed*, 222-3.

[119] Smith, *Following Osiris*, 158-9, 211-6.

Fig. 2 – Model boat of Ukhhotep; Twelfth Dynasty; probably from Meir, tomb of Ukhhotep; dimensions: L. 115 cm, W. 19 cm, H. 46.5 cm; Image rights: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1912; MMA 12.183.3 © Creative Commons

Fig. 3 – Model Sailing Boat Transporting a Mummy; Twelfth Dynasty (Reign: Amenemhat II, late); from Lisht South, tomb B (Djehuty), South Area, between tomb and south enclosure wall, MMA excavations, 1930–31; dimensions: L. 80.6 cm, W. 21.2 cm, H. to top of mast 54 cm/Beam L. 23 cm; MMA 32.1.124a © The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1932, Creative Commons

of the beneficiary is preceded by 'Osiris', 'Osiris' neither replaces the name nor involves an identification with the deity himself nor generates a new identity. *Wsir NN* is an honorific designation of the deceased's ritual affiliation with this deity and a linguistic marker for a specific state. Thus *Wsir NN* is used like a title or epithet during the ritual process and indicates the role filled by the particular deceased. It generally reflects a particular aspect of that deity's essence and role, for which this ritual role may be temporally obtained during the ritual practice. The mythological framework alluded to with the designation *Wsir NN* functions as an explanatory model and structural pattern for the specific situation of the deceased, yet is not its solution a priori. The relationship with Osiris can therefore be manifold, the deceased can follow, serve, and worship the deity, but can never become that deity. There is always just one deity named Osiris, while for all others 'Osiris' alludes to an entity separate from the deceased.[120] The fact that the deceased is given a particular, temporal role through ritual interaction should not be equated with the possession of an essential identity.[121]

As *Wsir NN* is a role within the ritual, the designation is only limited to a certain period of time and only valid within the framework of the ritual.[122] Moreover, it is solely expedient within the ritual, as it is a means to the end of transformation (through *s:3ḫ.w*). The role as *Wsir NN* is therefore not designed for permanence, but for change. Coffin Texts written mostly on the interior of coffins and occasionally on others objects to accompany the deceased, were deposited in tomb shafts or tomb chambers which were no longer accessible after burial.[123] They were therefore not intended to be part of the continuous mortuary cult per se, but mainly for the funerary cult of the deceased – although it should not be generally ruled out that the texts did not still have a function after the burial.[124] This also does not contradict Nyord's assumption that writing down the rituals gave them a new materiality as it pertains to the process, and not the result of transformation.[125] Moreover, taking into account the particular ritual character of the texts using the designation *Wsir NN* might explain why this designation is not employed more widely in funerary contexts. For example, it is hardly ever used on Middle Kingdom stelae as they are to be understood as part of the mortuary cult.[126]

Wsir NN is neither a descriptive, impersonal designation nor a relational, social designation for denoting the deceased, but a signifier used like a title that represents a temporary ritual role and alludes to a mythological contextual framework. It is therefore a funerary religious designation.

6. Contrasting Characterisations of *3ḫ* and *Wsir NN*

With regard to the duration of 'validity' the designations *3ḫ* and *Wsir NN* differ significantly. *s:3ḫ.w* are meant to evoke a permanent state as an *3ḫ*, while *Wsir NN* is a temporarily limited designation and an impermanent category that functions like a title. Whereas *3ḫ* is perceived as an entity (and part of a group of entities, *3ḫ.w*), *Wsir NN* is not, consequently there exists no plural form of the latter. *3ḫ* belongs to the mundane, real-life context, *Wsir NN* to the mythological context to be set apart from the profane world. Concerning their function, they are thus two different categories of designation, although they converge during the ritual. Both designations are embedded in a common mortuary network of social, ritual and ontological connections. Therefore, it is not contradictory for both designations to appear in the very same context, as they are not mutually exclusive. Among others, *s:3ḫ.w* are ritual texts that are meant to transform the deceased person in the role *Wsir NN* into the status of *3ḫ*.[127]

[120] Statements like the deceased gets '*an Osirian form in the world beyond*' (Kákosy, in Eldamaty, Trad (eds), *Egyptian museum collections*, 631) are rather vague and undifferentiated, but nevertheless very common. It is not clear whether it is the iconography, the potency or certain characteristics being referred to.

[121] Hays describes such roles marked by the combination of a deity's name with that of a human as a '*transgression across opposing categories*' in regard to the entities that were understood to form the Egyptian sentient world (Hays, in Nyord, Kjølby (eds), *'Being in ancient Egypt'*, 28).

[122] Hays, *The organization of the Pyramid Texts*, vol. I, 233-4.

[123] In most cases, this also applies to the Pyramid Texts as they also occur in the inaccessible parts of the tombs.

[124] It might be the case but it is not known whether the texts were 'activated' in some way by the rituals during burial or repeatedly by further acts during the mortuary cult.

[125] Nyord, in Schmidt, Pissis, Uhlmann (eds), *Wissensoikonomien*, 204.

[126] Fischer, *ZÄS* 90, 37-8; Smith, *Following Osiris*, 216-9.

[127] In the Eighteenth Dynasty some texts refer to specific burial rites to be performed as 'giving an Osiris' (*rḏj Wsir*, therefore possibly also 'induce Osiris' or 'cause Osiris') to the deceased, although this is not attested for the Old and Middle Kingdoms. In the Twenty-first Dynasty there are texts that thematise the reburial of royal mummies using phrases like *wḥm ḳrs* and *rḏj Wsjr* in relation to these mummies, Smith, in Dieleman, Wendrich (eds), *UCLA Encyclopedia of Egyptology*, 3; Smith, in Backes, Munro, Stöhr (eds), *Totenbuch-Forschungen*, 333; Smith, *Following Osiris*, 262; Smith, *RdE* 63, 189. It would also make sense if *Wsir NN* is understood like a title in the course of a ritual role. *Wsir NN* can only be acquired by external aid, namely through the efficacy of the rites.

Afterwards *3ḫ* is the proper designation for invocation in the context of the ancestor cult and mortuary cult. Thus, as shown before, the representations in tombs as well as funerary objects such as stelae show and call upon the deceased precisely in the state of an *3ḫ*, in the company of other deceased, the ancestors and the living, and no longer in the ritual role as *Wsir NN*.

7. Corporal Form and Body of the Deceased

Wsir NN is not a designation of the deceased that manifests itself in a certain corporal form or is tied to it. It is not the mummy or, more precisely, the body, that is designated. Starting in the Middle Kingdom, the mummy shape is established as the visualization of a liminal phase and the transition of the deceased. He/she is no longer among the living, but not yet among the deceased (*3ḫ.w*) either.[128] The tightly wrapped body being transported to the tomb iconographically expresses passivity, dependence and immobility. It is devoid of any agency (*3ḫ* / effectiveness; *iḳr*), yet features the potential to be activated. It is precisely this intermediate state that intentionally obscures the normally unambiguous differences between a human being and an object, as the mummy's shape is artificial and has no visually perceptible equivalence in reality. The mummy itself becomes a ritual object and is thus the addressee of all burial processes and the attendant rituals (*s:3ḫ.w*).[129] Ritually the deceased is in the state of a *Wsir NN*, but the mummy shape is not a reference to Osiris.[130] The hope is to restore and actualise a transcendental human form of the deceased, who, through the intended status as an *3ḫ*, will have the new kind of potency/agency to be effective (*3ḫ iḳr*). Consequently, the mummy is not meant to last for eternity or intended to be durable, nor is it an attempt to preserve the deceased's body in its lifetime form,[131] but to serve as a temporary body for the transformation of the deceased into a new kind of being, who wishes to finally free him-/herself from the mummy bandages.[132] This conception of the deceased is also visible in the funerary depictions, which show him/her in the aspired form of continuous existence after death. The inactive mummy, on the other hand, is tied to the transitional phase, and is therefore not to be expected at such a later point in time at all.

Therefore, *Wsir NN* and *3ḫ* are not designation used to denote the mummy. It is rather possible, that no explicit term like 'mummy' referring to the bandaged and treated body existed in the Middle Kingdom.[133] *ḥ3.t* seems to be the term used for the dead body (corpse), even after the proper mummification and at the end of all funerary rituals.[134] Here, again, it becomes visible that the identity of the deceased does not change throughout all the processes. There was no perception of the corpse as the 'mummy (of) NN', but rather the same corporal identity as before the death.

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[128] It is an unanswered question whether exactly this condition can be called *mwt*.

[129] Nyord, in Christensen, Willerslev (eds), *Taming time, timing death*, 196.

[130] Siffert, in Franci, Ikram, Morfini (eds), *Rethinking Osiris*, 175-88.

[131] Nyord, in Christensen, Willerslev (eds), *Taming time, timing death*, 197. I agree with Riggs (Riggs, *Unwrapping ancient Egypt*, 89), that '*(...) the state of preservation that characterizes many mummified bodies (...) was not so much the goal but the by-product of processes (...)*' and Nyord (Nyord, *JAEI* 17, 79) who states that '*the fact that human bodies were found to have been preserved was regarded as proof that this must be what the Egyptians aimed for – in other words, effects were confused with intention*'. The mummy is conceptually and ontologically tied to the burial process. It is through the attendant rituals that the transformation of the various aspects discussed here is supposed to take place. As soon as the mummy is buried in the tomb, this phase is conceptually completed, and the representations of the deceased as a transcendent human being with the *3ḫ* status visualise the continuation after the transformation. The tomb or rather the coffin chamber and the coffin itself were not intended to be reopened, which also meant that the mummy never actually became visible again anyway.

[132] Assmann, *Altägyptische Totenliturgien*, 193-4 (§38 *Die Lösung der Mumienbinden*).

[133] *sʿḥ* is not attested in the meaning 'mummy' with a determinative of a mummy (Gardiner sign A 53) until the New Kingdom. Since the Old Kingdom and still in the Middle Kingdom *sʿḥ* does not refer to the mummified or dead body, but rather to the social status of the deceased in the notion of 'nobility, dignity', Wb IV, 49-50.

[134] Nyord, *Breathing flesh*, 342-4.

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The Administration of the Middle Kingdom Weaving Workshops: A Note on the Textual and Iconographic Data

Danijela Stefanović

Abstract

The vast majority of archaeological, epigraphic and iconographic sources reflect that the textile production was one of the crucial elements both of Ancient Egyptian and the Ancient Near Eastern societies. The present paper aims to analyse the administration of weaving workshops during the Middle Kingdom (ca 2040-1750 BC) focusing on the iconographic and written sources, and especially to contextualize the terminology and titles referring to the profession of weavers and weaving workshops: mr mr(w)t? / mr mr(w)t pꜣḳt, mr ḏꜣtt, sḫtj and mrt.

The complexity of textile production has been extensively studied in recent years,[1] and its importance for Ancient Egyptian economy is undisputed.[2] However, many aspects of textile industry, both on national or local level ask for further research. The present paper aims to discuss the administration of weaving workshops during the Middle Kingdom (ca 2040-1750 BC) and to contextualize the terminology and titles referring to the profession of weavers and weaving workshops: *mr mr*(*w*)*t*? / *mr mr*(*w*)*t pꜣḳt*, *mr ḏꜣtt*, *sḫtj* and *mrt*.

The scenes presenting textile production were introduced for the first time in the tombs of Middle Kingdom dignitaries,[3] as well as by small wooden models representing textile workshops.[4] For example, the model of a weaving workshop (Cairo JE 46723) from the tomb of Meketre (TT 280) includes women processing flax, spinning yarn, and weaving, demonstrating that they were involved in all levels of production. The new genre probably reflected the increased economic importance of textiles and textile production at the end of III beginning of II millennia BC, both on national levels and for individual needs (especially as a burial good).[5]

A recently published study *The Representations of Women in the Middle Kingdom Tombs of Officials* by Hudáková, intends, as stated in the Introduction, '*to offer an in-depth analysis by looking into the two-dimensional representations of non-royal women in the tombs of officials that were built and decorated in the time of the Mid-*

[1] For a general overview of the textile production in Ancient Egypt see Kemp, Vogelsang-Eastwood, *Textile Industry at Amarna*; Hodgkinson, *Technology and Urbanism*; Jones, in Midant-Reynes, Tristant (eds), *Egypt at its Origins 2*, 99-132; Vogelsang-Eastwood, *The Production of Linen*; Tata, *The Development of the Egyptian Textile Industry*.

[2] Moreno García, *JAR* 25, 120.

[3] Newberry, *Beni Hasan*, vol. I, pl. 29; Newberry, *Beni Hasan*, vol. II, pl. 4, 13; Newberry, *El Bersheh* I, pl. 26; Newberry, *Beni Hasan*, vol. IV, pl. 15; Kanawati, Evans, *Beni Hasan*, vol. I, pl. 28; *Cf*. Moreno García, *JAR* 25, 120;

[4] Tooley, *Egyptian Models*, 45-6.

[5] Moreno García, in Rahmstorf, Stratford (eds), *Weights and Marketplaces*, 185-202.

dle Kingdom'.[6] The author focuses research on types of scenes and context, evaluates postures, gestures, garments, hairstyles, relative size of the body, age, tools used by women, the orientation of scenes, regional developments and traditions in the Middle Kingdom tomb decoration.

The issue of *Women in Crafts and Trades* has been analyzed in chapter 4. The chapter itself is organized in several sections starting with 4.1 *Linen Production—Spinning and Weaving*. The author rightly stresses the importance of new themes, which evolved in the decorative programme of the First Intermediate Period and Middle Kingdom tombs. The theme of 'linen production', more or less elaborately represented (encompassing several scenes: the processing of flax, spinning, preparation of the warp threads, preparation of the loom, weaving on the ground loom), has been attested in seven tombs of the given periods. Most of them lie in the necropolis of Beni Hasan and Dayr al-Barsha.[7] Significantly, the figures of individuals shown making linen cloth on horizontal looms are exclusively feminine.[8]

Hudáková rightly stresses upon the importance of the theme of linen production preserved in the tomb of Baket III at Beni Hasan (BH 15), as '*for the first time the theme is complemented with two overseers inspecting the activities in the workshop… The first person is a male and the second a female inspector*'.[9] In the tomb of Khety (BH 17)[10] the scene of workshop inspection, again with one male and one female administrative representative, is also attested. The author points out that on the scenes from the above mentioned tombs, '*the male overseers bear the title jmj-rˁ ḏ3t.t ("overseer of weavers"), their female colleagues are designated as jr*[*.t*] *k3.wt ("keeper of works")*'.[11] The elaborate scenes presenting various stages of the linen production preserved in the tomb of Khnumhotep II (BH 3) also encompass the image of an officer who held the title *mr mr.w* – 'overseer of servants' according to Hudáková .[12]

Summarizing her results, Hudáková concludes that linen production was a women's domain, '*whereas their overseers could have been of both genders*'.[13]

The existence of 'weaving workshops' employing women is also attested in written sources of the given period.

The late Twelfth Dynasty letter from Lahun[14] (pLondon, UC 32203), written by 'the mistress of the house' (*nbt-pr*) Irer, reports about problems with the production of textiles.[15] The letter, sent to a person named *ḳm3w*,[16] records that Irer was entrusted with some women ([*b3*] *k-ḥmwt*) who were unable to weave (*nn gmt sḫt*). Their non-productivity was caused by Irer not being able to deliver the amount of woven linen expected from her. The production had been interrupted by Irer's absence as she was occupied with her duties in the temple. Consequently, she explained the circumstances to her superior. The women, subordinated to her, were '… *left abandoned, thinking they wouldn't get food provisions inasmuch as not any news of you has been heard*'.

Irer also stresses that her superior '…. *should spend some time here since [not] any clothes [have been made] while my attention is being directed to the temple, and the warp-threads are set up on the loom without it being possible to weave them*'.[17]

[6] Hudáková, *The Representations of Women in the Middle Kingdom*, 1.

[7] Hudáková, *The Representations of Women in the Middle Kingdom*, 26-41.

[8] Barber pointed out that in early societies the making of textiles was predominantly a female occupation, since it is an occupation which can be carried out concurrently with child care, as well as that the labor force for textile manufacture is almost exclusively female until the Eighteenth Dynasty (Barber, *Prehistoric Textiles*, 289; *cf*. Saretta, *Asiatics in Middle Kingdom Egypt*, 112).

[9] Hudáková, *The Representations of Women in the Middle Kingdom*, 31.

[10] Hudáková, *The Representations of Women in the Middle Kingdom*, 33.

[11] Hudáková, *The Representations of Women in the Middle Kingdom*, 50, n. 88.

[12] Hudáková, *The Representations of Women in the Middle Kingdom*, 38, 61. See also Fischer, *Egyptian Women of the Old Kingdom*, 20-1.

[13] Hudáková, *The Representations of Women in the Middle Kingdom*, 62. Saretta noted, although without any arguments, in respect to the scenes of Beni Hasan weaving workshops, that '*although all of the women depicted in these scenes appear as Egyptians in every way, perhaps some of them are actually Asiatics. There is no inscription to confirm this deduction, but inference can be made that they were so fully assimilated into this community, they were considered "residents", and were not differentiated as foreigners*' (Saretta, *Asiatics in Middle Kingdom Egypt*, 115-16).

[14] El Lahun is an ancient Egyptian site dating back to the Middle Kingdom. It lies on the west bank of the Nile, north of the modern village of Al Lāhūn, in the present-day governorate of the Fayum. Lahun is one of the largest ancient Egyptian state-planned settlements which occupy an area of approximately 13 hectares. The largest haul of surviving Middle Kingdom papyri were discovered in Lahun between 1889 and 1899. For a general overview of the site of El Lahun see Quirke, *Lahun*, and Horváth, in Silverman, Simpson, Wegner (eds), *Archaism and Innovation*, 171-203.

[15] Collier, Quirke, *The UCL Lahun Papyri: Letters*, 114-17; Quirke, in Hamilton, Whitehouse, Wright (eds), *Archaeology and women*, 251; Quirke, in Leahy, Tait (eds) *Studies H. S. Smith*, 227; Nassar, Ewais, *GM* 260, 115-6.

[16] He is probably also attested in pBerlin 10034 with the title *mr ḥwt-nṯr*, see Luft, in Budka, Gundacker, Pieke (eds), *Florilegium Aegyptiacum*, 239.

[17] Wente, *Letters from Ancient Egypt*, 82-3. See Quirke, in Hamilton, Whitehouse, Wright (eds), *Archaeology and wom-*

Luft has argued that Irer was affiliated to the mortuary temple of *sḫm-s-n-wsrt m3ᶜ-ḫrw*, and that her complaint refers to the 'weaver women' who belong to the production zone of the mortuary temple.[18] Although the text undoubtedly refers to the process of weaving, both Irer as person in charge, and the female workers whom she was supervising, are not marked with terms referring to the profession or administration of weaving.

The list of workers preserved on the verso of the late Middle Kingdom papyrus Brooklyn 35.1446, records 79 servants – 43 women (12 Egyptians and 31 Asiatics) and 14 children.[19] Children are listed after their mothers and marked as 'her son / her daughter (*s3.s/s3t.s*)'. Ten of the recorded Asiatic women were marked as 'weavers' (*sḫtj*).[20] Hayes suggested that the Asiatic women were slaves.[21] Berlev noted that these women belonged to the weaving workshop operating within a private household.[22] Although their Semitic names clearly indicate that they were 'newcomers' in Egypt,[23] Mourad rightly states that '*there is no evidence for their treatment as slaves or their purposeful capture for servitude. They are only labelled as "generous gifts" in the fragmentary Insertion C, perhaps denoting that they were sent to Upper Egypt for vacation opportunities as immigrants…. They are not segregated as a "possessed" or subjugated group nor are they specifically designated as captives*'.[24]

The two ration lists inscribed on the pottery dish discovered in the House 69 (sector BIX) of the Middle Kingdom town of Elephantine, dating most probably to the second half of Twelfth Dynasty, include 28 adult women (List I) and 18 children (List II).[25] Many of the children were, judging from their affiliations, offspring of the women of List I. Among others, the text supposedly records five *mrt*, and two *sḫtj* ('weaver'), and their children.[26]

mrt (?)[27]
sbk-ḥtp (line 3), unnamed daughter (line 30) and brother *ḫrdw-n.j* (line 31);
sḏmjjt (line 5) and her son *ḥtpj* (line 45);
ḥtpt (line 6) and her three daughters *nfr-ḥswt*, *nfr-ḥswt* and *ḥwt-ḥr-jjt* (lines 34-35);
s3t-ḫntjj-k3 (line 7) and her son *rn.f-ᶜnḫw* (line 36);
s3t-ḫnsw (line 8)

sḫtj - weavers
ḥtpt (line 2) and her daughter *nfr-ḥswt* (line 33)
nfrt (line 4) and her daughter *ḥtpt* (line 44)

However, it is not clear whether the women recorded on the Elephantine list were engaged in the household, or in an institutional production.

The lists are also important for recording the term *mrt*, spelled as , otherwise attested only as an element of the title *mr mrt*, which may be attribution of an 'overseer of weavers'.[28] It seems that the term *mrt* on the Elephantine list was a marker of a 'female weaver'. If so that would be, to the best of the author's knowledge, the only attestation of the feminine profession marker of *mrt*-weaver. However, it is hard to say what was the difference between '*sḫtj*-weaver' and '*mrt*-weaver' – the terms perhaps indicate various stages of production, or various types of cloth. However, the supply rations they received are ranging between 57 and 50 which would indicate their virtually equal status.

Heqanakht letters also point at weaving, referring to the household production and the use of textile as a means of exchange. Allen in his republication of the Hekanakht papyri argues that Hekanakht was providing grain (as ra-

en, 251, and Lorenz, in Teeter, Johnson (eds), *The life of Meresamun*, 99-100.

[18] Luft, in Budka, Gundacker, Pieke (eds), *Florilegium Aegyptiacum*, 239. It would be important to note, that objects recovered from the *shena* at Wah-Sut testifies textile production in association with the temple (see Smith, *Modeling the Mechanics of Temple Production*, 254-60). It may be also important to note that on the scenes in the tomb of Khnumhotep III weaving, bread production, and beer brewing all seem to be under surveillance of an overseer of the *shena* (*cf.* Lorenz, in Teeter, Johnson (eds), *The life of Meresamun*, 100).

[19] Hayes, *Papyrus of the Late Middle Kingdom*, 105-7; Posener, *Syria* 34, 145-63. See also Berlev, *Трудовое население*, 17-22; Quirke, *The Administration of Egypt in the Late Middle Kingdom*; Roehrig, in Capel, Markoe (eds) *Mistress of the House*, 21; Quirke, in Hamilton, Whitehouse, Wright (eds), *Archaeology and women*, 251; Saretta, *Asiatics in Middle Kingdom Egypt*, 111-12; Mourad, *Rise of the Hyksos*, 116-17.

[20] Ward, *Index of Egyptian Administrative and Religious Titles*, no 1343. The masculine form of the title, as attested on the stela CG 20184 is doubtful. Mohamed A. Nassar and Marwa A. Ewais suggest that Asiatic female weavers were also engaged in Lahune textile workshops (Nassar, Ewais, *GM* 260, 118-20).

[21] Hayes, *Papyrus of the Late Middle Kingdom*, 99.

[22] Berlev, *Трудовое население*, 21.

[23] *Cf.* Albright, *JAOS* 74, 222-3; Hayes, *Papyrus of the Late Middle Kingdom*, 99.

[24] Mourad, *Rise of the Hyksos*, 117.

[25] von Pilgrim, *Elephantine XVIII*, 285-302; see also Di Teodoro, *Labour organisation*, 45-6.

[26] Von Pilgrim rendered the term *sḫtj* as 'Vogelstellerin' (von Pilgrim, *Elephantine XVIII*, 298-9, n.b) following the bird trap sign (- Gardiner, *Sign List* T26; used here merely for phonetic reasons). However, the term is an abbreviated form of the participle of the verb *sḫt* – 'to weave', and the same spelling is attested in the pBrooklyn 35.1446 (Hayes, *Papyrus of the Late Middle Kingdom*, 105).

[27] von Pilgrim, *Elephantine XVIII*, 298-9, n.d.

[28] Berlev, *Трудовое население*, 131-6; see also forthcoming pages.

tions) and flax (as raw materials) to a household in the Ta-wer nome headed by a woman, which processed the flax into linen thread for his household.[29]

Unfortunately, none of the mentioned sources provide the title of persons in charge of the weaving workshops. As already mentioned the male overseers attested in the BH tombs 15 and 17 held the title *mr ḏ3tt*[30] The caption below the female image overseeing the working process, Hudáková, as already mentioned, renders as a title *jr*(*.t*) *k3.wt* ('female keeper of works') noting that the title is not listed by Ward, but that it could be correlated with masculine *jrj k3wt* ('keeper of works'). [31]

The idea that the caption marking the female image overseeing the working process should be considered as a title was initially proposed by Monet,[32] while mentioning the sequence of captions accompanying the linen production scene, as well as more recently by Kanawati and Evans.[33] However, the sequence of captions, identical in BH 15 and 17, starts with the expression *sḫt nḏ* 'to weave thread' and ends with *jri k3t* 'to do work'. It is not likely that the syntagm *jri k3t* in the given example should be rendered as a title.

On the other hand, the title of the unnamed official from the tomb of Khnumhotep II, supervising the weaving workshop, has been differently interpreted and rendered due to the orthography of the word *mrt*.[34] Although Faulkner[35] and Berlev[36] pointed out that the *mr mrt* could be rendered as the 'overseer of weavers', when *mrt* is written as , Ward treated it as three different titles: 'overseer of a canal' (no 197), 'overseer of pastureland' (no 198), and 'overseer of servants' (no 199). [37] It is probable, however, that in all instances, *i.e.* nos 197-199,[38] there are not more then orthographic variations of one and the same title.[39]

Berlev, based on the context and spelling of the term *mrt*, managed to identify twenty holders of the title 'overseer of weavers' (*mr mrt*), three of them without names (pBerlin 10030A, pBerlin 10019, and BH I, XIX).[40] To the list of Berlev's attestations should be added *mr mrt* (?) *nḫtj*, mentioned and represented on the wall fragment from the tomb of Kemes (Uppsala no 236; see Fig. 1) within the agricultural scene recording also the *mr pr ḥsb jt*[41]*jmnjj*, son of *s3t-ḫntj-ḫtjj*.[42]

jmn-m-ḥ3t, owner of the statue London BM EA 462, needs to be excluded from Berlev's list as he held, among others, the title 'overseer of linen' (*mr sšrw*),[43] not 'overseer of *mrt*'. The same applies for the supposed holder of the title on the stela Lyon H.1377 whose name is *ḫbwj*. Instead of the title *mr mrt*, his title reads *mr šnᶜ* ('overseer of the provisioning quarter').[44]

Among the holders of the title *mr mrt* which need to be rendered, based on the context, at least in some cases as 'overseer of weavers', several individuals should to be mentioned.

Stela Vienna KHM ÄS 110 commemorates the extended family of the 'master of the *tm*' (*ḥrj n tm*) *rdj.n.f-n.j*.[45] The object records three holders of the title *mr mrt*:[46] *mr mrt rs-snb*, most probably the brother of the *rdj.n.f-n.j*'s mother *ʿnkkt*, *mr mrt pšj*, the brother of *rdj.n.f-n.j*, and *mr mrt rs-snb* conceived of *rn-snb* who

[29] Allen, *The Heqanakht Papyri*, 122-4.
[30] Ward, *Index of Egyptian Administrative and Religious Titles*, no. 421.
[31] Hudáková, *The Representations of Women in the Middle Kingdom*, 50, n. 88; Ward, *Index of Egyptian Administrative and Religious Titles*, no. 551.
[32] Monet, *BIFAO* 9, 1911, 15.
[33] Kanawati, Evans, *Beni Hassan*, vol. IV, 15, 28.
[34] See Spiegelberg, *ZÄS* 45, 88. For a discussion of the general and specific reference on *mrt*, including orthography see Berlev, *Трудовое население*, 96-146, and especially 145-6.
[35] Faulkner, *Concise Dictionary*, 111.
[36] Berlev, *Трудовое население*, 131-6; Quirke, *ZÄS* 118, 145, n. 14.
[37] Franke, however, suggested that Ward's title no 197 is the same as title no 199 (see Franke, *GM* 83, 117 (197); Fischer, *Egyptian Titles of the Middle Kingdom*, 45 (199); Quirke, *Titles and bureaux*, 75).
[38] As well as in case of Ward's nos 369, 369a and 371; no. 992 needs to be excluded.
[39] Alexander Ilin-Tomich points out that '*in some cases mrt in this title should be rendered as "household servants" rather than "weavers"'*. When the final word is spelled without the 'people' determinative, it may also be read as *mrt* 'pasture' and that *mr mrt* 'from Beni Hasan tomb 15 is obviously an 'overseer of pasture', as indicated by the pictorial context' (Ilin-Tomich, *RdE* 68, 69). However, it needs to be noted that the figure and caption of the *mr mrt* is in fact between 'two scenes' – defaulters brought forward by officers and herdsmen leading and driving cattle (see Newberry, *Beni Hasan*, vol. II, pl. VII, 48). On the other hand, agricultural scenes are the most common in the tombs of officials. The scenes representing various stages of agricultural activities sometimes involve the tomb owner himself and members of his household whose titles are not necessarily connected with agricultural activities. See for example, Newberry, *Beni Hasan*, vol. I, pl. XXIX.
[40] Berlev, *Трудовое население*, 131-2; see also Quirke, *Titles and bureaux*, 75.
[41] Ward, *Index of Egyptian Administrative and Religious Titles*, no 287.
[42] Lugn, *Ausgewählte Denkmäler aus ägyptischen Sammlungen in Schweden*, 23, pl. 17 [23].
[43] Ward, *Index of Egyptian Administrative and Religious Titles*, no 360.
[44] Fischer, *Egyptian Titles of the Middle Kingdom*, 49 (371).
[45] Stefanović, *SAK* 47, 268-9.
[46] Hein, Satzinger, *Kunsthistorisches Museum Wien. Stelen des Mittleren Reiches*, vol. I, 26-7, rendered as 'overseer of pastureland' following Ward, *Index of Egyptian administrative and religious titles*, no 198.

Fig. 1 – Detail from the wall fragment from the tomb of Kemes (Uppsala no 236) © Gustavianum, Uppsala University

is not clearly related to the above mentioned individuals. Three of four men possess titles that indicate a role in weaving industry, and perhaps they worked together.

Stela London BM EA 129[47] records *mr mrt mrjj*, conceived of *ḥpw*. This finely executed Twelfth Dynasty stela commemorates the 'estate overseer' (*mr pr*) *jḳr-šrj* and the members of his immediate and extended family, as well as some of the household employees. It is tempting to think that his mother ḥpw is the same person as the 'nurse' (*mnʿt*) *ḥpw*, twice mentioned and obviously being engaged with the offspring of one or two women named *ḫnmw-ḥpw*. Another individual whose mother was also *ḥpw*, represented next to *mr mrt mrjj*, is *ḫrp* ? ('director' ?)[48] *wpȝ*. If so, both *mrjj* and *wpȝ* may be considered as persons in charge of the various units of *jḳr-šrj*'s household, *i.e.* including the weaving workshops and workforces.

The *mr mrt nmtj-ḥtp* is the main person on the stela Cairo CG 20227. In addition to the family members, the inscription also records four female servants – one *ḥmt* ('servant') and three *ʿȝmt* ('Asiatic').[49] *ḥmt*-servants were of Egyptian origin as opposed to the foreign 'Asiatic servants'. They are very often represented in tombs and on stelae since they belonged to richer households and fulfilled various jobs and duties. Although speculative, it is tempting to think that the Asiatic women belonged to the weaving workshop of which *nmtj-ḥtp* was in charge.

The *mr mr*(*t*) *wȝḥ-kȝ*, conceived of *kmnw*, and *mr mr*(*t*) *wȝḥ-kȝ* conceived of nfrt are recorded on the Twelfth Dynasty stela Cairo CG 20431,[50] as relatives (*sn.f* – literally 'his brother') of the main persons on the stela, *jrj ḥbsw* ('keeper of cloths') *wȝḥ-kȝ-snb* and his brother *mr st* ('store overseer') *wȝḥ-kȝ* (the mother's name is the same – *ḥtpwj*). *wȝḥ-kȝ*, conceived of *kmnw* is also attested on Cairo CG 20245[51] as a 'friend' (*ḫnms*)[52] of the 'keeper of items' (*jrj ḫt*) *jjj-njj*.

Di Teodoro in her study on *Labour Organisation in Middle Kingdom Egypt* states that '*the presence of the*

[47] Scott-Moncrieff, *Hieroglyphic texts from Egyptian stelae*, pls 41-3.

[48] Quirke, *Titles and bureaux of Egypt*, 82 advocates that *ḫrp* alone is never used as a title. If the reading *ḫrp* is here correct, this would be the first attestation of it as a proper title.

[49] Mourad, *Rise of the Hyksos*, 284.

[50] *Cf.* Olabarria, *Kinship and Family in Ancient Egypt*, 146-8.

[51] Franke, *Personendaten aus dem Mittleren Reich*, no 196.

[52] Satzinger, Stefanović, *SAK* 41, 341-51; Verbovsek, Backes, in Frood, McDonald (eds), *Decorum and Experience*, 77-85.

"*keeper of clothing" as recipient of the offering might support the connection between the "overseer'"of mrt and textile production. However, other offices recorded on the stela may suggest a different connection. The second recipient of the offering is a "store overseer", the senior official of the pr šnᶜ "provisioning area" for food and drink preparation. Among the dedicators, one individual held the title "keeper of a chamber", the official involved in supervision of the chambers, the units of the pr šnᶜ… All the mentioned titleholders are brothers of the recipients of the offering, which makes the connection among the offices stronger*'.[53]

However, the stela CG 20431 is an elaborate family stela, mentioning the members of the extensive family of the main individuals, to which the text refers as *smjt nt pr mwt* ('members of the household of the mother') and smjt nt pr jt ('members of the household of the father'). Thirteen male individuals are marked as *sn*, and nine female as *snt*, referring obviously to various types of kin relationships, since all of them are having different mothers, except the main individuals, *jrj ḫbsw w3ḥ-k3-snb* and *mr st w3ḥ-k3*.[54] Lady *kmnw* and lady *nfrt*, the mothers of two *mr mrwt*, are also marked as *snt* ('sisters'). Whether or not they were affiliated to the textile production, or attached to the institution of *šnᶜ*, their kin links are not indicative enough for any conclusions.

A further important set of data come from the Lahun papyri.[55] The papyrus UC 32094A lists at least six women engaged in the textile industry.[56] Papyrus accounts for the amounts of flax bundles (*mḥ wpt*) that were given to weaving women (*ḏ3tt*) and the subsequent amounts of cloth (*šsr*) that were produced. These women most likely worked in a workshop.[57] The term used to mark their profession was *ḏ3tt* (most probably spinners), and at least some of them are listed with their children.

The text on pBerlin 10030A[58] reads:

(1) *b3k n pr* [ᶜt] *jw-snb* ᶜ*d n mr pr ḳm3w* [...]
(2) *m swt.sn* [...]
(3) *r-ntt ḥm-k3 n mr mrw* [...]
(4) *jwt r ḏd n* [...]
(5) *jw3jjt jnjjt m*
(6) *sḫm-s-n-wsr.t m3ᶜ-ḫrw jn mr pr ḳm3w*
(7) *ḫr.f sw swḏ3-jb pw n nb.j* ᶜ*ws*
(8) *r-ntt jn*(*w*) *jw3jjt.f*
(9) *s3t ḏ3t pw jrt p3ḳt*
(10) *s3t mnt rn-snb ḏdt*(*w*) *n.s km3*
(11) *n mr mrw p3ḳt ḫtmw šmsw*

'The servant of the estate Iuseneb speaks to the 'overseer of the house' Qemau […]
on their places […]
that the mortuary priest of the overseer of the weavers ?[…]
has come in order to say to […]
"An *jw3jjt* had been brought from
Sekhemsenusret, justified, by the overseer of the house Qemau".
So he said:
"This is a communication to my lord, LPH,
that his *jw3jjt* had been brought –
it is a daughter of a weaver who shall make finest linen,
Menet's daughter Renseneb, who is called Kema,
for the overseer of the house of fine linen, seal-bearer and follower"'

As the text states, an *jw3jjt* ('a female substitute worker')[59] needs to be taken from Sekhem-Senwosret and redirected to the 'overseer of *mrt* (weavers) for the fine linen, sealer and follower'. Luft proposed for line nine the reading *s3t-ḏ3*, as a personal name of the *jw3jjt*.[60] Di Teodoro suggests, independently from Simpson,[61] rendering *s3t ḏ3tt*,[62] 'the daughter of the weaver' which may fit better – an *jw3jjt* will be sent to the '*mr mrt* for the fine linen' since she is the daughter of a weaver and suitable for such a task.[63]

[53] Di Teodoro, *Labour organisation*, 40; see also Ilin-Tomich, *RdE* 68, 69-70.
[54] See Franke, *Altägyptische Verwandschaftsbezeichnungen*, 258, and Olabarria, *Kinship and Family in Ancient Egypt*, 146-8.
[55] For the most recent overview of the textile production in Lahun (based on the Petrie papyri) see: Nassar, Ewais, *GM* 260, 109-26.
[56] They had made flax into linen within one month. Collier, Quirke, *The UCL Lahun Papyri: Accounts*, 144–5; *cf*. Nassar, Ewais, *GM* 260, 114-6; Quirke, in Hamilton, Whitehouse, Wright (eds), *Archaeology and women*, 254.
[57] Grajetzki, *The People of the Cobra Province*, 40; Nassar, Ewais, *GM* 260, 114-6.
[58] Luft, *Das Archiv von Illahun*; Di Teodoro, *Labour organisation*, 47-9; Luft, in Brose *et al.* (eds), *Festschrift für Hans-W. Fischer-Elfert*, 641.
[59] For the meaning and rendering of the term *jw3jjt* see Quirke, *RdE* 39, 90; Di Teodoro, *Labour organisation*, 37-49, and most recently Luft, in Brose *et al.* (eds), *Festschrift für Hans-W. Fischer-Elfert*, 631-73.
[60] Luft, *Das Archiv von Illahun*.
[61] Simpson, *BiOr* 3/4, 326.
[62] *Cf*. Ward, *Index of Egyptian Administrative and Religious Titles*, no 1607a.
[63] Di Teodoro, *Labour organisation*, 47.

Papyrus Berlin 10019[64] reports about releasing an *jw3jjt*. In column two Luft reads the title *mr mrt* as a marker of the official to whom the *j3wjjt* most probably is going to be sent.[65] Di Teodoro disputes the proposed reading, however without suggesting any alternative.[66] The reading proposed by Luft seems to be correct:

dj.k jnt m (*j*)*w3jj*(*t*) *n mr mrwt ḫft ntj ʿ3*

'You should make the (*j*)*w3jj*(*t*) be brought to the overseer of the *mrt* (weavers), according to the one who is here'

Although the title *mr mrt*, preserved as a caption of the officer obviously in charge of the weaving workshop in the tomb of Khnumhotep II, should imply 'the overseer of weavers', its meaning is still arguable. It is well known that the collective term *mrt*[67] can be written in two different manners: as and respectively. Berlev,[68] Eyre,[69] Moreno-Garcia,[70] Quirke,[71] Di Teodoro,[72] and most recently Luft[73] suggest that the attested different writings, or perhaps better to say orthographic variations, do not reveal a difference in meaning – the word *mrt* could be used to refer to people which were, in a more general sense, dependent working population, or professionally engaged as weavers, field workers etc.

Allam, following Spiegelberg,[74] advocates for two words, *mrt* (written with the canal sign) and *mrjjt* (written with the sickle blade) respectively, stressing that *mrt* – refers to weavers.[75] Allam presented large numbers of Old and New Kingdom attestations with *mrt* – either as the mark of a collective, or as the element of the titles, such is for example 'chief of the weavers of the God's wife',[76] noting that they have been always closely associated with textile production. He focused especially on the examples of *mrt* within the context of the New Kingdom temple workshops as well as on those attached to the institution of *šnʿ*.[77]

The Middle Kingdom examples, both written and iconographic, may also point to Allam's conclusion. Although the context of attestations of the title *mr mrt* on stelae remains doubtful at least in some cases, the orthography of the term *mrt* ( ), attested on the Elephantine ration list, where the word is used alone most probably as a profession marker for female weavers, would provide an important argument for the suggested interpretation.

The Ancient Egyptian written and iconographic data suggesting that weaving was solely a female occupation are corroborated by a variety of comparisons with other Ancient Near Eastern societies.[78] The vast majority of archaeological, epigraphic and iconographic sources reflect that the textile production was one of the crucial elements of the Ancient Near Eastern societies, presenting complex pictures of both production processes and procedures in administering – *i.e.* terminology, recording, and accounting – very often far more elaborate than those available for Ancient Egypt.[79]

Consequently, many important studies have focused especially on the terminology of the textile production and its significance in the economy and society of Ancient Near East. Worthy of mention are studies of Waetzoldt on the Neo-Sumerian textile industry,[80] Ribichini and Xella on textile production in Ugarit,[81] Durand on the texts reflecting textile production and trade from archives of Mari,[82] Veenhof on the Old Assyrian trading

[64] Luft, *Das Archiv von Illahun*; Di Teodoro, *Labour organisation*, 32-4

[65] Luft, *Das Archiv von Illahun*; Luft (*Urkunden* 2006, 44-5) reads the title of the official in charge of the workers in pBerlin 20021 as 'overseer of the lake lands'. Quirke renders it as 'overseer of *mrt* workers' (Quirke, *RdE* 39, 88).

[66] Di Teodoro, *Labour organisation*, 34.

[67] For the most recent general overview of the meaning of the term *mrt* see Römer, *GM* 252, 119-34.

[68] See Berlev, *Трудовое население* 108-11; Berlev, *Общественные отношения*.

[69] Eyre, in Bowman, Rogan (eds) *Agriculture in Egypt*, 33-60.

[70] Moreno García, *JEA* 84, 71-83; Moreno García, *JESHO* 51, 99-150. See also Andrássy, in Seidlmayer (ed.), *Texte und Denkmäler*, 27-68.

[71] Quirke, in Quirke (ed.), *The temple in ancient Egypt*, 27.

[72] Di Teodoro, *Labour organisation*, 39-40.

[73] Luft, in Brose *et al.* (eds), *Festschrift für Hans-W. Fischer-Elfert*, 660-6.

[74] Spiegelberg, *ZÄS* 45, 88.

[75] Allam, in Menu, *L'organisation du travail en Égypte ancienne et en Mésopotamie*, 41-64.

[76] As attested on the late Seventeenth–early Eighteen Dynasty stela published by Gardiner, *JEA* 3, 256, pl. XL, or pAnastasi VI (London, BM EA 76452) which presents a *Letter of Complaints* mentioning the registration of weavers (*mrwt*). The context of the documents clearly refers to the production of linen (see Caminos, *Late Egyptian Miscellanies*, 279-93); see also pAnastasi IV 3.11 and the Banks papyri I and II (Edwards, *JEA* 68, 129-30; Demarée, *The Bankes Late Ramesside Papyri*, 7-9, pls 1-4). Compare with Römer, *GM* 252, 125-34.

[77] Allam, in Menu, *L'organisation du travail en Égypte ancienne et en Mésopotamie*, 48-53.

[78] For the similar feature of women engaged on grinding (or milling) grain see Lang, *Journal of Lithic Studies* 3/3, 279-89.

[79] *Cf.* Saretta, *Asiatics in Middle Kingdom Egypt*, 113-14.

[80] Waetzoldt, *Untersuchungen zur neusumerischen Textilindustrie*.

[81] Ribichini, Xella, *La terminologia dei tessili nei testi di Ugarit*.

[82] Durnad, *La nomenclature des habits et des textiles dans les textes de Mari*. For a general overview of the textile production in Ebla see Peyronel, Vacca, in Matthiae, Marchetti (eds), *Ebla and Its Landscape*, 438-9.

of textiles,[83] and most recently a fundamental analysis of Gaspa on textiles in the Neo-Assyrian Empire[84] and Kelley, on gender, age, and labour organization in the late IV and early III millennium BC.[85]

The feature of weaving workshops as reserved for women, although it must be stressed that the work was not exclusively done by women, is also well attested in cuneiform sources.[86] Recently published work by Palmiro Notizia presents the *cursus honorum* of Lugal-Irida (Ur III Period, *c.* 2112-2004 BC), superintendent of weavers who held this office for 21 years.[87] The weaving establishment Lugal-irida has been in charge of, was located at the town of Guabba, the largest and most important centre for textile production of the entire Ur III state.[88] Based on sources, more than 6200 female weavers and their children were employed at the Guabba production unit.[89]

Female weavers in the III millennium Mesopotamia were known as ki-siki(-ka), and at least from the Sargonic period onwards as (geme2) uš-bar (Sum.) or išpartu/ašpartu (Akk.). Neo-Assyrian sources also record the profession of female weavers. Those women were called ušpārtu, and were supervised by ušpārtus (a 'female overseer').[90]

A female letter, approximately contemporaneous to lady Irer's complain, also referring to the difficulties with textile production, was written by lady Lamassī (*c.* 1900 BC), an Assyrian woman living in Assur. Lamassī sent a letter to her husband explaining her troubles with the production, in the same time, of textiles for the family and household members and the textiles she has to make for export, which her husband has delivered in Anatolia.

Thus, Lamassī explains to her husband Pūšu-kēn:

> 'Kulumaya brings to you nine textiles. Iddin-Sin brings to you three textiles... Please, my master, don't get angry because I haven't sent you the textiles you asked for in your letter. Oh, how the little one has grown and I had to make a couple of thick blankets for the cart. You see, I've only been making things for the house and the family, that's why I haven't sent you any textiles [to sell]. Yes, I'll send all of the textiles that I can produce on the next caravan!'[91]

The letter of lady Lamassī was discovered in the *kārum* of Kanesh,[92] and is just one of most probably more than 23000 similar tablets that were originally kept in archives from households in the lower city, *i.e.* in the commercial quarter of Kanesh.[93]

The case of lady Irer, *i.e.* a woman being in charge of the textile workshop engaging women, may also resemble the Middle Sargonic praxis (as resembled, for example, in the *Mama-ummi archive*)[94] related to the textile production which mention

> 'supplies of wool to female weavers under their equally female overseers known as ($geme_2$) ki-siki-ke_4-ne'[95]

and the administrative texts reporting about a woman called Ennana from the archive of Tikunani which has been also in charge of the textile workshop.[96]

Papyrus Brooklyn 35.1446 and the Elephantine lists both closely resemble, by their structure, the cuneiform gemé dumu ('women and children') lists[97] where wom-

[83] Veenhof, *Aspects of Old Assyrian Trade*.
[84] Gaspa, *Textiles in the Neo-Assyrian Empire*.
[85] Kelley, *Gender, age, and labour organization*.
[86] See Garcia-Ventura, in Dross-Krüpe (ed.), *Textile Trade*, 135-40; Kelley, *Gender, age, and labour organization*.
[87] Notizia, in Mas, Notizia (eds), *Working at Home*.
[88] Vermaak, *JSem* 17/2, 454-71.
[89] Notizia, in Mas, Notizia (eds), *Working at Home*, 86-7.
[90] See Gaspa, *Textiles in the Neo-Assyrian Empire*, 27
[91] Michel, in Briquel-Chatonnet (ed.), *Femmes, cultures et sociétés*, 265. For the enterprise and the household of Lamassī see Stratford, *A Year of Vengeance*.
[92] Nowadays Kültepe (Turkey).
[93] Michel, *Correspondance des marchands de Kanish*, 434-5; Thomason, in Nosch, Koefoed, Andersson Strand (eds) *Textile Production and Consumption*, 93.
[94] Corpus recording transactions related to textile workers. See Maiocchi, in Lion, Michel (eds) *The Role of Women in Work and Society*, 90-111. A significant number of documents dealing with textiles also comes from the royal archives of Mari, especially from the first half of the reign of Zimrī-Lîm (*ca* 1780-1758 BC). They were probably issued by a *wool office*, an administrative department in charge of various aspects of the state management of textiles (Michel, in Breniquet, Michel (eds), *Wool Economy in the Ancient Near East and the Aegean*, 246.
[95] See Westenholz, in Melville, Slotsky (eds), *Studies in Honor of Benjamin R. Foster*, 453-62; Garcia-Ventura, Karahashi, *KASKAL* 13, 1-19; Maiocchi, in Lion, Michel (eds), *The Role of Women in Work and Society*, 90-111; Michel, *Spécialisation des tâches et sociétés, Techniques & culture* 46 (2006), 281-97; Thomason, in Nosch, Koefoed, Andersson Strand (eds), *Textile Production and Consumption*, 93-112; and Seri, *The House of Prisoners*.
[96] Justel, in Budin, Cifarelli, Garcia-Ventura, Albà (eds), *Gender and Methodology in the Ancient Near East*, 120-2.
[97] A foundational study of textile production in third millennium Mesopotamia, focusing on gender and age in the workforce, is Kazuya Maekawa's analyses of texts from Lagash recording *female weavers and their children* (Maekawa, *Acta Sumerologica Japaniensia* 2, 81-125; see also Waetzoldt, in M. Powell (ed.), *Labor in the Ancient Near East* 117-41; Waetzoldt, *AoF* 15, 30-44). Maekawa examined documents spanning from the pre-Sargonic through Ur III periods primarily from Girsu. Following on others (Deimel, Šumerische *Tempelwirtschaft*; Waetzoldt, *Untersuchungen zur neusumerischen Textilindustrie*) he highlighted the use

en (geme$_2$) are sometimes specifically designated as 'female weavers' (geme$_2$ uš-bar), as, for example, in a Girsu document that lists 816 female weavers under their overseers (*TUT* 1 6419, AS 5 /11). gemé dumu lists also record rations for women and their children.[98] For example, a text dated to the 48th year of Šulgi (*c.* 2094-2047 BC), the ruler of the Third Dynasty of Ur, presents accounts of the monthly and yearly rations of barley given to more than 10.000 dependents involved in textile production. Women and children formed more than 96% of the workers: 6423 women (geme$_2$) and 3157 children (dumu) respectively.[99]

Whereas Egyptian sources, attesting Asiatic female weavers, are not explicit regarding the circumstances prior to their engagement in workshops,[100] cuneiform material is far more conclusive.

Steinkeller pointed out that gender-differentiated approach to the use of foreign captives, either prisoners of war, or those purchased on the slave-markets, as workers are vividly illustrated by an inscription of the Ur III king Šu-Suen (c. 2037-2029 BC): after the conquest of the land of Šimaški (on the territory of the present day Iran), the captured Šimaški an females were donated to the weaving houses of temples:[101]

nam-guruš uru^{ki}-uru^{ki}-ba sá ba-ni-in-dug$_4$-[g]a-a igi-bi im-[ma]-an-du$_8$-du$_8$ ^{giš}kiri$_6$ ^{d}En-[líl] ^{d}Nin-líl-l[á] ù [^{giš}] kiri$_6$ dingir [gal]-˹gal˺-e-ne-[ka] ˹gìr˺-šè im-mi-in-sig$_{10}$ ù nam-g[éme] uru^{ki}-uru^{ki}-[ba] sá ba-ni-i[n]-dug$_4$-g[a] é-uš-b[ar] ^{d}En-líl ^{d}Nin-líl-lá ù é dingir gal-˹gal˺-e-ne-ka sag-˹šè˺ im-mi-[in-r]ig$_7$

'He (*i.e.* Šu-Suen) blinded the males of the conquered cities, and he assigned them to the personnel of the orchards of Enlil and Ninlil, and those of other great gods. And he donated the women of the conquered cities to the weaving houses of Enlil and Ninlil, and those of other great gods'[102]

To the reign of the same king belongs another tablet recording prisoners-of-war employed as weavers at Ur. The tablet lists various garments produced by female Lullubean weavers:

[...] geme$_2$ nam-ra-aš ak [lu-lu-]bu^{ki}-na-ke$_4$-ne-ta [geme$_2$$^{?}$] uš-bar-ra-ke4-ne-ta

'from...female prisoners-or-war of Lullubum, the female weavers'[103]

Based on the above presented analogies, which are far from being neither comprehensive, nor definite, it may be noted that the organization of weaving workshops in ancient Egypt, especially during the Middle Kingdom (employing domestic and foreign female workers and being supervised both by female and male overseers), was similar to that elsewhere in the Ancient Near East. The place of weavers and overseers of weavers within the administrative hierarchies of Egypt, especially on the national level, remains open due to the scarcity of sources although it may be suggested that they existed both in the private household and as attached to the institutions. However, it may be significant that attestations coming from the Lahun papyri, and perhaps also from the Brooklyn papyrus, may refer to compulsory labour. In the Middle Kingdom the linen production was reserved for women and two preserved lexemes seem to

of predominantly female labour in households employing sometimes more than 1000 workers. Characteristic textual evidence for these workshops includes the pre-Sargonic šeba geme$_2$-dumu texts (Gelb, *JNES* 24/3, 230-43), recording rations for women and their children. Maekawa noted that for the Lagash corpora, there was a terminology shift from pre-Sargonic ki-siki(-ka) or geme$_2$-ki-siki-(ka) for female weavers to Sargonic and later geme$_2$-uš-bar. Worth of mentioning are also studies by Scheyhing, *Die Welt des Orients* 42/2, 187-209; Lafont, in Lion, Michel (eds) *The Role of Women in Work and Society*, 149-73; Uchitel, in Parpola, Whiting (eds), *Sex and Gender in the Ancient Near East*, 621-31; Maiocchi, in Lion, Michel (eds), *The Role of Women in Work and Society*, 90-111. For the female weavers attested in the Old Babylonian documents from Sippar see Harris, *Ancient Sippar*. The Pylos tablets also record many workgroups of linen workers, ri-ne-ja, including women and children and their daily rations, which existed across several locations (Olsen, *Women in Mycenaean Greece*, 79-82).

[98] It is important to note that the male children of 5-6 years of age were also considered as a workforce. See Jursa, *Die Landwirtschaft in Sippar*, 8-9, and Bartash, *ZA* 105/2, 131-8.

[99] Maekawa, *Acta Sumerologica Japaniensia* 2, 108, no. 7; Uchitel, in Parpola, Whiting (eds), *Sex and Gender in the Ancient Near East*, 622-7.

[100] Saretta suggests that the Asiatic weavers could have been brought to Egypt on two bases: '*perhaps they were considered to be "cheap labor", or that their weaving was of a special nature*' (Saretta, *Asiatics in Middle Kingdom Egypt*, 112). However, there are not a single data for a given assumption.

[101] Steinkeller, in Steinkeller, Hudson (eds), *Labor in the Ancient World*, 8.

[102] Frayne, *Ur III Period (2112–2004). The Royal Inscriptions of Mesopotamia*, 301-6, Šu-Sin 3 iv 15-31. Female workers, attested on Pylos tablets, are also sometimes identified by an ethnic toponym suggesting they were foreigners, or children of foreigners. It is possible that these designations describe the specialized work that a group performed, which then became associated with that group's homeland such were *Milesian spinners*, for example (see Burke, *From Minos to Midas*, 99-100).

[103] Legrain, *Business Documents of the Third Dynasty of Ur*, 1763 (P138089).

mark female weavers: *sḫtj* and *mrt* (when spelled with the sign Gardiner N 36).

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The Statue of Ameny from his Tomb at Lisht

Mohamed Youssef Ali

Abstract

This is the publication of fragments belonging to the great overseer of troops Ameny. The fragments were found in his tomb at Lisht. The inscriptions on the statue and in the tomb provide evidence that Ameny, who was already known by several stelae, most likely was in office under Senwosret I.

Introduction[1]

The Metropolitan Museum of Art expedition had the concession to work at Lisht exclusively from 1906 onwards. As a result, the pyramid of Amenemhat I[2], the pyramid of Senwosret I[3] and many famous tombs have been excavated and published.[4] In addition, a number of Egyptian missions (S.C.A.) have worked there. These missions were mostly rather modest in scale because they occurred as the result of some urgent specific emergency situation such as when a tomb is uncovered by illegal digging. The funding of these rescue operations is limited. Accordingly, these Egyptian missions have sought mainly to collect what the looters left behind. Mostly, this consists of fragments, some huge stones or parts of statues.

Often, finds from rescue excavations simply end up in storage magazines, without any report on their discovery let alone a detailed publication. Pottery and bones are often neglected. To address this situation for at least one object, the statue of Ameny will be published in this article.

The rock-cut tomb of Ameny was one of the discoveries made as a result of a rescue-excavation following an illegal dig by looters. It was discovered for the first time in 1991 and reinvestigated again in 1995 and 1997 by Ahmed Abd el-Hameed and Nour Abd el-Samad. The last season was undertaken in 2014 by the author.

In all, three tombs were discovered during the excavations by the Egyptian authorities. The results of these excavations are stored in the Lisht magazine and so far no further study of the artifacts or the tombs themselves has been undertaken. All these tombs are situated at Lisht south. Besides the tomb of Ameny, the owners of the

[1] I am grateful to my colleagues at Dahshur, Ramadan Elgot, Ahmad Awad, and Mahmoud Dawood and all members of my excavation team and the workers, and to Dr. W. Grajetzki for his constant support and for his advice, and to my friend Asmaa Ibrahim for the drawing of the inscription.

[2] Arnold, *The Pyramid Complex of Amenemhat I*.

[3] Arnold, *The Pyramid Complex of Senwosret I*.

[4] Arnold, *Middle Kingdom Tomb Architecture at Lisht*.

Fig. 1 – Ameny's tomb © photo by Youssef Ali

two other tombs are: *in-ḥrit ḥtp*[5] and *ini-iti.f ms n ipi*.[6] However, the majority of objects in the Lisht storehouse come from the tomb complex of Ameny. The rock-cut tomb of this high-ranking official (see Fig. 1) is situated at Lisht south approximately 310 m to the south-west of the pyramid of Senwosret I. This study will examine and discuss the lower part of a statue discovered in the tomb in 1997. Unfortunately, the excavators did not record the original position of the statue inside the tomb (see Figs 2-8).

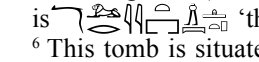
The Statue

The owner: *Ỉmny iri.n ḳbw*
Material: basalt
Serial no.: 80
Registration no.: 55/97
Store house: Sayed Tawfeek magazine at Dahshur
Date of discovery and the site: south Lisht, 1997

Description of the Statue (see Figs 2-3)

The fragment belongs to the lower half of a life-size seated statue made of basalt belonging to Ameny. The fragment preserves part of the seat, part of the left leg, the base, and one side of the chair.

The excavators found the statue in the colonnade hall of the tomb chapel, but we cannot be sure about its original position.[7] However, according to the material and

[5] The tomb was discovered in 1993 and according to the lower part of a statue discovered inside the tomb, now stored in the Lisht magazine (n.41, reg. no. 39/41), the owner of the tomb is  'the overseer of the law court' *Ỉn-ḥrit-ḥtp*.

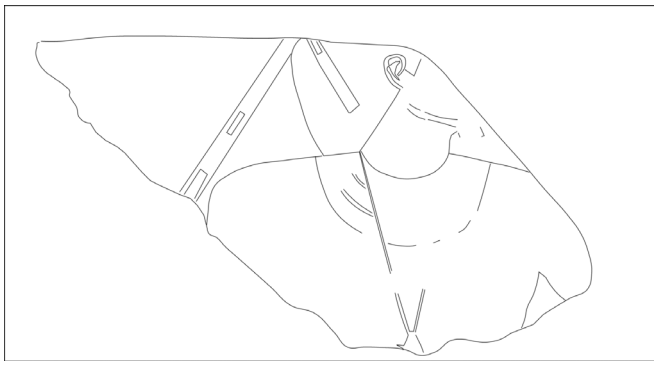
[6] This tomb is situated about 260 m west of Senwosret I's pyramid; the upper part of a statue for the same individual is also stored at Lisht; five reliefs from the tomb were discovered by the author in 2011. A joint mission headed by Sarah Parcak and the author in 2015/16 resulted in the discovery of a rock-cut tomb belonging to a high-ranking official (*ini-iti.f ms n ipi*) – for more about this tomb see: Youssef Ali, *The tomb of Intef at Lisht*.

[7] The guard who was responsible for moving the statue (Abd el Tawab Toba) from the tomb to the Lisht store house informed me that they found the statue in the main hall of the tomb and that he dragged the statue by a rope tied to a donkey, and this is the reason for the scratches and damage to the statue's inscriptions.

Fig. 2 – Lower part of Ameny's statue © photo by Youssef Ali

Fig. 3 – Left side of the chair with the inscription © photo by Youssef Ali

Fig. 4 – Part of the face of the Ameny's statue © photo by Youssef Ali



Figs 5a-b – A fragment of Ameny's tomb reliefs represented the owner with a beard © photo by Youssef Ali; drawing by Wolfram Grajetzki (from photo)

the size of the statue, the original place might have been the innermost chapel inside the colonnade hall. Several examples of Middle Kingdom statues of nomarchs and governors have been found in this position in their funeral chapels.[8]

Only the left leg of the statue – lacking its foot – is still preserved. The left side of the chair bears three vertical lines of inscriptions. The original color of the broken parts of the statue has changed to white due to the action of sand and rain, most likely a long time ago. This occurs mainly on the surface of the broken parts indicating that the statue was already broken in antiquity.

The preserved part of the statue measures approximately 61 cm tall and 37 cm wide.

Only one other fragment of a statue was discovered and most probably belongs to the same piece. Also of basalt, the fragment preserves the right part of a face (see Fig. 4; Pl. LI), including the right eye, nose, and upper part of the mouth. A line along the right cheek and down to the chin represents a portion of a beard. It is worth mentioning that several reliefs from the tomb of the owner also show him with a beard (see Fig. 5).

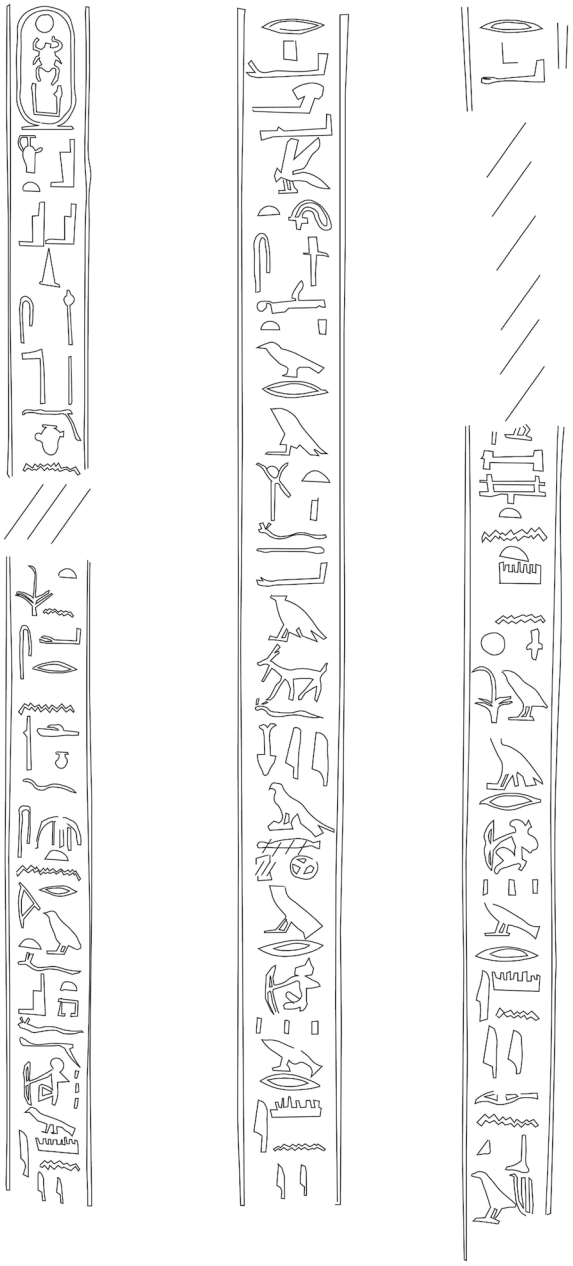
The Inscriptions

There are three vertical hieroglyphic text lines on the left side of the seat, two at the edges and one in the middle. Large empty spaces are left in between them. The inscriptions are rather shallowly incised. The signs of these lines are oriented from left to right. Each column of inscription is bordered on either side by a vertical line. Some areas of the inscriptions have suffered heavily from erosion, such as the beginning of the last column, but in general the signs are easy to read.

The statue is now preserved in the Sayed Tawfeek magazine at Dahshur, following the transportation of the whole Lisht store house holdings there. Since its discovery, the statue has received no restoration.

(1) *sḫḏ ḥmw nṯr ḫnmwt-swt-ḫpr-kȝ-rᶜ mḥ ib n nswt sᶜr n ḳdw.f sḫnt n mrwt.f st.f imy r mšᶜ wr ỉmny .*
(2) *rpᶜ ḥȝty ᶜ ḫtmty bity smr wᶜty wr m iȝt.fᶜȝ m sᶜḥ.f smȝi m pḳr imy r mšᶜ wr ỉmny.*
(3) *Rpᶜ ……. sw mḏd-wȝt nt smnnḫ sw imy r mšᶜ wr ỉminy irỉ.n Ḳbw*

(1) inspector of the *ḥm-nṯr*-priests of 'favored of[9] places of Kheper-ka-Ra', the loyal and devotee to (the king) promoted his character, love of whom advanced his place, the great overseer of troops Ameny
(2) member of the elite, foremost of action, royal sealer, and the sole friend (of the king), the one great in his office, great in his rank, the companion in Peqer the great overseer of troops Ameny
(3) member of the elite...the one who is obedient of the one who established him, the chief overseer of troops, Ameny begotten of Qebw



Drawing of the inscription © by Wolfram Grajetzki from photo and using drawing by Asmaa Ibrahim

[8] Jiménez Serrano, in Castellano *et al.* (eds), *Ex Aegypto lux et sapientia*, 321-34, 322.
[9] Arnold translates *ḫnmwt swt* as 'favored places' (Arnold, *The Pyramid Complex of Senwosret I*, 17).

Notes to the translations

a) Line 1 (left)

sḫḏ ḥmw nṯr ḥnmt iswt ḫpr-kȝ-rᶜ – 'Inspector of the *ḥmw-nṯr*-priests at the precinct favored of places of Kheper-ka-Ra'. The *ḥmw-nṯr*-priests worked in a phyle system with shift rotation; the earliest evidence of the existence of this system dates back to the first dynasty;[10] in terms of organization, the *ḥmw-nṯr* was in certain places headed by a *sḫḏ*;

ḥnmt iswt ḫpr-kȝ-rᶜ – 'The precinct favored of places of Kheper-ka-Ra (Senwosret I)'. This name frequently appears at Lisht and elsewhere.[11] The name of the precinct *ḥnmt iswt ḫpr-kȝ-rᶜ* is written differently in the text on Ameny's statue to many other inscriptions, since the letter 𓎛 follows the *ḥnm*-sign: 𓐍𓎛𓇋𓇋𓇋𓊪 . In other inscriptions at other places (Karnak and Lisht) it is written 𓐍𓇋𓇋𓇋𓎛 with the 𓎛 -sign after *swt*.[12] According to Farouk Gomaà, the cult of Hathor of *tp iḥw* (Atfih) was allocated at *ḥnmwt iswt*.[13] Arnold suggested that *ḥnmt iswt* was not the mortuary temple with its buildings but the funerary precinct as a whole.[14] None of the tomb owners discovered at Lisht bore this title, nor is this title mentioned in any of Ameny's three stelae or tomb inscriptions;

mḥ-ib – This kind of verb form is meant to serve as an adjective,[15] consisting of 2 signs 𓄤𓄿 *mḥ-ib*. Therefore, some scholars translate it as 'the heart fills the heart of the king' and render it as 'confidant of the king',[16] or trustworthy.[17] The area below *mḥ ib* is damaged and only the preposition n is clear; the word below is difficult to read, but is most probably (*nswt*), the vertical sign (𓇋) has lost its upper part, while the two other signs (𓈙) are extremely damaged. The epithet (mH ib n nswt) is well attested during the Middle kingdom.[18]

sᶜr n ḳdw.f – 'Whom his character made to rise';[19]

sḫnty n mrwt.f st.f – 'Love of whom advanced his possition'

imy-r mšᶜ wr – Ameny had several titles including *rpᶜ, ḥȝty-ᶜ, ḫtmty bity* and *smr wᶜty. imy-r mšᶜ wr* is the title describing the duties of Ameny because it appears directly before his name in all the texts.[20] William Ward translated the title as 'generalissimo',[21] however the 'great general of the troops' or the 'chief overseer of the troops' are more common translations;

imy-r – In the first line (left) was written with 𓄿 while in the other lines the two signs 𓅱𓂝 were used; similarly in the first line *wr* was written with just the bird sign (Gardiner sign list G36) without the accompanying mouth sign (D21) as appears in the two other lines of inscription. Perhaps this was done to save space

b) Line 2 (middle)

Rpᶜ ḥȝty-ᶜ ḫtmty bity smr wᶜty – 'Member of elite, foremost of action, royal sealer' and the 'sole friend' (of the king) are the classical ranking titles. Wolfram

[10] Roth, *Egyptian Phyles in the Old Kingdom*, 6.

[11] Lacau, Chevrier, *Une chapelle de Sésostris Ier à Karnak*, 209

[12] Lacau, Chevrier, *Une chapelle de Sésostris Ier à Karnak*, I. Texte, 209; Arnold, *The Pyramid of Senwosret I*, 17. See the list of writings in Gomaà, *Die Besiedlung Ägyptens während des Mittleren Reiches*, vol. II, 43. The *t*-sign after also appears on a statue, and on the annal stone of Amenemhat II from Memphis.

[13] Gomaà, *SAK* 11, 109-10.

[14] Arnold, *The Pyramid of Senwosret I*, 17.

[15] For more see: Allen, *Middle Egyptian*, 325.

[16] Faulkner, *A Concise Dictionary of Middle Egyptian*, 113; Wb II, 118.

[17] Lichtheim, *Ancient Egyptian Autobiographies*, 169.

[18] See Davies, Gardiner, *The Tomb of Antefoḳer*, pl. 7.

[19] Obsomer, *Sesostris Ier*, 489 (no. 6.a); Franke, *Das Heiligtum des Heqaib*, 205 (no. 6.4).

[20] For more about the function titles and ranking titles see Grajetzki, *Court Officials*, 5.

[21] Ward, *Index of Egyptian Administrative and Religious Titles of the Middle Kingdom*, 207.

Grajetzki points out that they generally appear in sequence and in the same order and express the position of an official at the royal court.[22]

wr m i3t ˁ3 m s3ḥ – It is one of the most common phrases used in various tomb texts, on stelae and in expedition inscriptions. Its first known appearance dates back to the Sixth Dynasty and it was used during the Middle Kingdom from the Eleventh Dynasty after Mentuhotep II's reign until the end of the first half of the Twelfth Dynasty.[23] It is a self-descriptive phrase rather than an epithet or a title, the translation of which varies, but the most common one is 'one great in office great in dignity'. However, the translation of the concept and meaning of *i3t* remains the subject of controversy, as Stephen Quirke believes that the word *i3t* refers to a position where payment was received,[24] while Denise Doxey believes that it refers to the innate dignity of the official. The presence of the word *i3t* in many other languages (Arabic, Persian and Turkish) with the same meaning and concept cannot be ignored.

sm3y m pḳr – 'The companion at *pḳr*'.[25] The first sign of the latter word is unclear. Under this horizontal sign are two signs, one on top of the other. The upper sign is *p*. The bottom sign is not clear but the space which it occupies indicates that it is a small sign, and ended by the town ⊗ determinative. The district named is *pḳr* . Ameny mentioned his visit to Peqer on his stela CCG 20546.[26] Peqer is the precinct of Osiris at Abydos,[27] and where a ceremony was performed as discussed by Lichtheim. It was a most secret part of the Osiris mysteries.[28] The arrangement of the signs for *pḳr* is not common but is attested elsewhere too.[29]

c) Line 3 (right)

The first two letters in the line that can be read clearly are the signs *r* and ˁ, and the traces in between indicate the sign *p*. Therefore, the word *rpˁ* can be identified without difficulty. The area below is heavily damaged, but it most probably contained the rest of the title string (*h3ty-ˁ, ḫtmty bity*, and *smr wˁty*) since this occupied the same space in the middle line. At the end of the damaged area only the lower parts of two signs are still preserved. The left sign is the lower part of the *sw* sign and the right one is the leg of a bird sign.

mḏd w3t nt smnḫ sw – 'One who is loyal to the one who promoted him'[30] is one of the most common epithets describing loyalty and obedience.

'Imini iri.n ḳbw – 'Ameny, begotten of Qebw.' The name Ameny is written without *iri.n ḳbw* in the first and middle lines. In the last line it is written with the addition of the mother's name. The name has the determinative sign . The sign is badly preserved but still recognizable. Only on stela BM EA 162 (ANOC 2.3)[31] is the name *Ḳbw* written with this sign, while on stelae Louvre C 35, BM 162 and Cairo CG 20546 (ANOC 2.1 and ANOC 2.2) it is written without this sign. Qebw is also the name of a plant or flower.[32]

Commentary

The owner of the statue Ameny, son of (the lady) Qebw, is listed by Detlef Franke in his *Personendaten*.[33] Four related stelae were discussed by William Kelly Simpson in his ANOC 2 (Louvre C 35, BM EA 162, Cairo CG 20546).[34] He also included a stela in Copenhagen (Aad 13). However, Oleg Berlev proved that the Copenhagen stela does not belong to the same Ameny.[35] The owner of Cairo CG 20546,[36] BM EA 162,[37] and Louvre C 35[38] were dated by Simpson on stylistic grounds to the reign of Senwosret I or Amenemhat II.[39] Miriam Lichtheim suggested that the latter of the two reigns seems the more likely.[40]

[22] Grajetzki, *Court Officials*, 5.
[23] Doxey, *Egyptian non-royal epithets*, 167.
[24] Quirke, in der Manuelian (ed.), *Studies in Honor of William Kelly Simpson*, 671.
[25] Ward, *Index of Egyptian Administrative and Religious Titles of the Middle Kingdom*, no. 1295.
[26] Farout, *Égypte, Afrique & Orient* 37, 28.
[27] Faulkner, *A Concise Dictionary of Middle Egyptian*, 95.
[28] Lichtheim, *Ancient Egyptian Autobiographies Chiefly of the Middle Kingdom*, 80, n. 6.
[29] For various forms of the writing of Peqer, see Gauthier, *Dictionnaire des noms géographiques*, vol. II, 135.
[30] Favry, *Le nomarque sous le règne de Sésostris Ier*, 54.
[31] I am very grateful to Dr. Julie Anderson from the British Museum for providing me during the Corona virus lockdown with a good photograph and drawing of the stelae of Ameny (BM EA 162), which greatly assisted me in determining the sign.
[32] Ranke, *Personennamen I,* 333 no. 26; Koemoth, *CdE* 79, 89.103.
[33] Franke, *Personendaten aus dem Mittleren Reich (20.-16. Jh. v. Chr.)*, dossier 100; Grajetzki, *Die höchsten Beamten*, 120 (IV.8); Stefanović, *The holders of regular military titles*, 203 (no. 1085).
[34] Simpson, *The Terrace of the Great God at Abydos*, 14-15, 17.
[35] Berlev, *BiOr* 33, 325.
[36] Mariette, *Catalogue général des monuments d'Abydos*, 166, no. 647; Lange, Schäfer, *Grab- und Denksteine des Mittleren Reichs im Museum von Kairo*, vol. II, 171-3; Simpson, *The Terrace of the Great God at Abydos*, ANOC 2.2, pl. 6.
[37] Budge, *Hieroglyphic texts from Egyptian stelae*, IV, 33.
[38] Spiegel, J. *Die Götter von Abydos: Studien zum* ägyptischen *Synkretismus*, 150- 152; Simpson, *The Terrace of the Great God at Abydos*, ANOC 2.1, pl. 5.
[39] Simpson, in *LÄ* V, 895.
[40] Lichtheim, *Ancient Egyptian Autobiographies*, 119, n. 1.

Fig. 6a-b – A fragment from the tomb's reliefs showing a part of Senwosret I' titulary © photo by Youssef Ali; drawing by Wolfram Grajetzki (from photo)

Qebw was mentioned by Franke in his *Personendaten* as the mother of Ameny according to his filiation in the inscriptions on his three stelae (ANOC 2). To my knowledge her name is unique and has not been mentioned in any other studies on women's names. Qebw is the name of a plant or flower.[41] The father of Ameny is nowhere mentioned in his three stelae inscriptions or those on his statue, but since Ameny mentions his brother in ANOC 2.3 (BM EA 126) with a different mother (Khentykhety born of Satsobek)[42] one can assume that Ameny's father had at least two wives.

The filiation formula with the name of Ameny is *ir.n* which idiomatically has the same meaning as *ms.n* (born of).[43] The expression *ir.n* (*irt.n*) seems to gradually replace *ms.n* (*mst.n*) at the end of Senwosret I's reign and becomes more common in the time of Amenemhat II. However, *ms.n* and *ir.n* can appear simultaneously in the same inscription,[44] making it problematic for scholars attempting to use those formulae as dating criteria.[45] The maternal filiation is common and therefore raises numerous questions concerning the nature of the family and the social organization of ancient Egypt especially whether Egyptian society is matrilineal or patrilineal.[46]

The text represents a short autobiography of Ameny with epithets referring to loyalty, obedience, and dedication to the king without any reference to the gods. The absence of a god's name and any religious items or funeral titles might indicate also that the statue was made during the life of the owner.

[41] But see Ranke, *Personennamen I* 333, nos 25-6.

[42] Simpson, *The Terrace of the Great God at Abydos*, ANOC 2.3, pl. 6.

[43] Wb II, 137.

[44] Such as CG 20572, see Lange, Schäfer, *Grab- und Denksteine des Mittleren Reichs im Museum von Kairo*, vol. II, 211-13, and Berlin stela (ÄM 7280), see Schäfer, Roeder, *Ägyptische Inschriften aus den königlichen Museen zu Berlin,* vol. I, 178-89.

[45] Obsomer, in Cannuyer, Kruchten (eds), *Individu, société et spiritualité dans l'Égypte*, 163-200; Postel, in Régen, Servajean (eds), *Verba manent*, 331-5.

[46] For social relations and gender in Middle Kingdom see Lustig, *Ideologies of social relations in Middle Kingdom Egypt*. See also Forgeau, in Burguière, Klapisch-Zuber, Segalen, Zonabend (eds), *A History of the Family*, vol. I, 128-54; O'Connor, *Ancient Egyptian Society.*

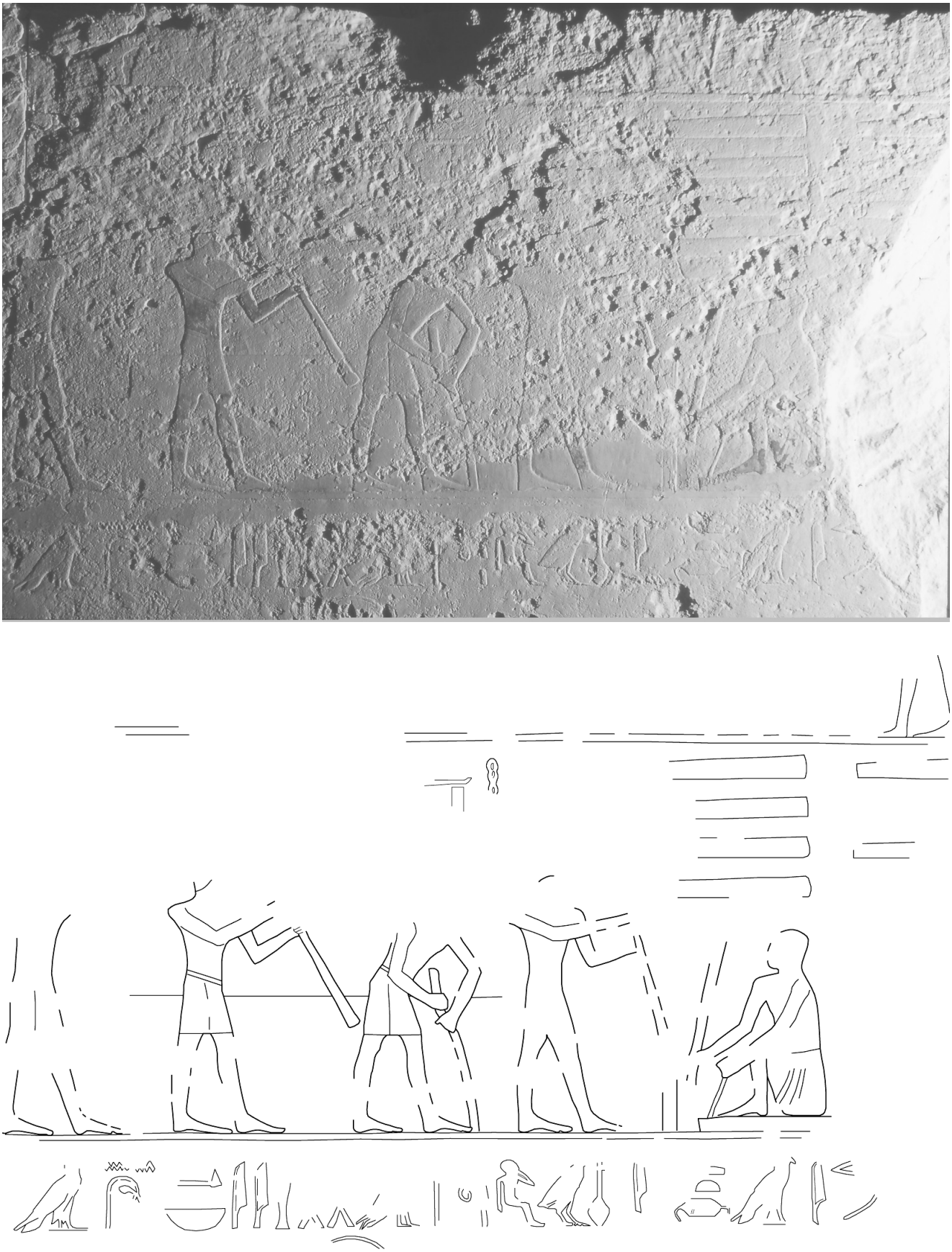


Fig. 7a-b – Block from the tomb of Ameny © photo courtesy of Dominique Farout; drawing by Hasan Ramadan

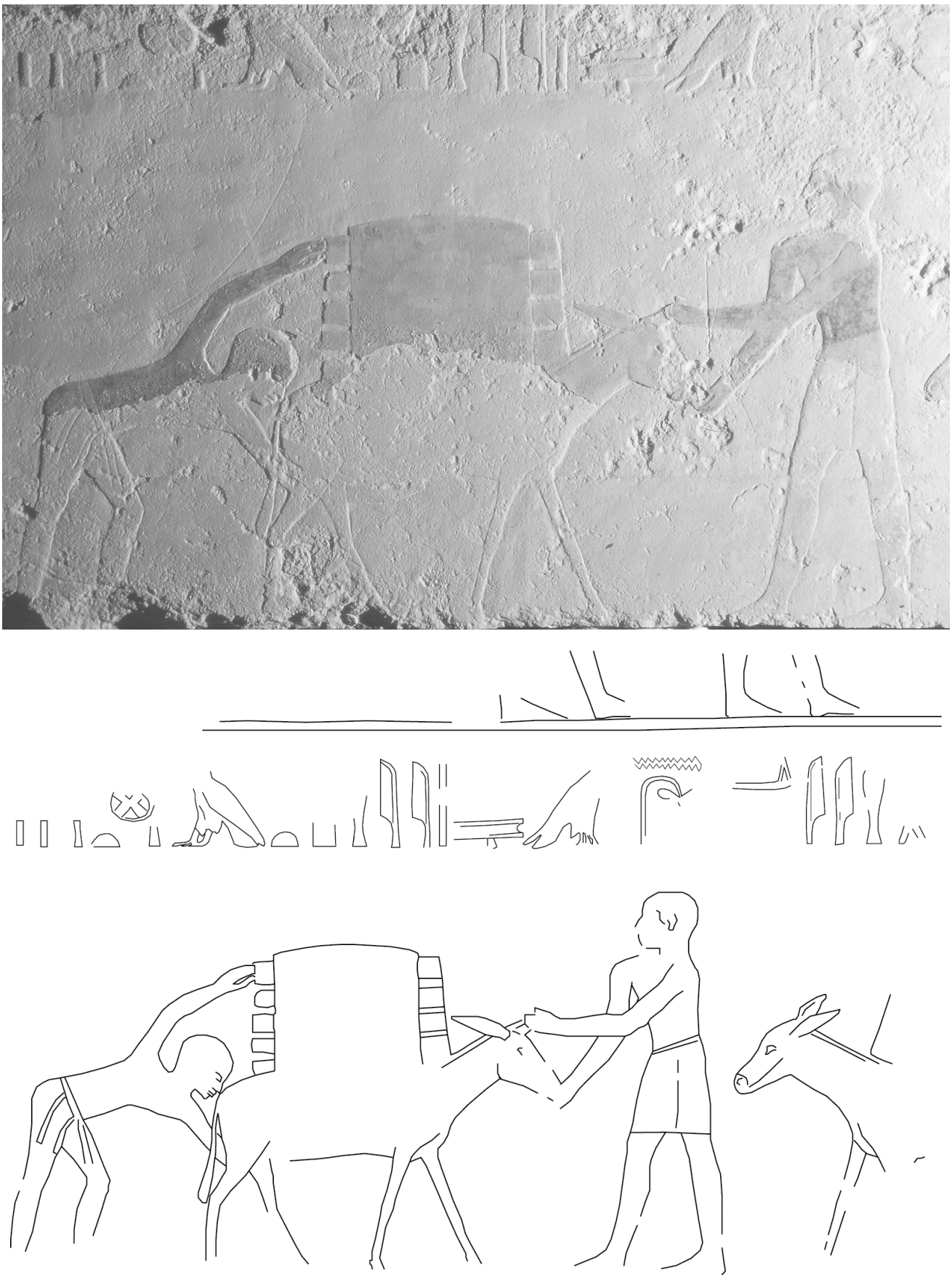


Fig. 8a-b – Block from the tomb of Ameny © photo courtesy of Dominique Farout; drawing by Hasan Ramadan

The Dating

Simpson dated the three stelae of Ameny to the reign of Senwosret I or Amenemhat II. Lichtheim suggested the reign of Amenemhat II. Both, Simpson and Lichtheim based their dating solely on stylistic and epigraphic grounds of the stelae and texts, since at that time the tomb of the owner had not been discovered. Dominique Farout[47] succeeded in visiting Ameny's tomb at south Lisht and proved, due to the presence of his mother's name (Qebw), that the owner of the three stelae (ANOC 2) was one and the same Ameny. Like Simpson earlier, Farout dated the tomb and the inscription to the reign of Senwosret I or Amenemhat II.[48] Most of the stylistic or epigraphic features discussed by these scholars are typical for the reign of Senwosret I and Amenemhat II. The text of the statue bears some additional textual and epigraphical dating clues. The throne name of Senwosret I appears at the upper edge of the first line, which might imply that the owner lived in the time of this king, as already suggested by Rita Freed.[49] However, this evidence is not sufficient since the name of Senwosret appears as part of the name of the king's pyramid complex (*ḫnmwt swt ḫpr-kȝ-rˁ*), and the inscription does not refer to the name of King Senwosret proper. Nevertheless, among the fragments discovered in Ameny's tomb and now stored in the Dahshur magazine is further evidence to suggest that Ameny lived during the reign of Senwosret I.

One indication is a fragment that carries part of a horizontal hieroglyphic text line. It is an irregularly-shaped limestone fragment measuring approximately 23 cm high and 14 cm wide (see Fig. 6). It was discovered in 1997 inside the tomb of Ameny and is now stored in the S. Tawfeek magazine at Dahshur (serial no. 68/ registration no. 85). It bears part of a horizontal hieroglyphic line in raised relief …. *Nbty ˁnḫ mswt*. The direction of the *nbty* signs indicate that the text is to be read from right to left; if so, *nbty* will be the end of the royal name *ˁnḫ mswt*, thus the whole line is a representation of the full royal titulary[50] of Senwosret I. Senwosret I's adoption of the name *ˁnḫ mswt* ('living by the creation') and its triple mention within his royal titulary[51] as well as the name *whm mswt* for Amenemhat I might indicate that these kings wished to distance themselves from the Eleventh Dynasty.[52]

The name of the king might have functioned as a substitute for the image of the king.[53] This is comparable to the inscription of Dedu-Antef (BM EA 1177) which also mentions the king, but shows no image.[54]

Because of Ameny's name, one may assume that he was born during the reign of Amenemhat I. Therefore, he belonged to the same generation as Senwosret I. The placement of Ameny's tomb near Senwosret I's pyramid cannot be disregarded. The king's titulary among the tomb's inscriptions is evidence for dating Ameny's life and career to the reign of Senwosret I.

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[47] I am most grateful to Farout for providing me with photographs of the wall reliefs taken during his visit when they were still in good condition.

[48] Farout, *Égypte, Afrique & Orient* 37, 25.

[49] Freed, in der Manuelian, (ed.), *Studies in Honor of William Kelly Simpson*, vol. I, 298-336.

[50] For royal titulary in general, see von Beckerath, *Handbuch der ägyptischen Königsnamen*.

[51] *ˁnḫ mswt* appears in the Horus name, the nebty name as well as in the golden Horus name. For the elements of Senwosret I's titulary, see Gundlach, *Die Königsideologie Sesostris' I. anhand seiner Titulatur*; Lorand, in Miniaci, Grajetzki (eds), *The World of Middle Kingdom Egypt (2000-1550 BC)*, vol. I, 205-20; von Beckerath, *Handbuch der ägyptischen Königsnamen*, 197.

[52] Lorand, in Miniaci, Grajetzki (eds), *The World of Middle Kingdom Egypt (2000-1550 BC)*, vol. I, 207.

[53] For this concept, see Bonhême, *Revue d'Archéologie Moderne et d'Archéologie Générale Paris* 3, 117-27.

[54] Budge, *Hieroglyphic texts from Egyptian stelae*, pls 2-3.

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Colour Plates

Pl. I – Jericho, Type IIa scarab from Tomb D.641. Drawings from Nigro, in Sparks *et al.* (eds), *Digging up Jericho*, fig. 23. Illustrations courtesy of Lorenzo Nigro

Pl. II – Lachish, Type IIIa scarab from Pit 4022. Courtesy of The Trustees of the British Museum

Pl. III – Jericho, Type IIIa scarab from Garstang's Tomb 5 © RMAH, Brussels

Pl. IV – Tel Burga, Type IIIa scarab from cist tomb. Courtesy of Ami Golani

Pl. V – Tel Burga, Type IIIa scarab from cist tomb. Courtesy of Amir Golani

Pl. VI – Megiddo, Type IIIa scarab from Tomb 5133. Photographs by Bruce Williams. Courtesy of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago

Pl. VII – Ashkelon. Type IIIb scarab naming Senusert III from tomb complex in Grid 50, chamber 7. Photographs by Daphna Ben-Tor. Courtesy of the Leon Levy Expedition to Ashkelon

Pl. VIII – Ashkelon, Type IIIb scarab naming Amenemhat III from tomb complex in Grid 50, burial niche off chamber 5. Photographs by Mario A.S. Martin. Courtesy of the Leon Levy Expedition to Ashkelon

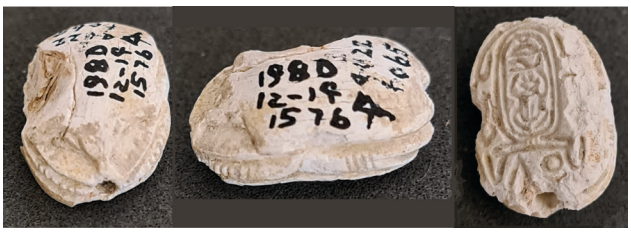
Pl. IX – Beth Shemesh, Type IIIb scarab from Tomb 13. Photographs by Katherine Blanchard. Courtesy of the Near East section, Penn Museum

Pl. X – Dhahrat el-Humraiya. Ring with Type IIIb scarab from Tomb 44. Photograph of ring courtesy of the Israel Antiquities Authority. Photographs of scarab © Stiftung BIBEL+ORIENT, Fribourg Switzerland

Pl. XI – 'Ain es-Samiyeh, Type IIIb scarab ex-Moshe Dayan Collection. Photographs by Sasha Flit. Courtesy of the Institute of Archaeology, Tel Aviv University

Pl. XII – 'Ain es-Samiyeh, Type IIIb scarab ex-Moshe Dayan Collection. Photographs by Sasha Flit. Courtesy of the Institute of Archaeology, Tel Aviv University

Pl. I



Pl. II

Pl. III

Pl. IV

Pl. V

Pl. VI

Pl. VII

Pl. VIII

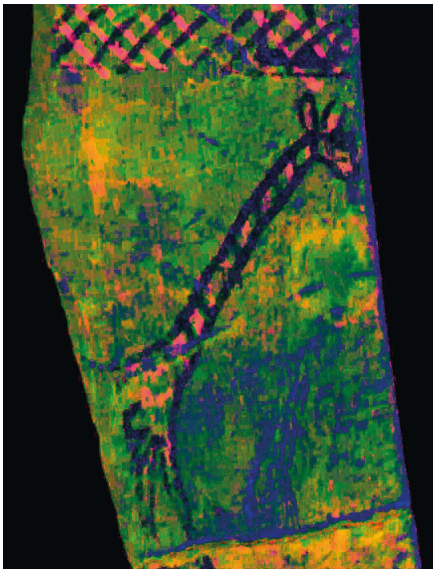
Pl. IX

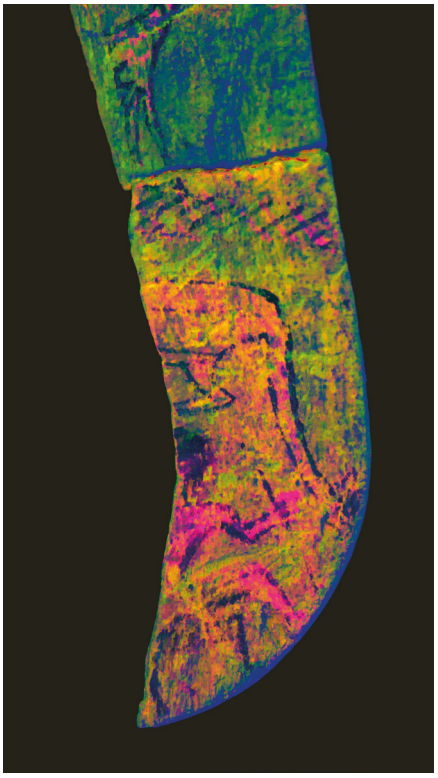
Pl. X

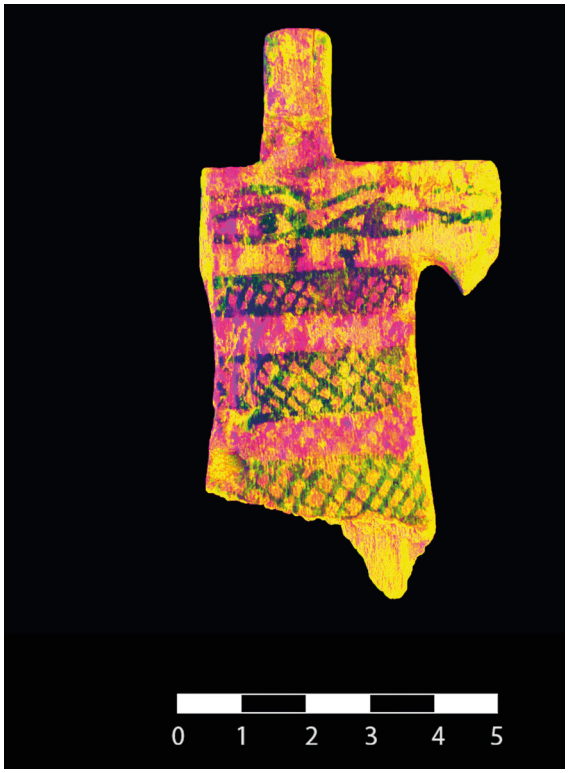
Pl. XI

Pl. XII

Pl. XIII – Paddle doll figurines from the Spanish Mission to Dra Abu el-Naga. Top row: SMDAN 11301, (upper) 9263, (lower) 4632, 2441/2621, 4801, 9247. Bottom row: SMDAN 4614, 3572, 4851, 4973, 2402. Photo: © Proyecto Djehuty/Carmen Ruiz







Pl. XIV – (Upper left) SMDAN 2402. DStretch enhancement of the decorative scheme. Photo: © Proyecto Djehuty/José Latova

Pl. XV – (Upper right) SMDAN 11031. Figural drawing enhanced using DStretch. The standing giraffe. Photo: © Proyecto Djehuty/Carmen Ruiz

Pl. XVI – (Lower right) SMDAN 11031. Figural drawing enhanced using DStretch. The recumbent giraffe and seated man. Photo: © Proyecto Djehuty/Carmen Ruiz

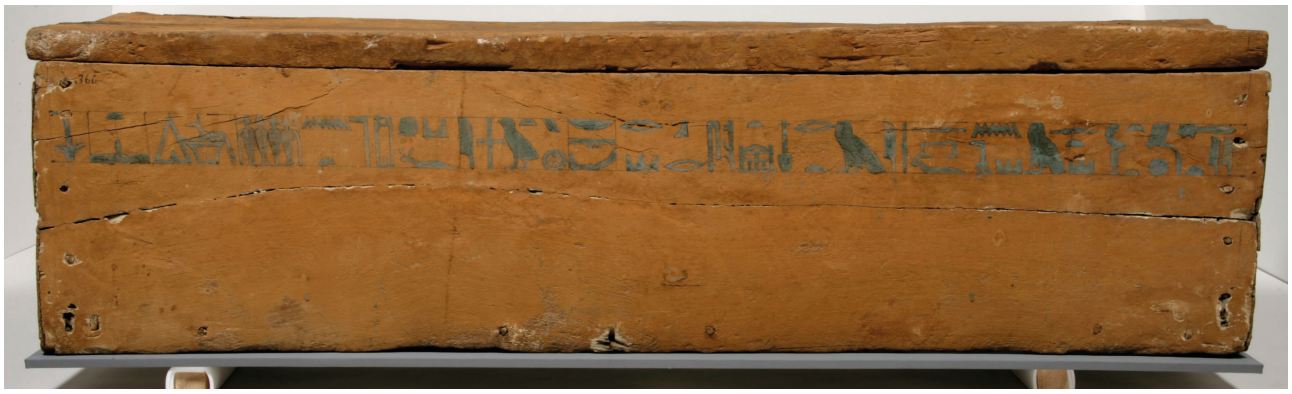
Pl. XVII – (Lower left) SMDAN 9336. DStretch enhancement of the decorative scheme. Photo: © Proyecto Djehuty/Laura Huertas López

Pl. XVIII – Coffin fragment, Cambridge Fitzwilliam Museum E.W.66.a; photo © Cambridge Fitzwilliam Museum

Pl. XIX – Coffin fragment, Cambridge Fitzwilliam Museum E.W.66.b; photo © Cambridge Fitzwilliam Museum

Pl. XX – Coffin fragment, Cambridge Fitzwilliam Museum E.W.82; photo © Cambridge Fitzwilliam Museum

Pl. XXI – Coffin fragment, Cambridge Fitzwilliam Museum E.W.82; photo © Cambridge Fitzwilliam Museum



Pls XXII-XXVI – Cambridge Fitzwilliam Museum E.70.1903 coffin; photo © Cambridge Fitzwilliam Museum

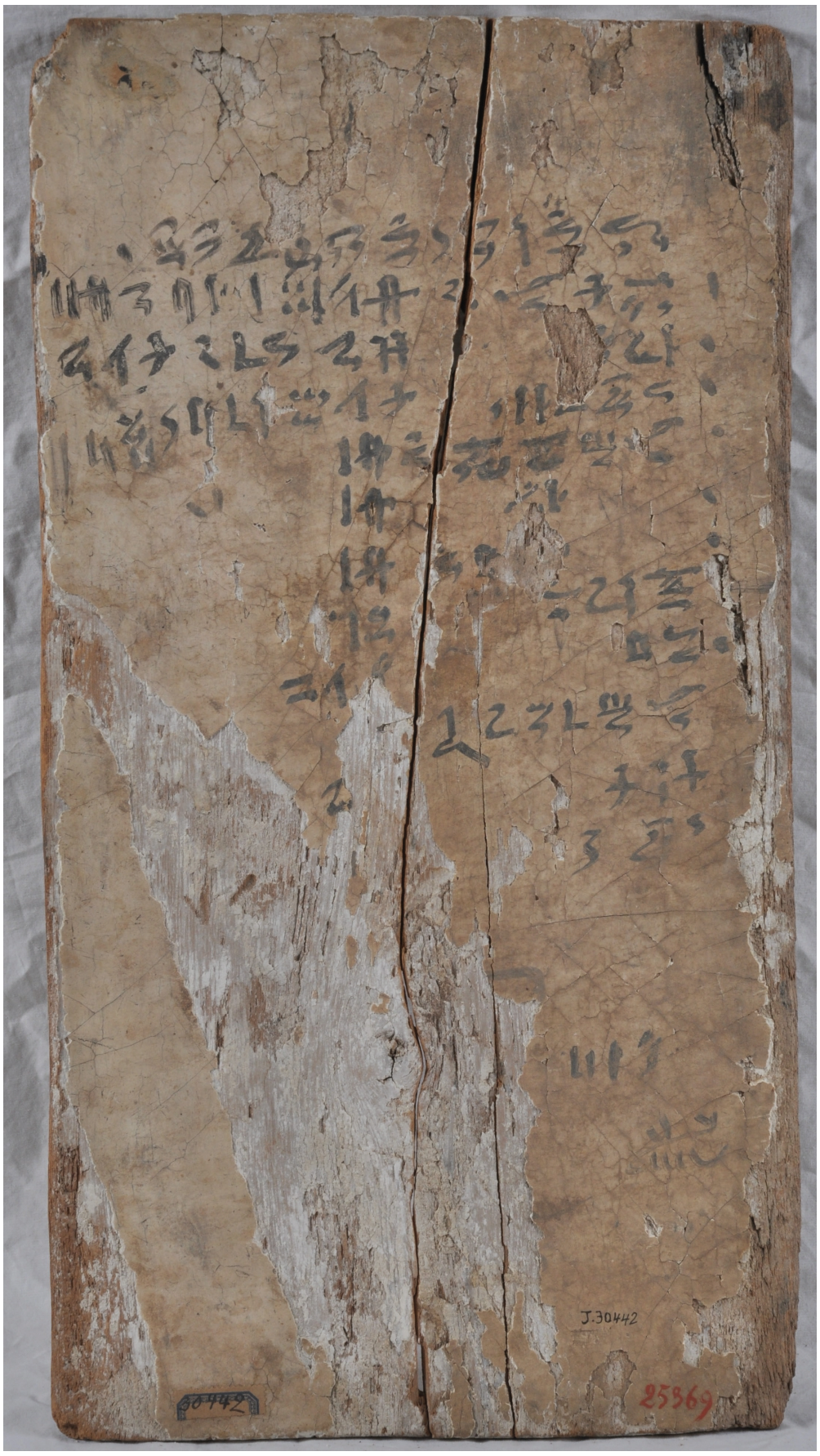
Pls XXVII - XXXI – Coffin of Nakht, Cambridge Fitzwilliam Museum E.68.1903;
photo © Cambridge Fitzwilliam Museum

Pls XXXII - XXXVI - Coffin Senuitif and Warethotep Cambridge Fitzwilliam Museum
E.70.1903 photo © Cambridge Fitzwilliam Museum

Pl. XXXVII – Coffin of Userhet, Cambridge Fitzwilliam Museum, E.67.1903 (front); photos © Cambridge Fitzwilliam Museum; photos assembled by Wolfram Grajetzki

Pl. XXXVIII – Coffin fragment, Cambridge Fitzwilliam Museum E.W.82; photos © Cambridge Fitzwilliam Museum; photos assembled by Wolfram Grajetzki

Pls XXXIX-XL– Coffin of Senumutef, Cambridge Fitzwilliam Museum, E.69.1903; photo © Cambridge Fitzwilliam Museum



Pl. XLI – (Upper left) Wooden board, Cairo JE 30442 – CG 25369 – SR 920

Pls XLII-XLV – Coffin of the 'lady of the house' Neby. Egyptian, Middle Kingdom, Twelfth Dynasty, 1991-1883 B.C. Findspot: Tomb 294, Beni Hassan, Egypt, Wood, Length × width × height: 214 × 51.4 × 51.4 cm (84 1/4 × 20 1/4 × 20 1/4 in.). Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Gift of the Beni Hasan Excavations Center, 04 2058. Photograph © 20th September 2021, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston
Pl. XLII: Front side; Pl. XLIII: Back side; Pl. XLIV: Head end; Pl. XLV: Foot end

Pl. XLVI (top) – Coffin of the 'lady of the house' Neby, Beni Hassan, detail: the northern panel on the front side, Photograph © 20th September 2021, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston
Pl. XLVII (bottom) – Coffin of the 'general' Sepi II, Dayr al-Barsha, detail: the northern panel on the front side, BM EA 55315 © The Trustees of the British Museum. All rights reserved

Pl. XLVIII – Offering tray/'soul house' of unknown origin with a 'garden' on the roof of the shrine-like structure, Middle Kingdom, (F 1901/9.120 RMO Leiden). Photograph by author, 2017

Pl. XLIX – Offering tray of unknown provenance, garden on the roof, First Intermediate Period (E.15.1950 Fitzwilliam Museum Cambridge). Photograph by author, 2017

Pl. L - Soul house from unknown origin (F 1901/1.62 RMO Leiden). Photograph by author, 2017

Pl. LI – Statue head found in the tomb of Ameny © photo by Youssef Ali

Pl. LII – CG 12825 (JdE 30381, GEM 12817)

Pl. LIII – CG 12825 (JdE 30381, GEM 12817)

Pl. LIV – CG 12827 (GEM 12824)

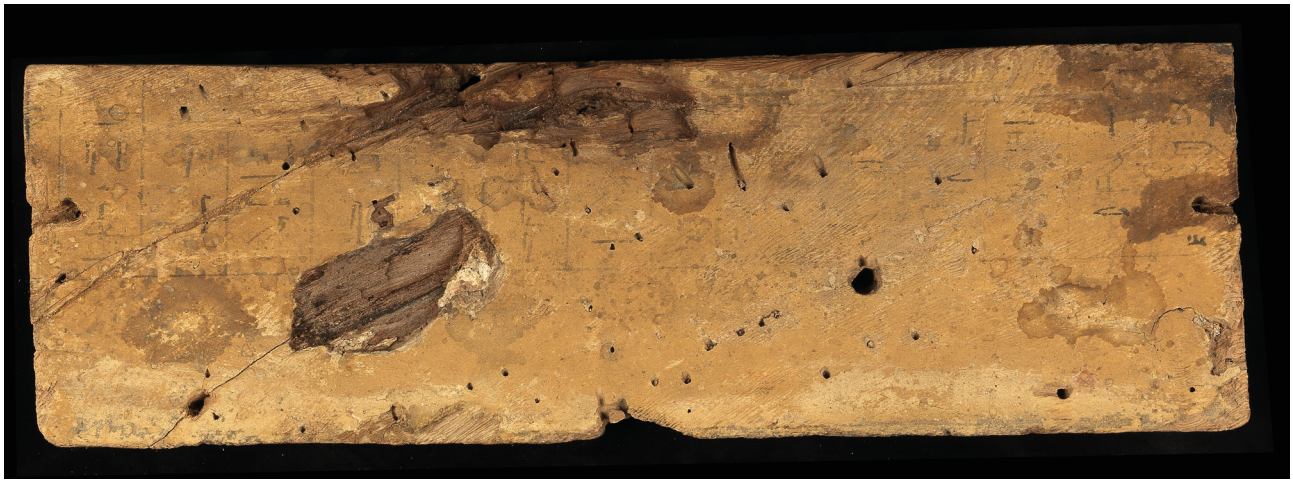
Pl. LV – CG 12827 (GEM 12824)

Pl. LVI – JdE 28320 (GEM 3767)

Pl. LVII – JdE 28320 (GEM 3767)

Pls LVIII-LX – Wooden Kohl Tube, Cairo (CG 44703/JdE 18553)

Pl. LXI – Stela of Jj, Elephantine 24607F-6 © photo: C. von Pilgrim



Pls LXII-LXIII – Coffin fragments, Louvre number E 17109

Pl. LXIV – Stela Louvre N 196 = C 42 (© 2005 Musée du Louvre, dist. RMN-Grand-Palais / Georges Poncet)